

**Cultural diversity communication strategies in UK and US
advertising agencies: a Bourdieusian analysis**

by

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Abstract

The rise of black and minority ethnic (BME) populations in the UK and US in recent years has led to the introduction of cultural diversity communication strategies within the advertising industry. These strategies draw on beliefs, and cultural and religious values to specifically target BME audiences. This thesis examines the processes involved in creating these strategies, by analysing the discourse and working practices of advertising practitioners. By drawing on interviews and ethnographic observations in eight advertising agencies in the UK and US, it compares the differences in producing cultural diversity communication strategies between a) the general market agencies targeting mass audiences, and b) the emerging cultural diversity agencies only targeting BME audiences. I argue that the creation of these strategies is subject to powerful constraints and institutional racism, limiting market opportunities for advertising. The thesis starts by bringing together Bourdieu's theories of habitus and field theory (1977; 1984; 1993) with contemporary studies of the relationship between 'race' and media practices. This union sets the foundation for my adaption of field theory to analyse contemporary advertising practices and to examine how discourse, working practices and 'professional advertising organisations' reinforce racist ideologies and audience exclusion.

In the second part of the thesis, this theoretical framework is applied to the fieldwork. Firstly, my analysis evidences the manifestation of racism across the field and how racial stereotypes are developed. Secondly, these attitudes shape the exclusionary practices that affect how CD communication strategies are executed, particularly in the UK. Lastly, I examine two 'diversity' events run by 'professional advertising organisations', analysing how they set 'good practice' standards and the power they have in shaping working practices across the industry. Ultimately, this thesis goes beyond existing studies on racial representations, and investigates the relationship between racism and intentionality amongst the industry's powerful constraints.

Key terms: advertising, field, habitus, cultural diversity, racism(s), stereotypes

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List of abbreviations

BME	Black and minority ethnic
CD	Cultural diversity
GM	General market
IR	Institutional racism

Definition of terms

BME practitioner: An advertising practitioner of BME heritage

CD agency: An advertising agency that aims to only develop communication strategies for BME audiences

CD communication strategies: Advertising communications that practitioners develop

CD practitioner: An advertising practitioner that aims to develop communication strategies for culturally diverse audiences

Creativity: The ideas and processes advertising practitioners use to develop new communication strategies

GM agency: An advertising agency that aims to develop communication strategies for mass audiences

GM practitioner: An advertising practitioner that aims to develop communication strategies for mass audiences

GM communication strategies: Advertising communications that practitioners develop for mass audiences

‘Professional advertising organisation’: The larger advertising organisations that control messages for ‘good practice’ in the industry

White practitioner: An advertising practitioner of white or white ethnic heritage

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Author's declaration

I declare that the work presented in this thesis conforms to the regulations of Brunel University London. The thesis is original and solely my own work, other than where I have clearly indicated the work of others.

Name: Nessa Cecelia Adams

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Introduction

Our society is moving toward becoming truly multicultural [...] The robust growth rate of so-called minority groups shows how brands and agencies can lose relevancy over the next few years if they don't align themselves with demographic trends better. It is not just the right thing to do. It's also the smart thing (Avi Dan, 2012)¹.

Contextualising the need for cultural diversity communication in advertising

In 2015, over \$600 billion was spent on digital, mobile and traditional advertising spaces across the globe (eMarketer, 2015). This expenditure grows by 5% per year, showing how much companies invest in advertising to communicate with their target audiences (Forbes, 2015). Advertising is a primary avenue for brands to promote their products and services, with the intentions of building a loyal consumer base and increasing their market share (David & Markowitz, 2011; Graham, 1952; Hackley, 2010; McFall, 2004; Nixon, 2003). With a progressively diverse population across the West due to intensified global migration and social mobility, it is becoming increasingly recognised that communicating with black and minority ethnic (BME) audiences is a lucrative marketing strategy². This advocacy is due to the growth in the BME population in both the UK and the US. The UK BME population accounts for around 14% and, for the first time, has overtaken the white population in London (Office of National Statistics, 2012). The US is seeing more drastic leaps, with African Americans making up 13% and Latin Americans making up 16.7% of the population, a 43% increase from the year 2000 (Humes, Jones and Ramirez, 2011). It is, therefore, inevitable that the advertising industry is paying more attention to BME audiences as a potential market. This thesis analyses how advertising practitioners communicate with BME audiences, and contributes to literature and current media debates by providing an in-depth examination of current advertising processes in the UK and US. From a theoretical perspective, this thesis adds to the increasing body of research that acknowledges Bourdieu's theories of habitus and field from a contemporary approach. These theories build a

¹ Avi Dan is Founder of AviDan Strategies, a marketing and communications agency based in the US.

² There is an explanation later in this chapter as to why BME as a concept has been adopted over other descriptors of ethnic minority groups.

framework that examines discourses, the development of communication strategies in working practices, and the influences of wider industry organisations.

According to latest research by Media Reach (2015), BME audiences in the UK have spending power worth over £300 billion, which explains why the advertising industry has an increasing interest in this market, often referred to as the 'brown pound'. As a response, there has been a drastic increase of ethnic media in both the UK and US (ibid). The UK now has over 100 newspapers, 15 radio stations and the second largest collection of television channels on Sky following general entertainment (Ethnicmediasales.co.uk, 2015). The US takes a similar approach of targeting these audiences through the translation of national newspapers into Spanish, the second largest collection of channels on cable networks, and an increase of ethnic radio stations (Matsaganis et al., 2011). These media developments show the industry's recognition and importance of cultural diversity (CD) communication to cater for these audiences and to tap into these new consumer markets.

This research is important for current media debates during a period where there is an increase in advertising agencies specialising in CD communication. I particularly focus on the manifestation of racist discourse and how there are deeper, ideological processes that exclude both BME practitioners and audiences. The thesis additionally contrasts and compares how the strategies and working practices in the developing CD agencies differ to GM agencies, to investigate where in the field such exclusion operates, which is an area of literature that has yet to be investigated. Before doing so, I will now outline the theoretical and empirical direction of this thesis.

Why the advertising industry?

The advertising industry has played a major role in developing capitalism throughout the twentieth century (Baudrillard, 1996; Cronin, 2000; Featherstone, 1991; Frosh, 2003; Bridger and Lewis, 2000; Lury, 1996; Piketty, 2015). This development required intensive promotional activity to ensure that consumers grew a need for products and cultural objects (Featherstone, 1991: 173). This promotion was mostly through advertising images, creating a society "emotionally vulnerable" to purchasing products (ibid: 175). The rise in promotional activity has led to an increase in full-service advertising agencies to provide a range of creative, promotional and market research services (Caves, 2000; Hackley, 2010; Shimp, 2010). However, the past 25 years have gradually introduced CD agencies that specialise in communicating with CD audiences. This study aims to compare and contrast the working

practices in the UK and US of four general market (GM) agencies which communicate to global, mass audiences with four CD agencies that consciously cater to BME groups. I therefore aim to examine the differences in their working practices and evaluate the implications that these differences have on the future of the industry.

Advertising practitioners have a crucial role in brand promotion in the culture industry, engaging in activities such as producing engaging illustrations, photography and dialogues (Graham, 1952; McFall, 2004; Nixon, 2003). Creativity in advertising is about the collaboration of innovative ideas to tell a brand's story. In Chapter 1, I outline how creativity has developed since the creative revolution (Banks, Gill, & Taylor, 2013; Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2007; Garnham, 2005; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2011; Paul and Paul, 2009). Anne Cronin (2004) recognises the importance of practitioners distinguishing between the "realms of production and consumption" as "they mediate between the [creative] needs of producers and the desires of consumers" (ibid: 350). This mediation is an important role for creative workers as "symbol creators" (Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 6). Pierre Bourdieu (1984: 359) refers to these creators as 'cultural intermediaries' who are "specialists in symbolic production" (Featherstone, 1991: 35), creating messages to encourage consumption. This is a crucial process in a consumer society, where practitioners form the link between manufacturing a branded product and then communicating with the potential audience (Curtis, 2001). One can, therefore, conclude that advertising practitioners are important mediators between products, brands and consumers.

Practitioners have a strong involvement in the creative process (Chambers, 2008; Markusen, 2007). This research focuses on those practitioners with some involvement in the production of advertising messages, such as Art Directors and Market Researchers (McFall, 2004; Moeran, 1996). As these practitioners are increasing their focus towards the BME population, this research argues that new, distinct strategies and working practices for CD communication are emerging. Hence, my first research question is:

What are the strategies and working practices of CD communication, and how are they developed in the UK and US?

A Bourdieusian approach

In my investigation of advertising working practices and how advertising practitioners develop strategies, this study employs Bourdieu's (1977) concepts of habitus and field, as outlined in Chapter 2. Habitus is the social skills, cultural knowledge and experiences that individuals develop, helping them to make rational decisions throughout their lives. Habitus is important in this thesis for analysing a) how advertising ideologies – the messages or “fundamental beliefs” (Van Dijk, 2000: 7) dictated by the ruling class – are facilitated by advertising practitioners, and more importantly, b) how the discourse – or “linguistic communication” (Leech and Short, 1992: 189) – of advertising practitioners affects how they develop communication strategies. There is a relationship between ideology and discourse, as “ideologies are expressed, construed or legitimated by discourse” (Van Dijk, 2000: 5). Thus, ideologies are expressed through discourse. These accounts are further examined in Chapters 1 and 2, but their relationship to habitus is briefly outlined below.

Firstly, habitus can be described as the:

[D]ispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways.

The dispositions generate practices, perceptions and attitudes that are ‘regular’ without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any ‘rule’ (Thompson and Bourdieu, 1991: 12; original emphasis).

These dispositions relate to the skills, knowledge and experiences gained through an individual's life, and how these are accumulated from different social situations. Habitus is then not only about the communication strategies that advertising practitioners may want to create. Rather, habitus acknowledges how advertising practitioners consider the appropriate strategies to use in the ‘game’ of reproducing cultural messages in the wider structure (ibid; Edwards, 2013). Bourdieu (1998: 171) further describes habitus as “a structured and structuring structure”, as a) habitus structures and facilitates *individuals'* dispositions, and b) habitus is itself a structure, that is structured by the social world. Habitus is, therefore, never a *set* structure, but continuously changes and is ‘inserted’ in different social situations and over time (Bourdieu, 2001: 104-105). This continuous insertion begins to show the slow process of habitus and the difficulty that advertising practitioners may face in removing ideological dispositions.

Chapter 1, hence, outlines debates on ideological control and persuasion (Althusser, 1971; Gramsci, 1984), examining how they make advertising practitioners act in different ways. Judith Butler (1997; 2005) links habitus to performance studies. Butler believes that habitus gives the false perception of individual identity, but is actually constrained in different social situations and, instead, makes us ‘act’ out ideological norms (Boucher, 2006: 112-113). The emergence of CD communication strategies are inevitably constrained, and Chapter 3 shows how ethnic advertising has historically been problematic and not a part of GM communications. Therefore, the relationship between habitus and social structures begins to show the difficulty for advertising practitioners to develop CD communication strategies, as the industry has historically excluded BME audiences.

This historical exclusion has an impact on how advertising practitioners now develop CD communication strategies. My data chapters consider how this exclusion has an impact on how advertising practitioners now perceive BME audiences. In particular, I consider the relationship between habitus and discourse, and how historical exclusionary practices work on more unconscious levels in current working practices. Chapter 4 outlines debates on critical discourse analysis and how media texts generalise, delete and construct meanings that are appropriate for the situation (Fairclough, 1995a; Van Dijk, 1972; 1977; 2000). These debates are related to how advertising practitioners use discourses that seem to support the development of CD communication strategies. However, analysing their discourse shows that racist ideologies and negative stereotyping are often embedded in their habitus.

Field is a related theory to habitus. However, rather than looking at the direct intentions of agents, it explores how these agents act within different social spaces (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996; Edwards, 2013). Thompson and Bourdieu (1991: 14) define a field as “a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or ‘capital’”. The interrelations between subfields is important as it indicates how stakeholders have differing levels of autonomy to power and money in a particular field (McFall, 2009; Molloy and Lerner, 2010). In the context of advertising, my adaption of this framework, as outlined in Chapter 2, will show how BME groups are particularly excluded and restrained from such resources. The division of these subfields is also important for laying out the power distance between different scales of organisations, as it begins to show how racism manifests between how practitioners in different agencies speak about CD. I particularly argue that racism is more likely to be embedded in organisations

higher up the scale, which then makes it difficult for CD to be accepted as mainstream communication.

In considering these arguments, my second research question asks:

How are CD discourses used by advertising practitioners?

Analysing discourses and working practices is the main focus of this thesis. However, I stress the significant impact of wider structural constraints. Chapter 1 considers these constraints through debates on ideology, particularly through Marxist debates on the power of capitalism (Giddens, 1984; Marx, 1976). Louis Althusser's (1971) work is particularly useful for showing how the skills and knowledge that individuals acquire are subject to the ideological control of the ruling class. Similarly, Antonio Gramsci's (1984) work deconstructs the concept of ideology, and separates the ruling class's messages from the actual consent that the working class give. Although advertising practitioners are given some flexibility in their choice of how they develop communication strategies, "we can always say that individuals make choices, so long as we do not forget that they do not choose the principles of these choices" (Wacquant, 1993: 45; Giddens, 1984). These choices are limited, as "individual action is solely the reflection of structures" (Ozbilgin and Tatli, 2005: 858).

I revisit Althusser's (1971) and Gramsci's (1984) accounts in Chapter 1 and later combine them with Stuart Hall's work on 'race' and ideology in Chapter 3. Hall's (1973; 1980) work is essential in this thesis, as he presents a comprehensive account of how ideologies work to reinforce structural racism in the media. More recent studies on exclusionary media processes are also analysed in order to outline *how* ideologies are powerfully reinforced through mental, social and discursive interactions (Jackson, 2013; Jhally, 1987). The aim within these chapters is to examine the link between ideology and how racism is manifested, whether intentional or not. My focus on the power of structures then leads to my third and final research question:

What are the structural limitations of CD communication in the advertising industry?

Categorising black and minority ethnic groups

Concepts used to define the complexity of ethnicities in the UK and US continuously change. The UK has commonly adopted the concept of BME to define the ethnically diverse population. This concept was adopted to reflect the increase of people from Commonwealth countries in Africa and the Caribbean, amongst others (Gilroy, 1987; Hall, 1992). The UK's largest ethnic group now derives from Asia, which led to the later introduction to the concept of black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME). However, both BME and BAME are contested terms. For instance, former Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, Trevor Philips, believes that these concepts are “to tidy away the messy jumble of real human beings”, who only share the characteristic of not having white skin (Okolosie et al., 2015). Instead, Philips advocates US alternatives such as “visible minority” or “people of colour” (ibid).

Within this thesis, I use the concept of BME to refer to ethnic minorities in both the UK and US. I also use the term ‘black’ to define those of African and Caribbean heritage, jointly the biggest group in the UK and US. I acknowledge that these concepts lack nuance and are socially constructed (Gilroy, 1987; Parekh, 2000). As I discuss in Chapter 3, the term ‘black’ is contested, as it was historically used to define all non-white minorities. However, I use both concepts to identify the non-white groups in society, and to examine how they have been disadvantaged in both society and in advertising communications.

The statistics from both the UK and US censuses indicate that diversity is becoming more complex. This complexity is due to the increase in immigration, but also the increase in inter-ethnic relationships and further complicates how ‘mixed race’ is defined (Ifekwunigwe, 2004; Mahtani, 2014; Zack, 1993). Categorising these complex groups is problematic in both social and advertising discourse, which demonstrates the timeliness of analysing the structural issues in advertising. Homogenising diverse groups is problematic as this leads to racial and cultural stereotyping (Burton and Klemm, 2011; Dyer, 1999). Chapters 4 and 5 examine how homogenisation causes problems within organisations, where BME practitioners are subject to racism, stereotyping and being the diversity advocate (Ahmed, 2012; Puwar, 2004; Tharp, 2001). Ultimately, I will argue how these problems have implications on the processes of creating CD communication strategies and how white superiority is reinforced.

Chapter 3 further outlines my use of CD for recognising the importance of communicating with BME audiences. Some debates contextualise CD as the positive recognition of cultural values, beliefs, religion and language (Berger and Huntington, 2002; Naylor, 1997; Parekh, 2000). While the concept is now used widely in society and policy discourse, I acknowledge its complexities. Many have argued that this positive focus detracts from the ‘real’ issues of racism and discrimination (Cox, 1994). However, I use this concept to show how practitioners a) aim to convey positive ideas about CD, but b) how their use of discourse often reinforces racist ideologies. Thus, my use of CD communication strategies analyses the processes of how these strategies are developed.

To some extent, I address studies that believe racial stereotyping is important in marketing, as deconstructing CD characteristics is too complex (King, 2015; Pieterse, 1992; Rossiter and Chan, 1998). These studies argue that it is impossible to identify with different ethnic and cultural characteristics in one advertising campaign (Qualls and Moore, 1990). However, I argue that these attitudes often lead to negative stereotyping, as opposed to identifying the positive cultural factors for developing CD communication strategies. This argument reinforces the overall direction of this research, stressing why it is important to examine everyday discourses to understand how strategies are created, how racism is spoken about, and observing how it manifests in everyday working practices.

This next section will briefly state what each of the eight chapters will aim to do in response to the aims of this research.

Summary of chapters

Chapters 1, 2 and 3 set out my theoretical framework. Chapter 1 introduces the concepts of capitalism, ideology and cultural production, outlining how I apply them to advertising. The purpose of this chapter is to examine how advertising operates on both macro and micro levels. Examining the macro elements is achieved by focusing on advertising’s relationship to capitalism and ideology. I outline Marxist debates that are foundational in examining capitalism as a structural, economic system that focuses on labourers as the main element of making capitalism work (Althusser, 1971; Gramsci, 1971; 1984; Marx, 1976). I then introduce later debates on the culture industry and ideology to argue that advertising is one of the main vehicles that make capitalism work.

Pierre Bourdieu's (1973; 1977; 1998) conceptions are introduced in Chapter 2 and acknowledges his substantial contribution to media studies. The concepts of habitus, field, cultural production and different types of capital are examined, but also critically analysed to discuss how they systematically work together in a particular social space (Goldthorpe, 2007). I acknowledge that Bourdieu's approach is somewhat limiting due to its 20th century focus. Thus, I argue that Bourdieu's account of habitus needs to be developed through a more contemporary application of field theory in order to fully understand the processes of developing strategies and everyday working practices, which is outlined at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 3 applies the theories introduced in Chapters 1 and 2, to debates on 'race' and CD. This chapter aims to examine how 'race' discourses have developed over time, through advertising, the culture industry and organisations. I argue that, although advertising is becoming more diverse in terms of practitioners and communications, the industry is still subject to the structural ideologies, discussed in Chapter 1. Firstly, Stuart Hall's (1973; 1980) work on 'race' in media practices is particularly useful here, as he directly addresses some of the Marxist accounts on capitalism, class and ideology, which neglect the issue of 'race'. Secondly, I examine more contemporary debates on the 'black culture industry' that address cultural racism and how black cultures 'negotiate' their way into white-owned media industries (Cashmore, 1997). I apply my approach to how CD agencies attempt to 'negotiate' their way into the advertising industry, and examine some of the negative stereotyping and ideological constraints that they face. Lastly, I consider the difficulties of BME workers when 'managing' their identities in white organisational spaces (Ahmed, 2012; Puwar, 2004) and how this is a consistent sign of institutional racism. I also examine contemporary debates of multiculturalism and cultural diversity, as they both aim to present progressive cases for positive diversity, but have been argued to neglect the problems of structural racism and inequality (Gardner, 1997; Parekh, 2000; Vertovec, 2007).

Chapter 4 takes a more reflective approach, considering the methodological choices for this study and how I will analyse the data. Firstly, I discuss my journey with this research and why an internal investigation of advertising practitioners was necessary. I examine why ethnography is important for exploring working practices, while interviews help to analyse discourses of how CD is spoken about. Secondly, I outline why critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1995a; Van Dijk, 1977; 2000) was selected to thematically approach the

data. CDA is a useful analytics method, as it will show how power and ideologies are embedded in everyday discourse in my data chapters.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 evaluate the data collected from over 12 months' fieldwork in the eight advertising agencies. Chapter 5 examines how advertising practitioners talk about CD in general, and analyses how powerful discourse impacts their habitus through three main findings. Firstly, I examine how white and non-black BME talk about black culture and the implications that their discourse has on the experiences of black practitioners. Secondly, I examine how non-black BME cultures are seen as more appealing, drawing comparisons between discourses in the UK and US. Lastly, I acknowledge the problem of whiteness, and how white practitioners circulate exclusionary ideologies. In summary, this chapter lays a foundation for understanding how advertising practitioners then develop CD communication strategies.

Chapter 6 applies these discourses to the implications of developing CD communication strategies and everyday working practices through three main findings. Firstly, I analyse how advertising practitioners legitimise their working practices and justify why their ways of developing communication strategies are effective. I pay particular attention to how this type of legitimacy works in CD agencies, as their working remit is to directly target BME audiences. Secondly, I briefly analyse how advertising practitioners use formal texts as a reason for why they are sometimes limited in how they develop CD communication strategies. Lastly, I analyse how field research is conducted in both GM and CD agencies, and how their resources are utilised in different types of agencies. To conclude, this chapter examines how ideologies and negative stereotypes are developed and embedded into cultural messages, and the implications that these have on utilising the 'brown pound'.

Chapter 7 is the final data chapter that considers how PAOs influence how the industry perceives 'good practice'. The chapter opens by outlining the normative structure of the industry and how CD communication is beginning to challenge it. However, the main focus of analysing two diversity networking events shows how racism still manifests. These organisations have the role of creating networks and forums for sharing 'good practice', and I analyse what 'good practice' is and what it looks like in two ways. Firstly, I analyse how these organisations talk about 'good practice' and the ways in which CD is interpreted as not being as important as GM communications. I then examine some of the complications with how leading practitioners talk about the diversity 'problem' with staffing in advertising, showing how there is a hidden agenda for not making changes to working practices. To

summarise, this chapter argues that these PAOs are useful forums for advertising practitioners across the industry to come together and share ideas, but there are more ideological reasons why these events are structured the way that they are.

Chapter 8 is the final chapter of this thesis, summarising the key findings of this research and what this study adds to existing literature. From a theoretical perspective, I reflect on the importance of applying field theory in a contemporary manner to evaluate the processes of developing communication strategies and working practices. From an empirical perspective, I highlight the problems that still exist in the advertising industry when developing CD communication strategies. I close by reflect on some questions that this thesis has raised and suggestions for the future direction of similar studies of media practitioners.

Chapter 1

The rise of the advertising industry:

The structural control of capitalism, discourse and ideologies

Introduction

This opening chapter examines theories of ideology and discourse, arguing that advertising's structural control played a crucial role in the development of capitalism. Examining these theories shows how the industry historically operated, indicating periods where racist ideologies initiated and why this still makes it difficult for CD communication to flourish.

Firstly, I analyse advertising's role in penetrating capitalism. I outline foundational debates that see capitalism as an economic superstructure (Althusser, 1971; Gramsci, 1984; Marx, 1976) and more contemporary writers that acknowledge the role of creative labour as the main component of making capitalism work (Du Gay et al., 1997; Banks et al., 2013; Wilkinson and Pickett, 2009). Secondly, I examine how some contemporary debates fail for not recognising that advertising was one of the main vehicles making capitalism work, but also penetrating ideologies and discourses of inequality (Oakley and O'Brien, 2015; Piketty, 2015). The concepts of ideology and discourse have been widely addressed in culture industry and media research (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2001; Banks and O'Connor, 2009), but this chapter specifically addresses why advertising is unique in penetrating exclusionary practices through 'meaning' creation (Jhally, 1987). To contextualise these discussions, I open by analysing the important role that advertising had in developing capitalism.

The relationship between capitalism and advertising

Capitalism is a socio-economic system, which operates to boost the profits of organisations and global industries and has been developed through several stages (Piketty, 2015). These industries are continuously finding new ways to promote a "culture of consumerism" to sustain consumer demands and "keep capitalist production profitable" (Harvey, 1989: 61). Advertising plays an important role in sustaining consumer society, ensuring that consumption remains habitual and a leisure activity. This section has two main purposes in showing how advertising was at the centre of developing capitalism. Firstly, it outlines the role of advertising practitioners as important intermediaries in creating value for products.

Secondly, I argue that advertising practitioners have a role in organising consumers into different social categories, and this begins to show how BME audiences have historically not been included in communications. I firstly outline the foundational debates that see labourers as the main medium for making capitalism work. Outlining these debates is important for my discussions in the following section, as more attention needs to be paid to the ideological processes used by advertising practitioners, as opposed to manual labourers in general.

There are two early accounts that see labourers at the centre of capitalism that have been shaped by Karl Marx (1976). Marx has provided a substantial contribution to sociology and has argued that labourers were the most important element in developing capitalism (Marx and Engels, 1965). Marx acknowledges artisan societies that operated on a local trade basis with friendly competition and small-scale production (Ingham, 2008; Hunt and Lautzenheiser, 2008). This form of 'laissez faire' society was possible due to the small scale of production. Marx was particularly interested in how the industrial revolution during the 1880s changed the role of labourers to being efficient producers of products, as opposed to being valued for their specialist crafts. This turn of focus to efficient systems led to an increase in factories and 'conveyor belt' systems' (ibid). Marx believed that the increase in efficiency decreased the need for manual labour for two reasons, namely 'use-value' and 'exchange-value', and these conceptions are starting points for showing the importance of advertising during capitalism.

Firstly, 'use-value' explores the relationship between the wages labourers are paid and the value of products. Adam Smith (1904) was one of the first writers on the value of labour. Smith argues that labourers are the 'invisible hand' in production, but that the "cost of production" including wages, materials, profit and rent makes up the value of products (Schumpeter, 1961: 309). Smith's argument fails as he does not acknowledge that labourers were at the centre of how products were valued. The subject of value is important for showing that the quality of products being sold is not always the main factor for pricing products. Marx acknowledges Smith's perspective and develops two theories for showing the importance of labourers. Marx's first theory of 'use-value' argues that products "become a reality only by use or consumption" (Marx, 1976: 46; Berger and Huntington, 2002). This means that products are only beneficial for meeting human needs, for example, chairs, watches and beds. In this case, labourers are normally paid a set wage that is not dependent on the number of products they produce (Marx, 1976: 73). Corporations are, therefore, exploitative of labourers to produce mass quantities, paying labourers a small wage in

comparison to the profits made. However, this exploitation does not fully justify the development of capitalism and other means of *how* value is created through creative practitioners.

Secondly, there is a relationship between the value of products and the amount they are sold for. Marx describes this relationship as the ‘exchange-value’ of products and discusses this connection through fetishism. Marx believes that fetishism is when “the products of the human brain appear as autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own” (Marx, 1976: 164-165). I later discuss Marx’s conception of commodity fetishism in more detail and in relation to ideologies. However, it is important to note that fetishism makes consumers go beyond purchasing products that they *need*. Rather, the products become more desirable and are purchased for *wants*. Hirsch (1976: 91) describes consumers as seeking “utility from environmental characteristics that lie outside of what the market can provide”. Products become commodities as consumers develop a social “relation between things” that are a product of labour and are “therefore inseparable from the production of commodities” (Marx, 1976: 83; Janowitz and Burk, 1991; Lasch, 1979; Lash and Lury, 2007). Thus, I later develop my argument of how advertising practitioners are part of this ‘inseparable’ relationship.

Marx’s arguments show the importance of the ‘inseparable’ relationship between creating labour and commodity value during capitalism. However, his work was written prior to the full development of the advertising industry. Advertising was mostly via word of mouth and columns in newspapers up until the 20th century (Laird, 1998). The early-mid 20th century saw advertising spaces emerge in national newspapers, magazines, radio and, later, television (Fang, 1997). Advertising until this point was executed by small, in-house teams, and I later outline the development of full-scale agencies. These in-house teams that were around during the time of Marx’s writing had the purpose of hard-selling and promoting propaganda, as opposed to the relationship building that the advertising industry aims to do today (Katz, 2003; Sorce, 2007). Therefore, Marx’s work cannot be completely applied to current practices, as advertising now has a crucial role in the ‘exchange-value’ and fetishism of products, as their selling price is dependent on how desirable advertising can make the products seem (Adorno, 1941; 1991; Cronin, 2004; Hesmondhalgh, 2006).

It is necessary to turn to more recent debates on the role of advertising in developing capitalism on both macro and micro levels, which support my later discussions in Chapter 3 of how audience exclusion happens. It is important to firstly outline accounts of the wider

culture industry's role in developing capitalism and social order, although they do not particularly reference advertising.

The macro control of advertising

There are some accounts that see the culture industry as being a macro “signifying system” where “social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored” (Markusen, 2007: 27). Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno are two influential Marxists from the Frankfurt School during the 1940s, who offer more recent approaches on how social order works in the culture industry. In *The Dialect of Enlightenment* (2001), Horkheimer and Adorno discuss how culture is institutionalised. They criticise the media for attempting to control society, explaining that popular culture is a process of repressing, “classifying, organising, and labelling consumers” (ibid: 123; Adorno, 1991; Gans, 1974; Habermas, 1968; Marcuse, 1964). This labelling is important for ensuring “that consumers feel compelled to buy and use its products even though they see through them” (Horkheimer and Adorno, 2001: 167). Adorno (1991: 105) expands on this compulsion, explaining that:

the culture industry no longer even needs to directly pursue everywhere the profit interests from which it originated. These interests have become objectified in ideology [...] The culture industry itself turns into public relations, the manufacturing of ‘goodwill’ per se, without regard for particular firms or saleable objects.

Adorno's argument shows that the culture industry had a role in promoting consumerism, creating a system where the ideology³ – or powerfully embedded idea – of purchasing was normalised (Lury, 2004). However, I argue that advertising in particular has a role in developing powerful ideologies, shaping audience groups and excluding BME groups. To aid my argument, I now outline how macro and micro control works in advertising.

One of the main areas of research on advertising during the development of capitalism looks at types of macro social control. Stuart Ewen (2000) exemplifies this control through what he

³ I shortly return to conceptions of ideology in the ‘Advertising Ideology’ section.

calls ‘captains of consciousness’, where advertisers are the “father of us all” (ibid: 184). Ewen examines the first wave of promotional activity in the early 20th century in the US, a time where propaganda was thriving with brands promising their products would do things they did not. The tobacco industry was one of the first to carry out such practices, promising that smoking was good for health. Following Marx, Ewen recognised the importance of workers in making capitalism work. Where Marx’s focus is on the value of labourers, Ewen discusses how advertising had the role of developing consumerism and persuading workers to “spend his wages and leisure time on the consumer market” (ibid: 5; Kazmi and Batra, 2008). Consumerism was further encouraged by the introduction of credit facilities in the US and begins to show the powerful relationship between global financial corporations and the advertising industry, creating an “imperial network of American economics” (Schiller, 1992: 47; Adorno, 1941). This powerful network began to distort the social order of US living conditions in order to promote the capitalist way of life. This Americanisation was seen as a ‘dream world’ for both consumers and global corporations, a way of life which was adopted in other Western markets such as the UK, but as a more “dubbed or subtitled version” (Baudrillard, 1988: 76). Therefore, the US were leaders in making capitalism and mass consumption a way of life and, as some argue, leaders in controlling communications (Blumler and Katz, 1974; Lury, 2004).

Some authors examine advertising’s social control in more detail, particularly through how advertising worked in ‘late capitalism’, where “the historically necessary collapse of capitalism has been averted” through ‘cultural manipulation’ (Swingewood, 1977: x). These debates show advertising’s relevance during recessions and the decisions people make in being active consumers. For instance, Raymond Williams (1980) argues that advertising persuades audiences to consume by giving them a ‘choice’ of different product categories to consume. Williams’ argument is particularly relevant, as he stresses the importance of advertising in socially organising people’s ‘choice’ to be mass consumers. These accounts show the weaknesses in completely applying Marx’s thesis of capitalism, as Marx (1971) focuses on the economics of manual labourers. Advertising is an important medium for shaping how consumers make choices, and they do this by adopting an “operational code” (ibid), using the “simplest language [...] to reduce conscious resistance, to appeal directly to primitive pleasure impulses” (ibid; Williams, 1981). Consequently, regardless of *what* consumers are purchasing, what matters is that advertising gives them choices of what to consume, as long as they are contributing to capitalism. Advertising, therefore, has a role in

making sure that consumers make impulsive, irrational purchases, as opposed to making ‘rational economic choices’ (Janowitz and Burk, 1991: 241). However, these debates do not indicate the role of practitioners in controlling the types of consumers being targeted.

A more contemporary debate argues that the current phase of late capitalism increases the inequality gap in the UK, US and France (Piketty, 2015). Thomas Piketty’s main argument for this gap is similar to that of Marx, where the wealth of large organisations grows faster than wages and other forms of economic output. One of Piketty’s main solutions is for global governments to levy a heavy tax on the rich to even out the slow inequality. This solution has led to a criticism of Piketty’s data, as he focuses on historical fluctuations in the property market. Thus, the same construct cannot be applied to creative practices such as advertising. As key studies from the past decade have recognised, workers themselves are a main tool of the capitalist economy, and the strategies used by these workers impacts how BME groups are utilised to appear as though they are accepted as mass consumers (Gray, 2016; O’Connor, 2016). In the case of GM advertising agencies, BME groups are used to increase the gap in economic inequality, making global organisations wealthier. However, as Chapter 3 outlines, these groups are largely stereotyped and sidelined as being less important than white audiences, reinforcing the relationship between production, consumption and representation (Bennett et al., 2009; Conor et al., 2015; Du Gay et al., 1997).

A more relevant debate in the past few years has been around the value of the creative economy, that merges the relationship between capitalism and the culture industry. Some argue that the creative economy seeks to “challenge existing settings” (O’Connor, 2016, 3) of dire creative work, that consumers were becoming immune to in the late 20th century, and, instead, introduces different kinds of cultural social movements:

[t]o the wealth of-creating portfolios, the emergent industry departments, and the enterprise support programmes. Win, win (Hartley, 2005, 11).

While these studies do not directly address advertising, they do relate to the way advertising began to specifically introduce diversity agendas within their policies at the turn of the 21st century, as opposed to reproducing regular ideas with no agenda.

While the introduction of the creative economy has been welcomed by many for challenging the existing capitalist structure of the culture industry, its usefulness needs to be challenged. For instance, Justin O'Connor (2016, 1) argues that “discourse of the ‘creative economy’ is problematic”, as there is an assumption that diversity now comfortably sits in creative professions. In the case of advertising, where Hartley (2005) assumes that the emergence of the creative economy is a ‘win win’ for both industry and audience inequality, there are still ways that capitalism operates to exclude and repress in more ideological ways. Thus, whilst these macro debates are important for showing the structural conditions of advertising, they do not provide detailed accounts of how power is exercised on the micro scale, which I now address.

Micro linguistics in advertising

The micro accounts of advertising’s early development offer more detailed explanations of how ideologies operate to make advertising work, and create representations for different audiences. Ervin Goffman (1979) examined how social behaviour is constructed and looked at how gender is ‘displayed’ in advertisements. Goffman argued that gender is defined through “culturally established” and “conventionalised portrayals” (ibid: 1) in advertisements. Goffman (ibid: 24) considers how these generalised representations are developed. He argued that the presentation of gender in pictures needs to be aligned to cultural expectations of ‘feminine’ or ‘masculine’. Firstly, he described “small behaviours”, such as a woman combing her fingers through her hair, that are easily decodable for mass audiences (Hall, 1973). Secondly, Goffman (1979: 25) discusses the importance of photography and “advertisers’ views of how women can be profitably pictured” to show their ‘good side’. Of course, what substantiates as a ‘good side’ is subjective, but there are social generalisations that audiences are familiar with in order to decode ‘feminine behaviour’ (Dyer, 1999). Goffman’s arguments begin to show the more detailed accounts of ways in which representations are developed, and why making generalisations is important for creating a universal system of meaning, but fail to some extent for not providing details on how representations are formed. One could argue that, while much attention is given to advertising as a social system, less focus has been given to how advertising practitioners create these portrayals. In relation to the unconscious nature of ideology, the focus on practitioners themselves is crucial for addressing processes of meaning creation, as the process is the “means of which the hidden meaning disguised itself” (Zizek, 2008: 8). This

thesis will add to literature by analysing the processes used by advertising practitioners and the ways that racism manifests.

Roland Barthes (1967; 1977; 1987) offers a detailed account of the more micro, strategic processes of creating messages and how hidden meanings are embedded in fields such as advertising. To understand the complexity of his work, I outline a) Saussure’s (1916) foundations of language as a system of signs, as Barthes builds on this account, and b) Barthes’ development of language as mythology.

Ferdinand de Saussure was the first social scientist to go beyond investigating the historical development of language in the early 20th century; instead, he examined language – talk, text and image – as a ‘linguistic sign’, or a system of signs. Saussure (ibid: 16) developed semiology theory; a framework to study “the life of signs”, and how ‘linguistic signs’ are only one element. This framework was important for not only analysing how language was used, but how *meaning* was embedded within it. Saussure deconstructs his use of the ‘linguistic sign’ as a “double entity [...] formed by the association of two terms”, namely the *signifier* and the *signified*. The signifier refers to some form of sound, image or other tangible equivalent, whilst the signified is the actual meaning. Saussure (ibid: 37-38) made it clear that the relationship between the two terms is subjective, as they “existed before uniting” as two autonomous elements (Barthes, 1987: 111). The merging of the two become a ‘linguistic sign’, connecting two unrelated elements (Levi-Strauss, 1963). Some have developed semiotics in other directions, such as consumer society (Baudrillard, 1981; 1996), coding (Hall, 1980) and psychoanalysis (Lacan, 1972). However, Barthes’ (1987) account offers a more useful construction that can be applied to how advertising practitioners create meaning.

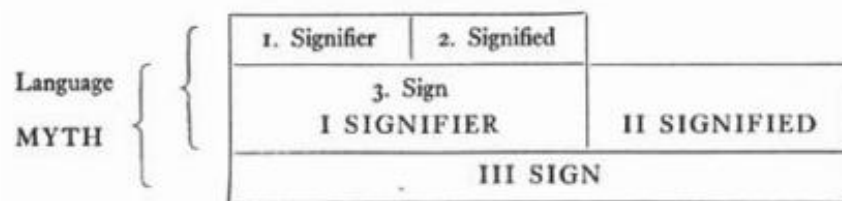


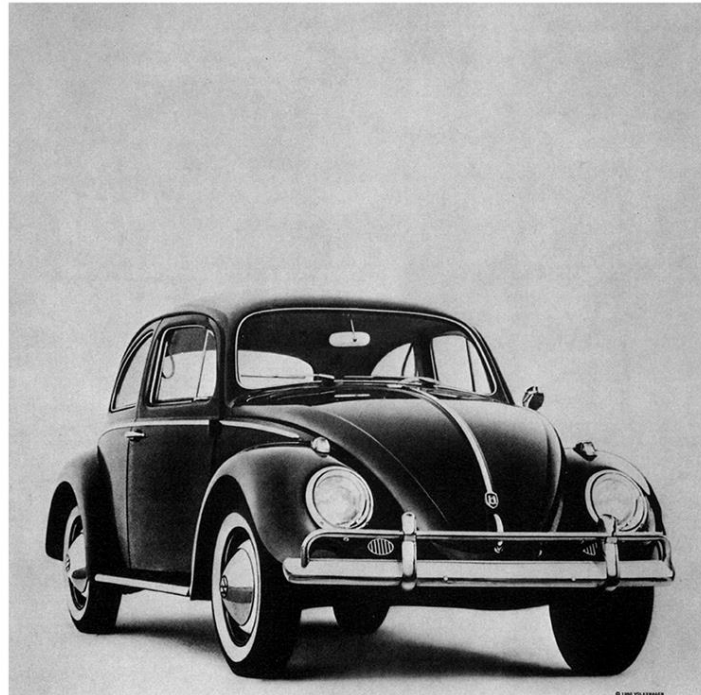
Figure 1: Roland Barthes’ (1987[1957]) mythical system

In *Mythologies*, Barthes (1987) developed Saussure's account on semiology, but was particularly interested in how 'linguistic signs' are actually myths. Where Saussure saw semiology as a system that included linguistics, Barthes believed the contrary, arguing that linguistics was the system that included semiology. Barthes creates two systems to differentiate his work from Saussure: a 'linguistic system', based on Saussure's original model, and a 'mythical system', where language is used to speak about the first (Figure 1).

The first 'linguistic system' relates to Saussure's model, as the sign is the literal meaning of a historical text, for instance. In later works, Barthes (1967; 1977: 166) refers to this system as 'denotation'⁴, where he defines the sign as "not the first meaning, but pretends to be so" (ibid: 9).

Barthes is concerned with the latter 'mythical system', as the signifier can be seen in two ways. Firstly, the signifier can be seen as the *initial* meaning of the 'linguistic system'. The meaning of the myth is important, as it "belongs to a history [...] a signification is already built, and could very well be self-sufficient if myth did not take hold of it" (ibid). Therefore, the readily built structure of the meaning acts as a type of knowledge, fact or idea, but does not fully explain how meaning development in advertising works. Secondly, Barthes argued that the signifier can also be seen as a *form*, where the "history" from the linguistic system "evaporates" (ibid). Instead, a new form of mythical meaning is created as a replacement (and I shortly return to Barthes' take on ideologies). Barthes refers to this system as 'connotation', defining "*how* language is used" (ibid) and that the true meaning behind the message is hidden. Thus, the 'mythical system' can be applied to advertising – as practitioners often develop different meanings for the same commodity (Baudrillard, 1988; Ewen, 2000). I exemplify this concept below through two examples.

⁴ Barthes adopted denotation and connotation from linguist Louis Hjelmslev (1961).



Lemon.

This Volkswagen missed the boat. The chrome strip on the glove compartment is blentished and must be replaced. Chances are you wouldn't have noticed it; Inspector Kurt Kroner did.

There are 3,389 men at our Wolfsburg factory with only one job: to inspect Volkswagens at each stage of production. 13,000 Volkswagens are produced daily; there are more inspectors than cars.)

Every shock absorber is tested (spot checking won't do), every windshield is scanned. VW's have been rejected for surface scratches barely visible to the eye.

Final inspection is really something! VW inspectors run each car off the line onto the Funktionsprüfstand (car test stand), tote up 189 check points, gun ahead to the automatic broke stand, and say "no" to one VW out of fifty.

This preoccupation with detail means the VW lasts longer and requires less maintenance, by and large, than other cars. It also means a used VW depreciates less than any other car.)

We pluck the lemons; you get the plums.



Figure 2: Volkswagen's 'Lemon' advertisement (Doyle Dane Bernach's first advertisement)

Firstly, this type of strategic, meaningful advertising communication was developed during the creative revolution, the second wave of advertising in the 1960s that formed new ways of communicating with audiences (Goffman, 1979; Williamson, 1978). This period saw the introduction of advertising agencies in Madison Avenue, New York. The creative revolution was led by Bill Bernach, founder of Doyle Dane Bernach (DDB) advertising, who began to change his creative strategies. One of DDB's first advertisements was with Volkswagen, showing an image of the Beetle range with 'Lemon' written underneath (Figure 2). Barthes' conception would suggest that the car acts as the *signifier* and the word 'lemon' is the *signified*. However, there is no immediate relationship between the two and cannot automatically be translated into a *sign*. This process of message creation shows that meanings are actually myths, and advertising is known for creating distorted messages (ibid: 120; Banks and O'Connor, 2009). The approach used by DDB is far from the creativity seen in the 21st century, but was important for the 'creative economy'. This involved creating advertising communications that did not simply *sell* to the consumer, but got them engaged in wanting to

purchase and, thus, resulting in the capitalist system. However, this engagement worked differently for BME audiences.

Secondly, the late 20th century saw the development of ways of including more BME groups in advertising⁵. However, Barthes' mythological system is useful for showing the unconscious methods of racism. Clothing company *United Colors of Benetton* (*Benetton*) are most famously known for their culturally controversial advertisements (Barela, 2003; Burton, 2000; 2009; Lury, 2004). In 1991, Benetton created an advertisement including a black child and a white child (Figure 3). The 'linguistic system' would see the two children as *signifiers*, as their hugging is *signified* as social progress, and is a *sign* of a friendship. However, the 'mythical system' shows an ideological racist message, as the black child is not smiling and his hair is shaped as devil horns, while the white child appears smiling and angelic. The *signifier* hides the racist message behind the image itself. Therefore, the 'mythical system' is important for deconstructing advertising messages and begins to show how BME groups had a different relationship to capitalism. Chapter 3 develops this discussion in relation to racist ideologies. However, this exemplifies that BME groups have historically been included in advertising, but they were not particularly being communicated with.



Figure 3: United Colors of Benetton, 'Angel and Devil' advertisement (1991)

⁵ Chapter 2 exemplifies historical examples of racist advertising.

There is a relationship between Barthes and Saussure's work, as they both developed ways of analysing different types of language. Although Barthes' work has been criticised⁶, his 'mythological system' is a useful tool for showing how representations can be deeply ideological. However, as Zizek (2008) proposes, one must also be aware that a series of events and its subjects are often unrelated, and do not always have a calculated, ideological intention. While it is straightforward to examine the processes of cultural production in advertising, it is more difficult to examine the thought processes of practitioners across the field and, therefore, implicitly pinpoint particular discourse as intentionally racist. While such analysis is developed in Chapter 5, Barthes' approach has been considered as a method of examining the potential of racist intent in cultural production.

This section has shown the relationship between capitalism and advertising. The culture industry has been widely researched, in both foundational and current research (Banks and O'Connor, 2009; Barthes, 1977; Ewen, 2000; Horkheimer and Adorno, 2001; Piketty, 2015). However, advertising was one of the first promotional activities in selling to the consumer, developing communication messages and making capitalism work. These activities begin to show the power of advertising in making different consumers want to purchase – and, more importantly, as I later show, the power to exclude others, such as BME groups, from advertising communications. The debates so far rely on more general accounts of how communication messages are developed. For a more detailed understanding of how power and exclusion works, more critical accounts of advertising ideologies need to be addressed.

The embedding of ideologies in advertising communications

Before examining how ideologies work in the practice of advertising, it is useful to firstly outline some key meanings of ideology and to clarify how I apply it in this thesis. Social Psychologist Michael Billig has written widely on the concept and defines ideology as:

above all discursive, instantiated within discursive actions [...] Thus, the categories of ideology, together with shared stereotyping and commonplace social explanations, are framed in language (Billig, 2002: 184).

⁶ For instance, Osgood et al. (1957) argue that Barthes' model can only be used qualitatively.

In Billig's sense, ideology is closely related to how discourse is formed and used by those in positions of authority as a form of argumentative power. In relation to advertising practitioners, ideologies have historically been used to create discourse, which either includes, excludes, or shapes perceptions of different audiences. The section outlines how the concept of ideology has been developed over time, but I specifically want to distinguish the relationship between two conceptions that I adopt in this thesis to examine how ideology manifests in advertising, namely lived and intellectual. Billig (1988) develops the distinction between the two, where intellectual ideology refers to the product of thoughts and ideas by professionals in a given field (Tileaga, 2016; Wiggins and Potter, 2003). Lived ideology is related to this, but refers to how these thoughts and ideas manifest as common sense or "way of life" in society (ibid: 27). It is important to stress that the two approaches are related as people develop thoughts, "but within constraints of ideology and within elements of ideology" (Billig, 2006; Potter, 2012). Thus, rhetorical ideas are continuously embedded in each other. Chapter 3 further argues how this particularly manifests in racist advertising.

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the ways that ideologies have been addressed through a) foundational accounts, and b) advertising communications, as this builds my argument as to why ideologies still manifest in CD communication. There are several accounts of advertising ideologies and how the industry portrays misleading representations (Leiss et al., 1997; Swingewood, 1977; Williamson, 1978; Ewen 2000). Before addressing these accounts, the pioneering theories on ideology and mass communication need to be examined. It is not my intention in this section to present a detailed account of the history of ideology research. Rather, I focus on those that somewhat acknowledge dominant ideologies – the product of media control – to understand how advertising creates them. Firstly, Marxist materialist approaches are explored to construct the foundational theories. I then apply these foundations to more contemporary approaches to analyse how advertising ideologies work on structural levels.

The formation of ideologies

It is usual for studies of the culture industry to acknowledge Marx's foundational approach to ideology (Althusser, 1971; Gramsci, 1984; Lukacs, 1971). Although Marx's work was written prior to the culture industry's development and has been criticised for his economic focus (Baudrillard, 1981; Hall, 1980; 1992), he presents an argument that recognises the

relationship between production and structures. Marx (1971: 47) uses the term ideology – the “production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness” – to understand how individuals make sense of the social world. It is useful to revisit Marx’s use of fetishism here, as he firstly referred to the ‘fetish object’ as merely an individual’s obsession with their private property (Marx, 1976), but later began to focus on why people were fascinated by them. Marx believed that commodities prevented individuals from seeing the relationship between the workers that were exploited in creating the products and their ‘exchange-value’. Yet, commodity fetishism affects both the individuals who purchase the commodities and fetish production itself (ibid). This effect not only has implications on capitalism’s development, but on how ideologies work in different ways.

These approaches to ideology have been developed by Marxist thinkers and applied to a) false consciousness, and b) class. In 1893, Friedrich Engels (cited in Barnes, 1974: 143) briefly coined the term ‘false consciousness’ and related it to ideology:

Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, indeed, but with a false consciousness. The real motives impelling him remain unknown to him; otherwise it would not be an ideological process at all.

Engels does not explore this relationship in any depth, but later Marxists develop the concept of false consciousness to understand what Engels meant. Vladimir Lenin (1917) adopted the concept in the Russian Revolution of 1917, arguing that the state and the ruling class had imposed false consciousness – as in ideological idea – on the working class. This ideology was that class division and consumption was normal, and others have argued that the ruling classes themselves have a deluded picture of reality, “not only in their political reasoning, but also about its effects” (Lukacs, 1971: 12). This begins to show how the ruling classes, as the creators of these ideologies, are also affected by these ‘false’ illusions (Giddens, 1984).

The accounts of false consciousness generally align with Marx and Engels (1965), in that the working class were excluded by false consciousness, and indicates why different groups were excluded from mass communications (Lenin, 1917; Lukacs, 1971). The working class were excluded from shaping culture, politics and society. However, they developed their own class interests – or ‘class consciousness’ – which partially explains why Marx was ambitious about

predicting a working class revolution (Marcuse, 1964; Eyerman, 1981: 44; Rockmore, 1988: 58). However, Marx and Engels' account fails to some extent, as they assume that the working class groups are equal and do not account for how BME groups were seen as a lower class.

Marx did not particularly focus on 'race', which is evident in his assumption that the working class were equal. The only implication of 'race' is through his brief account of slavery, where he identifies black slave workers as unpaid labour and helped to develop capitalism in the US (Marx, 1976: 915). To some extent, Marx argues that there is a relationship between slave workers and capitalist labourers, as they are both controlled by a ruling 'master'. Examining how Marx saw this relationship shows a limitation with the attention he paid to the domination of ruling systems, such as advertising. In these instances, there is less focus on the workers themselves and assumptions are made about the impact of their experiences. It has been well documented that BME groups have not historically had the same relationship to capitalism as the white working class through hierarchal class systems (Weber, 1978). However, a more nuanced commentary of how these experiences impact the circuits of production (Allen et al., 2017; Du Gay et al., 1997) is needed in order to evidence how everyday discourses and processes reinforce the power distance for BME groups (see Chapter 3).

More contemporary Marxists have extended the debates on the relationship between ideology and class consciousness. Antonio Gramsci (1984) was concerned with the impact of superstructures, such as the media, on the consciousness of the working class. Gramsci's work is important here, as he rejects economic determinism, i.e. Marx's thoughts on seeing everything determined by labour and capital. Gramsci differentiates between the ideological superstructures of rule and domination. Gramsci refers to ruling superstructures – or 'repressive state apparatuses' – such as the government and police forces (Althusser, 1971; Portes and Borocz, 1989: 289; Burawoy, 1985: 12; Mill, 1964). The superstructures that Gramsci categorises as domination are relevant, as this refers to industries such as advertising that do not use a means of physical force, but persuasion. However, Gramsci argues that the working class are not merely passive to the ruling class. Rather, Gramsci presents an alternative framework which is useful for differentiating advertising's ideologies.

Gramsci develops his conception of hegemony, which acknowledges the types of mental, ideological control addressed so far, but defines it as "a system of alliances which allows it to mobilise the majority of the working population" (Gramsci, cited in Mouffe, 1979: 186). This

mobilisation refers to the ‘manufactured consent’ (ibid) of capitalism by the working class. Consent is important for advertising, as audiences need to accept consumerism and advertising messages in order for capitalism to work. As Fiske (1987: 291) explains:

Consent must be constantly won and rewon, for people’s material social experience constantly reminds them of the disadvantages of subordination and this poses a threat to the dominant class.

Hegemony can be applied to how advertising constantly needs to remind the public of the benefits of consumerism. This reminder is seen in forms of ‘cultural hegemony’ (Habermas, 1968; Markula, Grant and Denison, 2001) in order to normalise advertising’s constant messages as a way of life. It is important to note that the working class were ‘class conscious’, being that there was a division between them and the ruling class. Marx (1976) also acknowledged this consciousness and was optimistic for a working class revolution that would overturn capitalism. Whilst Marx’s optimism has generally been dismissed (Baudrillard, 1981), his opinion still influenced how Marxists such as Gramsci recognised that there is a stage where consent needs to happen before audiences accept dominant ideologies. Reception studies detail the processes of how audiences decode, accept or reject advertising messages (Hall, 1973; Williamson, 1978), although this study avoids a focus on audiences themselves.

What is missing from the studies discussed so far is a focus on the strategic approaches to how ideologies of consumerism are reproduced. Louis Althusser (1971) presents an excellent, structuralist approach to ideology, through what he calls ‘ideological state apparatus’, and is appropriate for applying how advertising practitioners reproduce ideologies.

Althusser (1971: 128) opens his discussion by asking “how is the reproduction of the relationship of productions secured?” Althusser (ibid: 127) argues that a) skills and knowledge need to be reproduced in labour and b) that labourers must submit to the “rules of the established order”. Althusser’s approach is useful, as it can be applied to how the advertising industry expects practitioners to reproduce dominant ideologies and reinforce the media’s persuasion. However, Althusser’s approach still gives too much credit to the power of superstructures and neglects the fact that ideologies are “multiple, locatable, partial, positioned, and contested”, particularly in media debates (Gershon, 2010, 285-286; Kroskrity,

2000). Thus, the multifaceted nature of how ideologies operate needs to be considered, particularly as there are now more BME practitioners working in the very organisations disadvantaging CD communication.

Contemporary studies have also developed the relationship between the reproduction of ideologies in advertising and class. William Leiss et al. (1997: 32) describe advertising ideology as “a set of false and misleading concepts about reality”. They build on Marx’s approach, discussing how advertising ideologies developed during the third wave of advertising in the 1980s, when the UK began to take more creative approaches to advertising, similar to the US. The Second World War saw an increase in heart-felt advertising, as both advertising practitioners and consumers were emotionally attached to the effects of the war (Mort, 1996). In addition, the increase in material provisions following the war meant that “traditional messages of social improvement for price competitiveness” needed to be replaced with the “living and styles of behaviour” of consumers, as opposed to “simply selling the product” (ibid: 97). The combination of increased material provisions and a period of high emotions gave advertisers the opportunity to take advantage of society’s vulnerable state. Therefore, advertisers were creating the ‘false’ idea that conspicuous consumption can be used as an emotional replacement to feelings (Leiss et al., 1997: 32).

Leiss et al.’s (1997) application of false consciousness to the reproduction of ideologies shows advertising’s role in ‘manipulating’ the working class. This manipulation was important for propaganda messages during the mid-20th century, making use of vulnerable audiences, and demonstrates that advertisers will use any means to contribute to capitalism. These messages are different to the more creative approaches of developing audiences as consumers and gaining consumer loyalty (Cronin, 2004; Ewen, 2000; Lash and Lury, 2007). However, what is missing from such studies is the application of how ideologies are used to create discourse, which shapes and excludes particular audiences. The relationship between Billig’s social psychology approach to the formation of ideological discourse and contemporary media studies of the reproduction of ideologies is disconnected. A combination of the two enables a more comprehensive exploration of how practitioners use discourse to shape capitalist ideas. Thus, this research sees ideology as a combination of both the conscious and unconscious processes of individual and structural power.

The debates outlined so far are useful for understanding how advertising not only worked *within* capitalism, but also how advertising helped to *develop* capitalism and the role it had in ‘class consciousness’. I revisit these debates on capitalism and class in Chapter 3 and use

Stuart Hall's (1980) application of 'race' and racism. Hall's application will show how Marx and Althusser's debates are not developed enough to understand the relationship between 'race' and advertising.

The studies addressed so far can be applied to show how advertising works on structural levels, facilitating false consciousness and dominant ideologies. Marx's work has been particularly influential in sociology and media studies, where his focus lies on labour power, economics and ideology. These debates show the relationship between the development of capitalism and the ideology that consumption is normal. However, there are 'limits to satisfaction' (Leiss et al., 1997; Browne and Misra, 2003) and there was a need for a service to differentiate brands and products. As noted earlier, the fully functioning culture industry was not around during the time of Marx's writing. It is, therefore, necessary to outline more recent debates, which acknowledge the role of discourse in media practices for circulating ideologies. These accounts of ideological discourse lay a foundation for my discussions in Chapter 3, where I analyse racist ideologies in advertising and begin to show how these ideologies impact the development of CD communication strategies.

The underlying role of discourse

Discourse, or 'discursive formation' (Foucault, 1972), is a crucial element in advertising, as the linguistics used in advertisements impact how audiences receive messages⁷. Discourse refers to the "descriptive, analytic and educative functions" (Parker, 2015: 148) that language plays in society. Discourse is important for studying advertising practitioners, as it is not only about how discourse is used to shape communication strategies. Organisational discourse also shapes the habitus of advertising practitioners themselves and, thus, how language is used to distribute knowledge and external communications (Wodak and Meyer, 2013). Chapter 4 outlines accounts of critical discourse analysis, as this is the analysis tool used for my data chapters (Fairclough, 1995a; 2001; Van Dijk, 2000). However, this section outlines debates that analyse the relationship between discourse and a) power and knowledge, and b) ideological practices. Examining these debates is useful, as discourse plays an important part in my application of field theory, and my argument of why advertising discourse was an important element of making capitalism work.

⁷ This type of analysis has been widely researched in reception studies (Blumler and Katz, 1974; Hall, 1973).

One of the most influential, early accounts of discourse is by French philosopher, Michel Foucault. Foucault was interested in discourse during two phases of his work: his earlier structuralist accounts of language and power (1977a; 1979), and his later post-structuralist accounts of knowledge and agency (1980). Foucault's work is important for analysing, as he was critical of the concept of ideology (Smart, 2002). Foucault believed that ideology assumes there is a sense of 'truth' to the production of knowledge, where there are instead discursive forms of power.

In his earlier work, Foucault was interested in how discourse was used to create structures of knowledge. He was not particularly interested in the historical development of knowledge. Rather, Foucault (1977a: 27) wrote about how discourse and knowledge was used as an authoritative tool. Foucault defines discourse as a group of statements belonging:

to the same discursive formation [...] made up of a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined.

Foucault was interested in how statements were structured and organised, but more importantly who had the credibility to assess and question the statements themselves. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977a) wrote about the development of institutions such as hospitals and asylums during the 18th and 19th centuries. He analysed the shifts in language – or 'discursive formations' – in how the topics of madness and disease were spoken about. For instance, speaking about a mental patient as 'mad' creates a form of knowledge about human behaviour. More importantly, this knowledge created a need for more institutions for social control, i.e. mental asylums. Thus, the discursive statements used to diagnose mental patients was used as a form of power by medical professionals. However, these earlier statements Foucault spoke about do not work the same way in advertising.

Foucault's (1980) later post-structuralist work took a different approach to discourse, and instead focused on the relationship between power, knowledge and truth. This body of work is useful for my discussions in Chapter 3, as Foucault's account on truth can be applied to the development of biological racism in advertisements. Firstly, Foucault (1980: 119) believed that power is accepted in society as:

it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body.

In this instance, power is not only about the dominant messages of the ruling class, as Marx's earlier ideas would suggest. Rather, power needs to be accepted as a form of social knowledge – and a 'regime of truth' – that operates in society (ibid: 131).

Foucault (ibid: 190) applied knowledge and power to surveillance, examining how institutions such as the justice system are forms of "disciplinary power" and a 'mechanism' to constrain individuals to speak. Rather than focusing on the institutional structure, Foucault's later work focused on a concept that was being widely written about at the time, namely *agency*, i.e. how individuals operate under institutional structures (Giddens, 1984). In this sense, power is 'productive' and is used as a tool to force individuals to speak. Foucault's definition draws similarities to Gramsci's account of hegemony. However, Gramsci believed that power was more nuanced through getting the working class to 'consent' to messages created by the ruling class and contribute to capitalism (Macdonald, 2003: 32). Thus, Gramsci's interest in the use of 'hegemonic discourse' is more relevant for this thesis, as he believed that discourse and ideology were inseparable.

Unlike Marx, Foucault (1973; 1980) directly addressed the topic of racist discourse in *The History of Sexuality*. Although his study primarily focused on sexuality during the late 19th century, Foucault touched on the simultaneous development of racial categorisation. Foucault explained that, at this point, "a whole politics" of social hierarchisation and interventions – such as Nazism – changed everyday social perceptions (ibid: 149-150; Young, 1995). Thus, racism was another form of social ordering and control. Studies of racial ideologies will be outlined in Chapter 3, but Foucault's brief account has been introduced here to show how racism was a form of social power. This begins to show the power of advertising practitioners as cultural intermediaries, as racist advertising was historically used as a form of social control, but does not explain how advertising shaped capitalism.

To some extent, Foucault's work is useful for developing approaches to powerful discourse in different institutions. Foucault saw power as both a productive and a constraining force for producing 'knowledge' in different social settings. However, 'hegemonic discourse' is 'productively' used in advertising to persuade consumers to purchase, as opposed to being a

form of mental control. Foucault's (1977b) dismissal of ideology does not acknowledge how language is a form of powerful discourse in different social settings. It is, therefore, necessary to turn to other studies that do so.

There is more contemporary research that builds on Foucault's accounts, but instead focuses on the use of discourses and ideology in media practices. Teun Van Dijk's work is important here, as he sees the direct relationship between discourse and racist ideologies. These discussions are outlined in Chapter 3, but I briefly note Van Dijk's account of discourse and ideology to aid my argument in this chapter. Van Dijk has written widely on different types of ideological discourse. For the purpose of this chapter, I focus on his approach to discuss a) ideology as a type of legitimated discourse, and b) ideological attitudes in discourse.

Van Dijk took a different approach to Foucault and believed that "ideologies are expressed, construed or legitimated by discourse" (Van Dijk, 2000: 5). Thus, he believed that ideologies are expressed through discourse, as language influences "how we acquire, learn or change ideologies" (ibid: 9). In *Ideology and Discourse*, Van Dijk outlines how ideologies can be expressed as social representations, values and beliefs. For instance, advertising has the role of reproducing social representations of different groups. These representations are ideological, as advertising takes the 'basic' values, norms and beliefs of the group, and creates "new social opinions" (ibid: 14). These opinions take form as 'propositions' – or complete meaning formats – that are organised through discourse. These propositions aim to create a memory in an individual's mind, which is usually the case for most advertising representations and partially goes towards understanding how audience opinions were formed in early capitalism.

Van Dijk refers to these propositions as a form of legitimising discourse. Van Dijk exemplifies how ideologies are embedded as 'semantic macro-structures' – or thematic structures – in news debates about immigration (ibid: 100; Craig, 2004). These debates are structured to create biased accounts of a situation, which Van Dijk believes is through legitimising discourse. This discourse is created through *high-level* propositions by politicians to contextualise, for instance, why immigration is a problem. This problem is also reinforced through *low-level* details, such as why immigration is "detrimental" to society (ibid). It is through these lower level details that the biased and ideological nuances are executed, in order to reinforce why immigration is a problem to the public. These types of higher and lower level propositions do not work in the exact same way as advertising, as advertising aims to present short bursts of information, as opposed to an hour-long television

debate, for instance. As Sanda Marcoci (2014: 747) explains, advertising relies on elocution – “the style of speaking and writing proper to discourse [...] to impress the mind and soul” – with the purpose of swiftly conveying a particular thought. However, an advertisement may present a core, ‘high’ meaning to an audience, whilst unconsciously presenting a ‘lower’, ideological myths.

Barthes’ (1987) work can be revisited here, as *Mythologies* was critical of ideological discourse. One of Barthes’ main criticisms of the ‘mythical system’ is that the initial signifier acts as the ‘true’ meaning of a message. However, this signifier is actually a myth that has the ideological function of naturalisation, e.g. a ruling class ideology that creates ‘common sense’ and “turns culture into nature” (Barthes, 1977: 206). Thus, Barthes aimed to expose ideological myths, where the original discursive message was hidden. There is a relationship between Barthes and Van Dijk’s work, as they both aimed to uncover myths and legitimacy in ideological discourse. However, there are weaknesses in how there are assumptions made about the production processes and intentions of why a racist message, for instance, was developed and by whom. Therefore, there is a clear disconnection in Barthes and Van Dijk’s work between the intent and the cultural intermediaries that created the discourse (Bourdieu, 1984: 366).

Although Van Dijk (2000) wrote a short section on ‘intermediary’ ideological attitudes in *Ideology and Discourse*, there are limitations to his analysis of the practitioners themselves. While the section is short, Van Dijk’s take on ideological attitudes is useful for my analysis in Chapter 5. This section has acknowledged how ideologies appear in advertisements and how they are used through discourse in society. Van Dijk (ibid: 19) argues that ideological attitudes are the “‘intermediary’ representations between ideologies and discourse”. These intermediary attitudes are important in the case of advertising practitioners, as they act as “ideological propositions” before the advertisements are produced. Such debates rely on the premise that ideologies are formed through discourse, as it is through the discourse – and analysing the form, content and structure of text – that ideologies manifest (Billig, 2006; Jhally, 1987). However, at no point in Van Dijk’s research does he interview or undertake any in-depth qualitative research with the news producers themselves to grasp an idea of the intentions behind these messages being created. Advertising practitioners are the cultural intermediaries (Cronin, 2004), and examining their attitudes towards CD will show how racist ideologies and cultural racisms are circulated in a capitalist society.

I revisit Van Dijk's (2000) work in Chapter 3, where I outline debates of racist ideologies and the 'positive' ideology of anti-racism. These debates will show how the implementation of CD communication strategies may potentially be a form of 'positive' ideology themselves, and show the problems surrounding such 'utopias'. Although Van Dijk's work is useful, it only focuses on political news discourse, which is a completely different industry to advertising. Therefore, this study develops some of Van Dijk's ideas and applies them directly to the processes of advertising practitioners, through the application of my theoretical framework.

This section has addressed how discourse and ideologies work in advertising. Addressing these studies was important for my discussions in Chapter 3, where I apply them to racist ideologies and media practices. In particular, I have shown how advertising practitioners are important intermediaries for circulating ideological discourse in society. This intermediary role shows the importance of advertising practitioners in the capitalist system and the problems that emerge when assuming that the creative economy has solved the issues of CD communication.

Conclusion

This chapter examined how advertising operates on both structural and micro levels. To analyse structural accounts, I firstly examined the relationship between advertising and capitalism. I outlined Marx's (1971) foundational contribution to capitalism through the analysis of labour value. I then applied more contemporary accounts that focus on other ideological processes that made capitalism work (Althusser, 1971; Gramsci, 1984; Piketty, 2015). These accounts are important for my application to the structural implications of advertising ideologies. However, I argued that these debates are not enough for investigating advertising's processes; instead, we need to understand the intentions of why individuals develop a particular discourse, and the structures in place that limit their practices.

This chapter has developed two main arguments that will be applied in Chapter 3. Firstly, advertising had a role in differentiating brands and audiences during a period when products appeared to be similar. This will be contextualised with representations in racist advertisements, to show the power that advertising practitioners had in reinforcing racist ideologies. Secondly, advertising was an active industry in penetrating capitalism, where conspicuous consumption became the norm, but also reinforcing unconscious ideologies that are formed through discourse. This normalisation has mostly been applied to the ruling and

working classes, and Chapter 3 examines Stuart Hall's (1973; 1980) consideration of where BME groups fit.

As this thesis takes a Bourdieusian approach to analysing advertising practitioners, the following chapter focuses on some of his main theories that are applied in this thesis and, in particular, those that help to analyse how racism manifests across the field of advertising.

Chapter 2

Deconstructing the field: a Bourdieusian approach to understanding the advertising industry

Introduction

One of the main research aims of this thesis is to evaluate the strategies and working practices used by advertising practitioners, and this chapter examines some existing studies that have attempted to do so. Advertising practitioners have a vital role in reproducing cultural messages, which may seem a straightforward, everyday activity. While problems of representation in advertising and related fields have been researched in depth (Moeran and Christensen, 2013; Parry et al., 2013; Shimp, 2010), the everyday praxis of how these messages are produced and conceived has received less attention. To some extent, recent studies have addressed problems with developing cultural messages in advertisements and the impact that these have with audience communication (Negus, 2002; Nixon, 2003), but neglect to focus on how the problems stem from the stakeholders involved in the entire field of advertising. This chapter aims to address this gap in research and examines the complexity of the agency of individual advertising practitioners, in different types of organisations, and the ideological challenges they face across the field.

To address these concerns, this chapter introduces a Bourdieusian perspective. French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's (1977; 1993; 1996) work is relevant to this thesis, as his main theories of field, habitus, cultural production and capital are crucial for constructing a picture of competitive practice, power and racial inequality in this particular industry. This chapter aims to examine these main concepts and begin to apply them to ideas of cultural racism, which makes up my theoretical framework in Chapter 3.

This chapter is divided into three sections in order to deal with Bourdieu's theories. Firstly, I outline Bourdieu's field theory as the overarching mechanism for his work and examine some contemporary media research applications (Couldry, 2003; Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Drawing on existing media studies that have used field theory to understand the complexity of the field, I indicate areas that have been missed for advertising. Secondly, I focus on the subfields of competitive practice and how small and large-scale organisations operate in what Bourdieu (1996) refers to as the 'field of cultural production'. This section focuses on the micro understanding of how individual practitioners operate in these capacities and is outlined

through the concepts of habitus and different types of capital: cultural, symbolic and social. Importantly, there is a focus on how CD and GM agencies operate differently in the field, and how individuals' diverse types of capital impact competitive practice. In considering these practices, the final section outlines my own application of field theory and how it will be applied in the data chapters. I examine the extent to which racism plays a role in the level of autonomy to the rest of the field, but also how it operates within small-scale CD production itself.

Overall, this chapter stresses the importance of Bourdieu's concepts of field, capital, habitus and cultural production in order to understand competitive practice and the manifestation of racism between subfields, arguing that the recent expansion of CD practice has further complicated the field. Prior to unravelling this argument, I open by outlining Bourdieu's foundation of understanding field theory.

Understanding the field

In the introduction of this thesis, I outlined the importance of Bourdieu's work in contemporary culture industry studies, but it is worth reiterating the influence of his conceptual approach. Bourdieu's structuralist background was partly influenced by Marxist accounts of objective practice, such as the value production of commodities that were outlined in Chapter 1 (Marx, 1976). Many believe that Bourdieu's focus on labour was directly influenced from Marx, as the economic value of labourers partially impacts the value of commodities and their selling price. For instance, Bridget Fowler (2006: 113) explains how Bourdieu's work is "an inventive elaboration of Marxist materialism" due to its similarity in valuing commodities and labour. Bourdieu (1986: 241, my emphasis) states that "capital is *accumulated labour* (in its materialised form or its 'incorporated' embodied form)", where Marx (1976: 188, my emphasis) argues that "all commodities, as values, are *objectified human labour*". These two views are useful for understanding creative labour. However, as Chapter 1 outlined, Marx's material focus does not fully explain how competitive practice works in the contemporary culture industry, where this chapter shows where Bourdieu's research goes a step further to deconstructing a field's complexity.

Bourdieu's position drastically changed following his field research in Algeria in the 1950s and 60s. Throughout this period, he evidenced high levels of ambiguity and uncertainty with the practices he observed, leading him to consider the role of subjectivities in everyday practices. Rather than competing between the objectivist and structuralist approach, his work

began to merge “both a philosophical perspective and practical methodology” (Grenfell and James, 1998: 1-2), where he applied his empirical findings from the creative fields of literature and art. From this, Bourdieu developed a foundational social theory based upon how individuals act in different social situations. This can be applied to industries such as advertising in order to determine the battle between what may seem logically in an individual’s mind, but may somewhat be limited due to practical restraints.

Contextualising how Bourdieu reached this point of merging logic and practice is essential in order to understand the motivations of subjective behaviour and the institutional structures in and between different organisations. It is necessary to firstly turn to his conceptualisation of field theory and the limitations it has on contemporary structures.

Bourdieu and the complexity of the ‘field’

Advertising is one of the most complex contemporary industries due to its increasing development of new types of organisations, technology and global influence (Cronin, 2004; Featherstone, 1991; Nixon, 2003). This complexity is due to the interrelations between stakeholders such as clients, regulators, competitors and internal structures of how the industry determines best practice strategies. Before outlining the problems of racism and the restriction of CD communication, the more general relationships within and between this global industry need to be analysed in detail, and can be done so through field theory.

Bourdieu developed field theory as he was interested in how different institutions in the same industry are interconnected and the extent to which they are autonomous to each other.

Thompson and Bourdieu (1991: 14) define a field as “a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or ‘capital’”. I will come back to these specific resources shortly, as they directly relate to Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus, cultural production and capital. However, it is worth stressing that the advertising industry consists of various scales of interrelated organisations, to which practitioners have different levels of autonomy. *The Rules of Art* (1996) and *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993) presented comprehensive insights into how different social and cultural influences impact on practitioners’ working practices, but Bourdieu recognised that there were powerful institutional structures in place that impacted how practitioners operate.

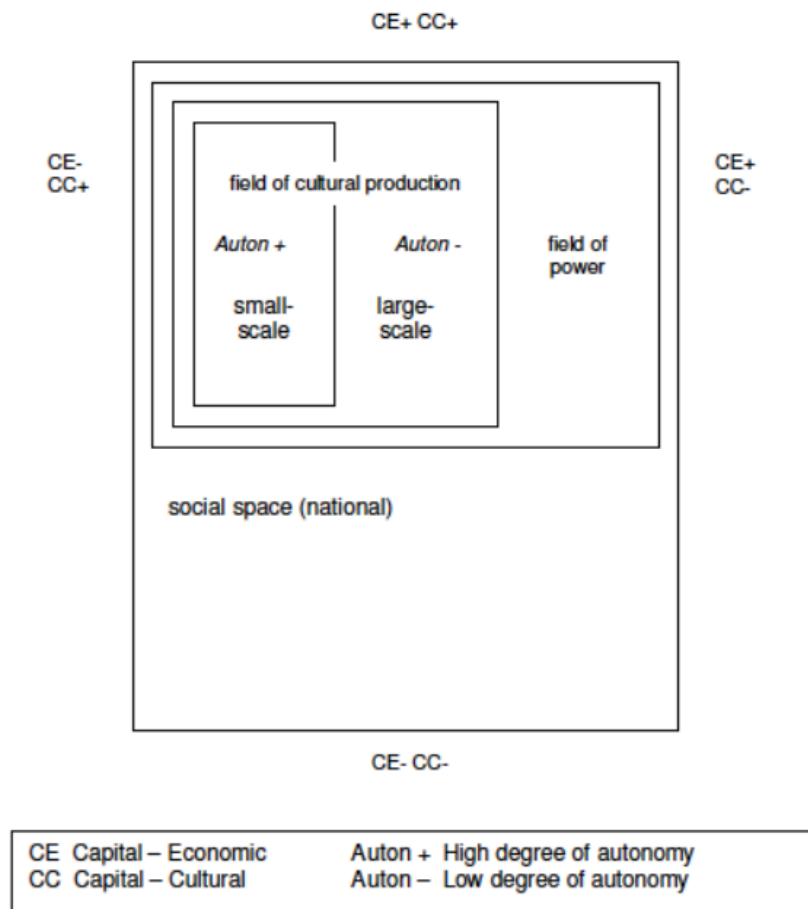


Figure 4: Field theory diagram (Bourdieu, 1996)

Field theory focuses on how individuals aggressively operate and struggle within their given industry (Figure 4)⁸. Firstly, Bourdieu differentiates between the ‘field of power’ and the ‘field of cultural production’. The former refers to economic and political fields that are likely to be associated with high levels of education, intellect, and Bourdieu’s specific focus of the artistic and literary fields. The ‘field of power’ identifies those who have high levels of economic capital, but low levels of cultural knowledge and, thus, have no direct involvement in cultural production (as indicated by CE+ and CC- in Figure 4). I later go into detail about how different forms of capital impact an individual’s position in the field, but it is worth noting that these individuals or organisations are likely to include industry regulators or high profile clients.

⁸ While I shortly apply field theory to contemporary media studies, it is worth noting how Bourdieu initially framed the concept.

The ‘field of power’ is one of Bourdieu’s main concerns, as he is interested in how “groups emerge in different fields and struggle for power and influence” (Thompson and Bourdieu, 1991: 25). Bourdieu relates these discussions to how discourse is used in political power. The discourse of politicians is important, as their use of slogans and commentaries “seek to construct and impose a particular vision of the social world”, simultaneously aiming to gain the support of those “whom their power ultimately depends” (ibid: 26). This process is the same in advertising, as advertisers construct messages, but the messages mean nothing if they are not then reflected in an increase in the brand’s sales. As I discuss later, this construction can be motivated by the facilitation of ideologies and aggressive practices that are manifested in racist discourse (Van Dijk, 1977; Edwards, 2013). However, it is important to initially note that these ‘fields of power’ – in both politics and advertising – require a “process of professionalisation” (ibid), i.e. the professional standards are shaped by the professionals themselves.

The process of professionalisation is further complicated as there are also internal ‘fields of power’ in bureaucratic structures. As I examine shortly, advertising practitioners may seemingly have autonomous creativity, but they are also restricted by institutionalised practices. This process of institutionalisation begins to show how power operates in advertising, as ideologies are developed as institutional practices. This institutionalising makes it more difficult for CD communication to be relevant, as the ‘professionalisation’ of advertising has already been standardised. Bourdieu indicates that changing these standards is difficult, as the ruling class are given “access to positions of leadership” and “their main function is to reproduce a structure [...] namely the management of their internal divisions” (Wacquant, 1993: 19). Therefore, this begins to show how discourse is important for shaping how power is facilitated in different fields.

The ‘field of cultural production’ is what is of interest in this research, as this is where the competitive practice between small and large cultural producers takes place. In his theory of cultural production, Bourdieu (1996: 167) is interested in the “charismatic ideology of ‘creation’”. This charisma is not only reduced to practitioners creating reflections of social reality or the means to which an individual produces a cultural message. Rather, as noted by Hesmondhalgh (2006), this is where Bourdieu’s theories of habitus and capital are important and, as I examine later, are crucial for analysing the manifestation of racism in everyday practice.

Within the ‘field of cultural production’, small-scale producers are likely to have low levels of economic capital, but high levels of cultural knowledge. Bourdieu makes reference to artists who do ‘arts for art’s sake’, as opposed to art that is visible in places such as museums and places of interest to the dominant class. On the other hand, large-scale producers have high levels of economic capital, but low levels of cultural knowledge, and are likely to be mass communicators.

Bourdieu (1993) presents a more detailed account of position-taking through the ‘field of cultural production’. He argues that both cultural products and producers are in “a space of positions and position-takings” (ibid: 30). He contextualises these positions through literature and the arts, where the ‘social agents’ themselves are not only defined by their position in the field, but are “by possession of a determinate quantity of specific capital” (ibid). Bourdieu recognises the importance of Marx’s use of economic capital in terms of profits, money and wage labour (ibid: 47). As discussed earlier through Marx’s work, economic capital can be “directly convertible into money and may be institutionalised in the form of property rights” (ibid). Yet, there is a relationship between the ‘field of power’ and the ‘field of cultural production’, as both fields are interrelated and dependent on each other.

Some have analysed Bourdieu’s ethnographic take on race relations in Algeria and the role that habitus played in enabling individuals to make assumptions on “the representation of ethnicity” (Goodman and Silverstein, 2009: 2). These follow-up studies are useful for understanding how Bourdieu witnessed power as a tool by those in positions of authority (Rabinow, 1986), particularly in the field of education (Bourdieu, 2008; Edgerton and Roberts, 2014; Wallace, 2016). While recent media studies have begun to apply Bourdieu’s approach to ‘race’ in media studies (Edwards, 2010; 2014; Saha, 2012; 2017), as the following chapter shows, what is missing is an application to advertising and the impact of competitive practice and the circulation of the dominant ideologies of difference and exclusion. Thus, this thesis shows the implications of ‘race’ for BME workers, where their creativity is undermined and subject to powerful ideologies.

Related to these conceptions of field is a body of research that investigates ‘cultural intermediaries’, e.g. the cultural workers in industries, such as advertising, who are in control of cultural production. Some argue that these ‘cultural intermediaries’ are mediators between production and consumption (Cronin, 2004; Du Gay et al., 1997; Nixon, 1997) and, more recently, ‘demography and representation’ (Allen et al., 2017; Gray, 2016). These debates are developed from Bourdieu’s (1984: 359) concept of the ‘new petite bourgeoisie’, the

“occupations involving presentation and representation and in all the institutions providing symbolic goods and services”. While Bourdieu (ibid: 325) did not particularly specify the role of ‘old’ cultural intermediaries, these ‘new’ occupations refer to the “producers of culture” in the culture industry. Sean Nixon (1997: 216) directly refers to advertising practitioners as part of the ‘new petite bourgeoisie’, holding “authority over particular areas of symbolic production”. Nixon, amongst others (Karpik, 2010; Truninger, 2011), sees advertising practitioners as cultural intermediaries, the mediators between production and consumption – which, to some extent, is true.

Hesmondhalgh (2006) is critical of the above studies of ‘cultural intermediaries’ as they merely address the relationship between production and consumption. He argues that the debates focus “very generally to those involved in the production of symbols” (ibid: 227), as opposed to others such as “consultants who mediate between the interests of cultural producers and the world of cultural policy”. Similarly, more recent authors argue that cultural workers “construct value, by framing how others [...] engage with goods, affecting and effecting others’ orientations towards those goods as legitimate” (Maguire and Matthews, 2012: 551-552). Thus, cultural workers such as advertisers are more than just mediators, but have a *real* impact on how consumers create meaning for the products they consume (Moor, 2008), which begins to indicate how racial ideologies are so easily circulated.

Chapter 5 analyses the role of advertising consultants and how they negotiate between their positions of interest as being both realistic advisors and keeping clients happy.

Hesmondhalgh (ibid: 227; McFall, 2009; Molloy and Lerner, 2010) argues that there needs to be more detailed accounts of the “division of labour involved in mediating production and consumption in culture-making organisations”. I acknowledge Hesmondhalgh’s approach of the importance of focusing on the ‘division of labour’ in media and cultural studies.

However, to understand the complexity of these divisions, it is necessary to analyse the experiences of both white and BME practitioners in order to have a rounded dialogue of a field’s competitive practices. This is not evident in his empirical work of the music industry, which I will shortly address.

Regardless of how Hesmondhalgh and Nixon have attempted to reshape the field, Bourdieu’s approaches to cultural production, field and cultural intermediaries have inevitably influenced more recent sociology and media debates. Bourdieu’s (ibid) conceptions go beyond theorising social structures and look at the ‘logic of practice’ individuals use. These conceptions are important for understanding how advertising practitioners make decisions

and, as the follow section outlines, how their habitus and capital help them to make these decisions. However, whilst Bourdieu's view of how field theory can be operationalised is useful, what is less evident in Bourdieu's account is the complexity of a) contemporary organisations, and b) how racism manifests itself between and throughout the given field. It is necessary to turn to more contemporary studies that, to some extent, acknowledge these complexities, and to identify those areas where there is a lack of focus on racism and the intergroup relations that may hinder creative practice.

Contemporary applications of field theory

Bourdieu's field theory has inevitably had a large influence on contemporary culture industry writers. For instance, Hesmondhalgh (2002; 2006) has written widely on the music industry, whilst others have focused on more micro studies of journalism (Benson and Neveu, 2005), and creative freedom in the broader media industry (Hallin and Mancini, 2004; Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011; Pierson and Bauwens, 2015). Meanwhile, in the past few years, there have been more micro studies of labour division and inequality across different fields (Oakley and O'Brien, 2015; Banks, 2007). Such studies have become increasingly popular around the turn of the century due to more pressing questions of the relationship between production and consumption, and the circuits of power which keep the culture industry anew. In considering these developments, it is worth outlining that some key contemporary studies are also important for identifying the weaknesses in Bourdieu's conceptions, before addressing my own concerns.

Nick Couldry (2000; 2003) was one of the first contemporary writers in the UK to apply field theory more broadly to current media institutions. Rather than focusing on a specific field, Couldry was interested in the media's meta-capital, i.e. its distribution of power. This type of examination of mass media is not a new phenomenon. For instance, Niklas Luhmann (2000) talks about mass media's 'reality' of recreating social representations. Others have extended debates of reality to how the media, instead, ideologically reproduce cultural messages (Hall, 1980; Morley and Chen, 1996). Couldry focuses on three elements in order to understand Bourdieu's approach to field theory, which will be useful when I consider the power of professional advertising organisations (PAOs) in my data chapters. Firstly, Couldry questions whether a significant amount of media exposure is a type of symbolic capital in a particular

field⁹. In the case of advertising, the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA) and its annual awards receives a large amount of media exposure in the field, and the more awards won by an agency reads as a form of symbolic capital, or status. In Couldry's eyes, this symbolic power could potentially influence that agency's influence in other semi-autonomous fields, as they are then recognised as key players in their field.

More recently, David Hesmondhalgh has written widely on Bourdieu's influence on cultural production studies in the UK, but criticises his approach to field theory. Hesmondhalgh problematises Bourdieu's fragmented analysis of large-scale media production in the contemporary world. Hesmondhalgh readdresses this problem in his later book *Why Music Matters* (2013), discussing the mass music industry's influence of a) the emotional link to our private lives, and b) the public experience. In the former, Hesmondhalgh exemplifies 1970s disco music to consider how music enables individuals to emotionally connect with their inner selves. This emotion supposedly enables a sense of self-expression and how individuals build relationships with different types of music, particularly independent labels (or small-scale producers). On the other hand, he explores how some forms of popular music can also cause "competitive individualism" and "status battles" within society (Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013: 50). Thus, he explores the processes of production that ultimately have an impact on consumption and the personal lives of consumers, and specifically how these producers tap into their audience's habitus¹⁰.

Hesmondhalgh (2006: 219) presents a weakness in Bourdieu's theory due to the lack of attention paid to large-scale production (Choudry and Williams, 2016). A large proportion of Bourdieu's work focuses on literature and the arts during the 1970s, contextualised with his 20th century theories. Applying foundational theories is common practice within academia, but Hesmondhalgh (ibid) argues that Bourdieu does so assuming that the conditions are the same, as his work neglects the structure of the contemporary culture industry:

This ignores profound transformations in the field of cultural production in the 20th century, in particular the growth and expansion of the cultural industries – central to which are the media industries.

⁹ In this sense, symbolic capital refers to different types of economic, cultural and social resources that can be used as powerful, dominating tools.

¹⁰ There is a body of research of 'cultural intermediaries', i.e. relationship between production and consumption, that was briefly outlined in Chapter 1, but is out of context to the argument I am developing in this chapter (see Hesmondhalgh, 2006 for an excellent debate and overview).

Both Couldry and Hesmondhalgh present interesting starting points for understanding the scope of contemporary culture industry structures. These debates help to outline the complexities of the culture industry and why applying these arguments to examples such as advertising is not straightforward. However, there are two problems with their approach. Firstly, neither of their studies apply field theory in one industry when examining the complexity between subfields. For instance, while Hesmondhalgh (2013) focuses on 1970s disco music, there is no comparison to more contemporary applications or interrelations amongst similar genres. Thus, there is no sense as to whether the practices he observed were unique to this particular industry, or were simply the way the entire industry operated in the 1970s. Secondly, there is no focus on associated social problems such as intentionality, or how inequality of practice manifests itself, which is the central aim of this thesis. Focusing on the micro element of how practitioners make decisions will enable me to create a link between habitus and intentionality, thus evaluating the way racial ideologies are still circulated.

While field theory has been applied in promotional industry studies in the past few years, many still do not fully apply it. For instance, Pierre-Yann Dolbec and Eileen Fischer (2015) investigate fashion marketing, and the extent to which bloggers and social media are redefining the promotion of fashion. The authors outline the impact of user-generated content online, and the disconnection between market actors (e.g. fashion practitioners), bloggers and consumers. Whilst they examine the problems that have led to this disconnection, such as institutional boundaries (ibid: 1457), these authors do not develop insights into the power dynamics behind these agents and how their individual resources play a role. Thus, there is a superficial application of field theory that does not interconnect habitus and capital, which are crucial for analysing a field's dynamics. This thesis applies these different concepts and distinguishes the level of competition and complexities of capital forms, specifically differentiating between CD and GM agencies, as they operate as two completely different sub-fields. Prior to outlining my approach of field theory, it is worth outlining the problems that occur with applications in advertising studies that do not investigate subfields autonomously. This analysis will begin to show why so little studies have been conducted on the important subfield of CD agencies.

Advertising as a complex 'field'

I have so far outlined how field theory has been applied in the context of the media industry. Some of the most influential writers are from the UK due to the body of work on cultural production and creative labour largely coming from Leeds University and Goldsmiths College (Banks, 2007; Edwards, 2014; Oakley and O'Brien, 2015; Saha, 2012). Much of the advertising research still tends to derive from US studies and it is useful to consider a key study that has applied field theory to advertising, although I argue that there are problems with its application.

Christopher Chavez (2012) adopts Bourdieu's field theory to examine the US Hispanic advertising industry. Chavez (2012: 307) sees the industry as a "self-governing space that is guided by its own internal logics", where Hispanic agencies are the small players in comparison to the larger, GM agencies. Chavez believes that Hispanic agencies have a more complex relationship to the 'field of power', due to their limited access to economic capital from clients. Thus, Hispanic agencies have a more complex struggle. As Bourdieu suggests, the 'field of power' is more dominant than the 'field of cultural production', as class and 'race' are elements of this segregation (ibid: 310). Chavez (ibid) highlights that:

class systems are not absent from the marketplace but rather built into it [...] the relational aspect of field theory [...] makes it particularly useful for understanding the relationship between Hispanic agencies and general market agencies, as they compete within the context of the larger social dynamics.

Chavez makes some useful points here, as he makes it clear that Hispanic and GM agencies operate in two semi-autonomous fields. Hispanic agencies operate as small-scale producers, partially due to the class system that is built into the industry. As Durrer and Miles (2009) indicate, GM agencies mediate between elite and mass communication clients, whereas Hispanic agencies are limited to a select few. Chavez refers to these Hispanic agencies as "ad ghettos" (ibid: 309) as they struggle for power and resources in the 'field of cultural production'.

Whilst Chavez acknowledges the field differences between GM and Hispanic agencies, he overlooks two important points. Firstly, he does not acknowledge the differences between

Hispanic agencies and Hispanic teams that are part of GM agencies (which I refer to as semi-CD agencies). On the surface, one may assume that these semi-CD agencies automatically hold more power than CD agencies as they are attached to GM agencies. However, GM agencies have just seen the ‘space of possibilities’ (Bourdieu, 1977) that CD agencies have attempted to fill, and created these semi-CD agencies in an attempt to gain a portion of the ‘brown pound’. This leads to the second weakness in Chavez’s study, in that his micro focus of Hispanic agencies limits his wider involvement of the semi-autonomous field of CD agencies, where an entire industry struggles for power and resources. Thus, it is unclear where Hispanic agencies compare to African American agencies, Asian agencies or wider CD agencies, and their interrelations and struggles between each. This comparison is particularly important, as it has been widely acknowledged that Hispanic culture is most favourable for advertising communications and, thus, has better relations to the rest of the field when gaining clients and recognition. Therefore, small-scale production is far more complex and this focus in the data chapters is what makes my thesis so timely.

This section has outlined the importance of applying Bourdieu’s field theory to analyse the complexity of the field of advertising. This complexity consists of the multifaceted relationship between stakeholders such as CD agencies, GM agencies, PAOs, freelancers and interrelated fields, all attempting to tap into the wide base of audiences in their own way. While recent authors have outlined the complexity of advertising, their focus is only on one type of CD agency (Chavez, 2012; Leiss et al., 2005: 307;). What I intend to show in my data chapters is that the CD agency field is itself complex, consisting of CD agencies, Hispanic, black or Asian specialties, and semi-CD agencies based in GM agencies. Each of these subfields has a complex relationship to the other, battling for a small share of the field, but each facing their own problems. As my data chapters aim to uncover, it is worth investigating whether these fields independently offer anything new or, as Bourdieu (1986) suggests, conform to reproducing stereotypes. This reproduction could inevitably be the downfall of CD agencies, if clients begin to see that they offer no unique forms of capital in comparison to GM agencies. However, what needs to be the main focus is the practitioners themselves, who operate in the ‘field of cultural production’.

Practitioners in the ‘field of cultural production’

So far, this chapter has evidenced that field theory is complex, but has not been fully applied to advertising. This section introduces two of Bourdieu’s concepts – habitus and capital –

which, I argue, are crucial for creating a full picture of competitive practice and the manifestation of racism in the industry. These discussions are useful for relaying the relationship between habitus and capital, where cultural capital is a particularly vital part of making up an individual's habitus.

Within this section, I outline a) the importance of Bourdieu's use of habitus for understanding advertising practitioners' working practices, b) how habitus has been applied in recent media research and c) the relationship with different forms of capital in which habitus depends. Outlining these approaches lays a foundation for my application of field theory, which Chapter 3 applies to recent developments in 'race' and advertising.

Conceptualising habitus

Habitus is one of the most widely used concepts for analysing the positions that individuals take in social practices. Bourdieu sees habitus as a 'constructivist structuralist' account of human behaviour. Constructivist theory¹¹ is divided into two accounts: cognitive constructivism, where individuals attach meanings to general experiences, and personal constructivism, where individuals are more engaged in attaching meanings using previous knowledge (Hjorland, 1992; Kalpana, 2014). In both accounts, constructivism aims to either reproduce a particular structure/meaning, or use knowledge to build on it¹². Constructivism also relates to the "unconscious dimension in human action" (Hermans, 2014: 100), which is influenced by structures. This unconscious element is what leads Bourdieu to describe habitus as a "structuring structure" as, although individuals construct meaning to some extent, the construction is still dependent on particular social structures. Therefore, habitus is a 'constructivist structuralist' account that is relevant to advertising practitioners, as they engage in the development of communication strategies using previous knowledge (or conducting field research to build on that knowledge). Thus, habitus relates to field theory as practitioners use the knowledge they have gained in different situations and apply it to their practice in the field, according to how they logically see fit. I will now discuss how habitus has been applied in different fields.

Bourdieu (1977: 78) presents the foundational theory on habitus, where:

¹¹ It is not my intention to detail the history of constructivism theory, but it has been mentioned here to contextualise habitus.

¹² These accounts will be revisited when I outline my adapted framework of field theory.

the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations, produce practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle, while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation.

Put simply, habitus is the embodied dispositions, where structured conditions influence how individuals “think, feel and act in determinant ways, which then guide them” (Wacquant, 2005: 316). These dispositions come in the form of experiences, so habitus “is not fixed or permanent” but is consistently changing over time (Navarro, 2006: 16). In addition, habitus suffers from ‘insertion’, as it needs to adjust and alter itself in different social situations (Bourdieu, 1984). This thesis argues that advertising practitioners are subject to these dispositions and insertions, as their use of discourse and their working practices influence how they make decisions. In *Outline of Logical Practice*, Bourdieu (1977) explores how individuals make ‘logical’ decisions within these dispositions. He suggests that individuals do not always make decisions based on logic, but of a *doxa*, e.g. an individual’s “awareness and recognition” of different beliefs that are not necessarily put into practice (ibid: 164). The focus on *doxa* stresses that habitus is neither completely as a result of an individual agency, nor completely controlled by structures. Rather, habitus is a combination of the two “without any conscious concentration” (Bourdieu, 1984: 170; 1973). Therefore, there is a relationship between how advertising practitioners create communication strategies and how exclusionary ideologies are embodied, and I apply this relationship in my data chapters.

The relationship between habitus, ideologies and practitioners in the culture industry is examined by Lee Edwards (2013: 252), using the PR industry to contextualise how practitioners facilitate their habitus:

The way practitioners apply the rules of the particular PR game in which they are engaged reflects the elements of their habitus that they bring to that situation.

Edwards acknowledges the *agency* of individuals in the workplace. Agency is a relational element to habitus, as it supports “the idea that individuals are equipped with the ability to

understand and control their own actions, regardless of the circumstances of their lives” (Webb et al., 2002: ix). This agency is based on individuals knowing the ‘rules’ of the field. Thus, practitioners calculate whether it is appropriate to reproduce ideologies or attempt more creative approaches to developing CD communication strategies. Therefore, practitioners consider how their dispositions will be affected when executing “self-fulfilling prophecies” in working practices (Swartz, 2002: 64). I will return to discuss habitus at the end of Chapter 2, and specify why a more in-depth account of field theory in advertising is needed. However, the more in-depth ways of how practitioners use their habitus needs to be more fully established through how different types of ‘capital’ are facilitated.

Three types of capital

To understand habitus in more detail, Bourdieu (1986) developed an additional theory of *capital*, which he further explores in three approaches: cultural, symbolic and social. Put simply, capital in general refers to the different, non-tangible sources individuals use in everyday life. Outlining Bourdieu’s three approaches is important for showing why his system is more relevant than Marx’s (1976), and helps to show how power is executed in working practices.

Bourdieu’s (1986: 47-48) most complex concept is *cultural capital*, which he divides into three forms: embodied, objectified and institutionalised. Each of these forms has some relevance to the position-taking of advertising practitioners.

Bourdieu (1984) refers to embodied cultural capital as the “acquisition” and “investment” of different cultural factors that shapes individuals. Bourdieu relates this acquiring of embodied cultural capital to the time spent with family and how this helps to shape personality, morals and cultural background (ibid; Sullivan, 2001). Embodied cultural capital can be how practitioners use discourse in working practice, and I apply this in my data chapters to analyse how attitudes for CD are developed. Secondly, Bourdieu refers to the objectified, where capital is tied to “material objects and media, such as writings, paintings” (ibid, 50). This material provision can also be seen in the economic capital that Marx (1971) describes through manual labourers. Bourdieu stresses that the objectified is able to transmit “legal ownership”, for instance, “the possession of the means of consuming a painting” (Bourdieu, 1986: 50). This objectification is vital in differentiating these approaches, as Bourdieu recognises that it is not only about the monetary value of economic capital as Marx assumes, but also objectifying that one has the means to consume cultural products. However,

Bourdieu's account does relate back to Marx to some extent, as he recognises that class plays a role in one's means to consume, and I will expand on this shortly through social capital (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Lastly, Bourdieu (1984) discusses institutionalised capital, which I readdress in Chapter 7 to examine how qualifications, titles and general recognition in a field adds to the scale of one's habitus.

Collectively, cultural capital is an individual's cultural knowledge. In reflecting back to field theory, cultural capital is essential for differentiating PAOs in the 'field of power', and both small and large-scale producers. As evidenced in Figure 4, small-scale producers are likely to hold large amounts of cultural capital due to their niche expertise in their field, but with limited economic resources. On the other hand, PAOs do not have large amounts of cultural capital, but hold most of the industry's economic capital. Bourdieu recognises the link between economic and cultural capital, as they are both "established through the mediation of the time needed for acquisition" (ibid: 49). Thus, PAOs are the powerful and traditional institutions that aim to control the industry's promotional activities and, thus, are selective of where the economic capital goes. This selection begins to identify the ideological nature of how knowledge is circulated in the industry, as CD specialisms receive the least amount of economic capital and, therefore, have more complex relationships to the 'field of power'.

Bourdieu develops his idea of the acquirement of knowledge over time to *symbolic capital*. Symbolic capital is an outcome of other forms of capital, as it is "the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognised as legitimate" (Bourdieu, 1986: 17). This form of capital is particularly related to 'honour' and 'status', "founded on a dialectic of knowledge and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1993: 7). Bourdieu's focus of knowledge and recognition assumes that the two work together as a powerful system. This assumption fails for not recognising how the two can also work autonomously. There is a body of research that explores the relationship between knowledge and power, and how this relationship works to legitimate status in different industries (Edwards, 2008; Weber, 1964; Saha, 2012). However, I argue that recognition in itself works as a form of legitimising status in advertising.

Bourdieu's (1984) final account is through *social capital*, where he returns to the topic of class. He defines social capital as:

the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, in Wacquant and Bourdieu, 1992: 119).

This form of capital is used as a socially distinguishing tool, to categorise one's position in society. Where Marx's focus was more to do with the social position of social class, Bourdieu considered how class had an impact on institutionalised or organisational relationships. This use of social capital will be useful in Chapter 5, where I analyse how CD discourses exclude black practitioners and relate back to conceptions of intentionality (Billig, 2006). This application will show how one's social class not only affects them in general social situations, but simultaneously works with racism to powerfully exclude them at work.

There is a strong relationship between social capital and social class, which somewhat relates to how advertisers utilise social relations in cultural messages. James Coleman (1988) was writing at a similar time to Bourdieu in the US, and was interested in how social capital was not only about the power of the ruling class, but also family. Coleman was interested in the role of social capital in everyday life and the ways in which it could be restrictive. He exemplifies the family unit, where a family member may be an "important resource" for improving one's "perceived quality of life" (ibid: 118). For instance, a family member may influence the social morals of a younger sibling. However, the older sibling may resist providing their knowledge as it is "not in his interest to bring it into being" (ibid). Coleman argues that the family unit may be a potential source of social capital, but this depends on the relationship dynamics. Therefore, individuals may be subject to external influences from both structural institutions and personal relationships. There are similarities with how Bourdieu and Coleman believe that individuals are influenced by sources that "lie outside of the domain of rational calculation" (Field, 2008: 31). Consequently, these studies would suggest that advertising practitioners have no choice but to play the 'game' of the field.

Bourdieu has been criticised for giving too much focus to the 'game' in different fields, and there "ultimately remains" a universe where "things happen to people, rather than a world in which they can intervene in their individual and collective destinies" (Gauntlett, 2007: 63-70). Although Bourdieu does not see himself as a complete structuralist, contemporary writers see how his work makes individuals seem powerless (Jenkins, 2002: 91;

Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013). This powerlessness is evident through how Bourdieu sees habitus as a 'structuring structure', as it is always dependent on the social situation. As a result, some see Bourdieu as a complete structuralist (ibid; Gauntlett, 2007). However, what Bourdieu was attempting to show was how individuals act in different social structures. Therefore, regardless of Bourdieu's personal positioning, his constructions of habitus and capital are useful for analysing advertising practitioners, and how they are influenced by ideology and the wider pressures of meeting 'good practice' standards.

There are few studies in advertising that have acknowledged Bourdieu's framework of capital. For instance, Brian Moeran and Bo Christensen (2013: 203) discuss how advertising practitioners use consumer research for campaign ideas "so they, in turn, can transform cultural capital (the meaning of brands to consumers) into symbolic capital (advertising ideas for consumers), and then back into economic capital (consumers' purchase and use of brands)". Moeran and Christensen recognise the process of how capital works together as a system in advertising. However, there is little focus on the detail of processes, such as the relationship between habitus and cultural capital during the development of communication strategies. Habitus tends "to reproduce the objective structure that produced them" (Bourdieu, 1990: 61), and my data chapters will show how the 'ideas' for consumers from market research cannot always be implemented, as they are subject to "structured practices" (ibid: 54). Therefore, I argue that habitus, capital and ideologies need to be recognised together, for analysing advertising practitioners' processes.

This section was important for outlining debates of cultural production, habitus and capital, and applying them to advertising. Bourdieu's (1977; 1984; 1993) work is particularly useful despite its flaws, as he recognises why it is important to investigate cultural workers, in addition to social structures. Bourdieu's work, as well as others, suggests that small-scale or CD practitioners have no choice but to play their field's 'game'. However, the rapid increase of CD agencies in both the UK and US is showing that the field is beginning to change and that these organisations are beginning to challenge the industry's norms. This micro focus will allow me to investigate advertising practitioners in Chapters 5 and 6, before evaluating the wider industry structure in Chapter 7, where issues of racism and exclusion manifest. However, as I have addressed these micro concerns of practitioners themselves, it is important to lay out my own application of field theory to the advertising industry.

Redefining the application of field theory in advertising

Throughout this chapter, I have outlined how others have applied field theory. For example, Hesmondhalgh (2006) discusses field theory in the context of the complexities of 1970s disco music and the relationship to different types of producers. In the context of advertising, Chavez (2012) outlines how Hispanic advertising agencies have more limited resources than GM agencies. While these studies are useful, they only partially make use of Bourdieu's framework of field theory, with limited application of habitus and capital. This section outlines my own application, which acknowledges these three conceptions and how they will be applied in my data chapters.

In Bourdieu's field theory diagram, he generally indicates the field of cultural production, the field of power and a wider social space. This general reference that was outlined earlier in this chapter is necessary, as Bourdieu wanted to create a theory that could be applied to different fields. The adapted theory that I propose focuses on two of these components in Bourdieu's original model – the 'field of cultural production' and the 'field of power'. However, this framework has the role of specifically referring to the production activities that take place, and the levels of power and autonomy within each, and the impact that these positions potentially have on the manifestation of racism in my data chapters. Before outlining my framework in detail, it is necessary to briefly define my vision of these two fields in the advertising industry.

Firstly, to understand the production activities within advertising agencies themselves, it is necessary to acknowledge the 'field of cultural production'. This focus will address my research question of what the strategies and practices of CD communication are in the industry, and the discriminatory discourses across the field. Within my framework, these activities are divided into the two categories originally suggested by Bourdieu:

- a) a subfield with high levels of autonomy to the rest of the field. This subfield includes **small-scale producers** such as CD agencies that have low levels of economic capital, but high levels of cultural capital.
- b) a subfield with low levels of autonomy to the rest of the field and likely to have more power than small-scale producers. This subfield includes **large-scale producers** such as GM agencies that have a balance of economic and cultural capital.

This examination not only focuses on the distribution of different types of capital, but – and more importantly – how habitus is facilitated through the use of CD discourse and evidence the intentionality of racist statements.

Secondly, the area of the industry where there are high levels of economic capital and power is the ‘field of power’. This subfield is likely to include PAOs, such as networking organisations, regulators and awarding organisations. It is worth noting that, while organisations such as those distributing awards may not have high levels of economic capital, the power they have in making an award-winning agency prestigious in the field is relevant. Being granted a prestigious award equates to a form of power that is likely to lead to more clients and recognition in the field – and, thus, more economic capital. This begins to indicate some of the problems when CD agencies are given limited access to such awards due to their niche areas, and where CD communication is largely excluded from the field.

Figure 5 indicates my account of how three elements should be applied in the context of advertising. However, it is necessary to analyse how I apply each of the above categories in the context of this thesis.

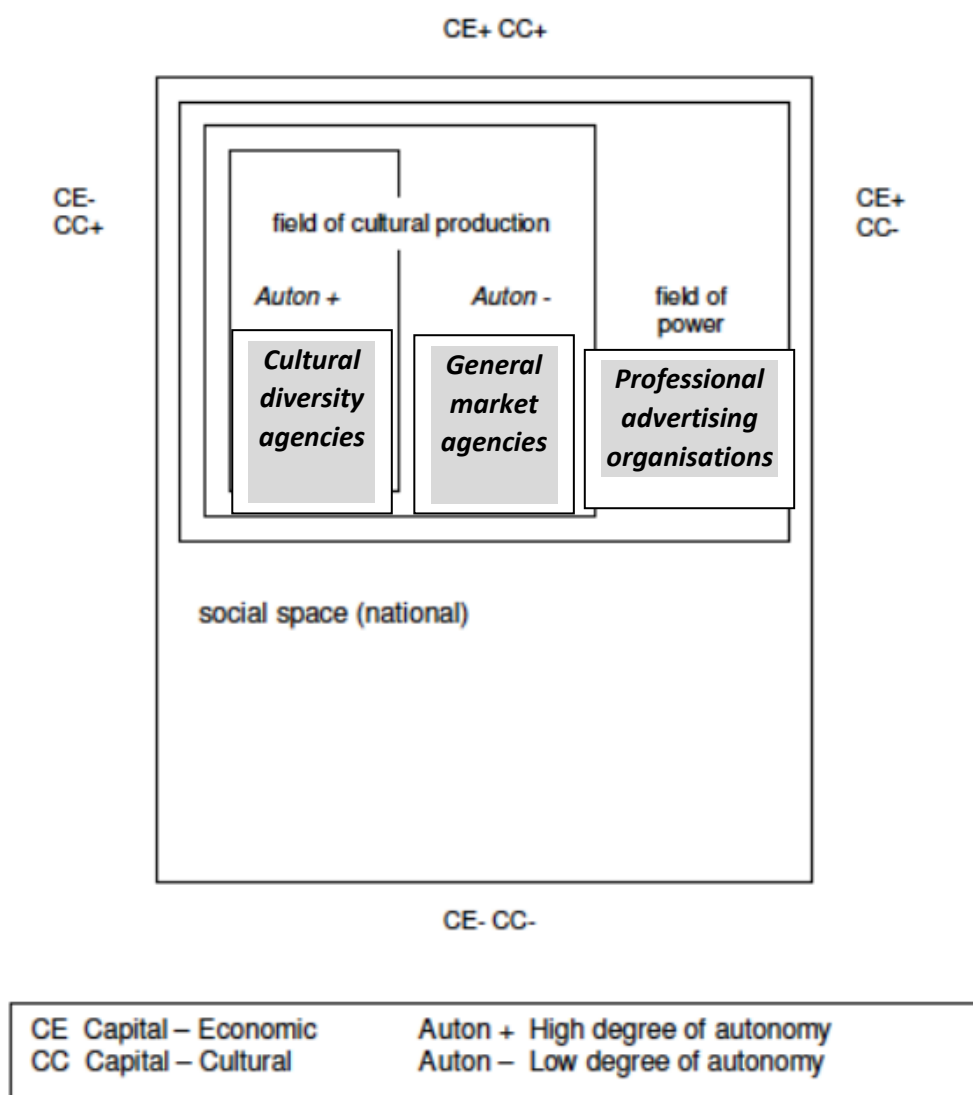


Figure 5: Bourdieu’s field theory, adapted for the field of advertising

Small scale production

Starting with small-scale producers, Figure 5 indicates that CD agencies are placed in this category. This study refers to CD agencies as those who only develop communication strategies for, and only aim to target, CD audiences. Jenkins (1986: 281) describes these types of organisations as “grass roots appropriators” of media, as they are mainly launched following hostile experiences in GM agencies. As outlined earlier, this could be full-service CD agencies targeting any cultural group, an agency targeting a specific cultural group (e.g. Hispanic, Asian, etc), or a semi-CD agency based within a GM agency. Earlier, I outlined the

problems with Chavez's (2012) study of US Hispanic agencies, as he assumed they had the same amount of autonomy to the field as other types of CD agencies. I argued that there needs to be a more complex discussion of how different types of CD agencies are treated by clients and their peers within an organisation, in order to understand how racism manifests.

Chapter 1 highlighted the appropriation of Latina women in advertisements due to them being sexualised and appropriated as exotic. While this appropriation has been acknowledged in existing studies (Byrne, 2012; Humes, Jones and Ramirez, 2011), it has not been noted that this appeal of Latina women is likely to be of benefit to Hispanic agencies. For instance, if a client is looking for a CD agency to target BME groups in the US, they may be more likely to target Hispanic agencies, as Latina women are likely to appeal to a wider audience base. On the contrary, approaching an Asian agency is more likely to exclude other audiences who may be likely to rebel against the client for targeting a less relatable audience group.

In general, CD agencies have a high level of autonomy to the rest of the field, as their operations and economic capital are more limited than GM agencies. There are several reasons for this limitation. Firstly, CD agencies are likely to include specialist knowledge about a culture(s). As noted in Figure 5, the higher the degree of cultural capital an organisation attains, the less likely they are to receive high amounts of economic capital. This economic capital comes in the form of business from clients who pay agents a fee to produce their advertisements. However, this leads to the second limitation, as CD agencies are assumed to only specialise in their target demographic and, thus, are unable to communicate with white majority audiences. Therefore, this assumption of limited knowledge leads them to gain less clients and struggle for recognition in the field.

While CD agencies have different working remits, there are still complexities with their internal relationships. As mentioned throughout this chapter, studies of CD agencies are increasing in both UK and US studies. However, the acknowledgement of complexities with internal relationships is less recognised. For instance, within an Asian agency, there are likely to be practitioners from different parts of Asia and, thus, varying scales of cultural knowledge. Each cultural group is likely to have its own assumptions of other Asian cultures, and is more likely to appropriate its own. As the following chapter details, cultural racism is also likely to manifest itself within CD agencies themselves, and is not only limited to GM agencies. Therefore, the likelihood of racism manifesting within CD agencies and its impact on cultural production has yet to be established in empirical cultural studies.

There is an assumption with Bourdieu's account of field theory that all small-scale producers have high levels of cultural capital, and low levels of economic capital (Chaves, 2012; Edwards, 2010). Whilst these dynamics are generally accurate, the data chapters challenge the extent to which cultural capital is always dominant. Within CD agencies, habitus is usually the determining factor of how an individual gains cultural knowledge over time. However, there is also an assumption that this cultural knowledge is prevalent across a particular culture, or only within one's own social circle. For instance, a South Asian practitioner may have cultural knowledge that is specific to a region they grew up in in their home country. Their cultural knowledge may not be common amongst all South Asian cultures. Thus, their knowledge may not be appropriate to produce recognisable frames of reference for the entire South Asian population. In contrast, a British-born South Asian practitioner may have no knowledge of their cultural background, but may be hired by a South Asian agency based on their cultural background. In this scenario, the practitioner will actually have low levels of cultural capital for this type of agency. Thus, CD agencies are likely to have a more complex relationship with the 'field of power'. My data chapters evaluate this complexity, which consists of the unequal distribution of power, resources and acceptance as professional practitioners.

Large-scale production

GM agencies are by far the most common type of agency across the UK and US. As indicated in the introduction of this thesis, London, UK and New York, US have been selected as the focus for examination, as they are both home to most of the world's flagship agencies. GM agencies vary in their structures and services, with some being in-house with a client, or only providing creative services, while some are providing media platform access, and some being full-service (e.g. producing, executing and promoting an advertisement from start to finish). This thesis uses a variety of GM agencies from full-service, to digital, as the type of agency is not the main focus. Rather, the focus is on the nature of the agencies targeting white majority audiences, as this begins to show how inequality, exclusion and racism manifests. An agency's remit to only focus on mass audiences brings into question the motivations behind this remit. Whilst I challenged some of Chavez's (2012) arguments of Hispanic agencies, one of his most valid points was that a class system is built into the industry that favours white majority audiences, while selectively excluding those less appealing.

In the case where a GM agency does include some form of CD message at the request of a client, the most common strategy is to hire a freelancer with this specialism. This ‘add-on’ serves the purpose of gaining some new cultural knowledge, whilst not over-accommodating CD. UK studies in the past few years have acknowledged how cultural labour is used across the industry and the problems with freelancing (Banks, 2007; Oakley and O’Brien, 2015). Thus, whilst GM agencies tend to tap into the CD industry where necessary, my data chapters will argue that they operate as a restrictive space that excludes diversity. In addition, I will argue that racism is more likely to manifest, as the agencies are less willing to accept CD being integrated as part of industry norms. Whilst this prospect is also evident across the cultural industry (Edwards, 2013; Saha, 2012), advertising is particularly important as it bridges the gap between production and consumption and, thus, impacts the cultural experiences of consumers.

GM agencies tend to have a closer relationship to the ‘field of power’, as clients give most work to them as mass communicators. This is why Bourdieu refers to large-scale producers as having high levels of economic capital, but low levels of cultural capital, as the latter is less necessary when selling products to generic audiences (Nixon, 2003). However, I argue that this limitation of cultural capital is also problematic. For example, recent years have seen more agencies attempting to become more controversial and returning to some of Benneton’s communication strategies seen during the second half of the 20th century (Burton, 2000). However, the misrepresentation and poor development of cultural messages evidences why the lack of cultural knowledge in GM agencies can often be problematic. Chapter 6 of this thesis explores this point.

Professional advertising organisations

It is important to examine PAOs within this study, as they make up the ‘field of power’ that is likely to influence working practices within agencies. PAOs include industry regulators, awards, clients and networking organisations. Bourdieu may have been likely to place PAOs higher in the ‘field of power’ in Figure 5, to indicate that they have high levels of both cultural and economic capital. However, this section indicates why I have placed them in close correlation with large-scale producers with low levels of cultural capital.

The opening of Chapter 7 offers a more detailed insight into the normative structure of this ‘field of power’; however, it is worth briefly noting their roles. Industry regulators are controlled by BCAP/CAP in the UK and the Advertising Federation in the US. While both

countries are self-regulating, these organisations are run by individuals across the industry interested in keeping the industry fair, legal, decent and honest. Thus, the organisations are likely to withdraw an advertisement if it is falsely selling a product, but they cannot control the actual content or processes by which an advertisement is made. Awards are likely to boost the reputation of an agency and draw in more clients, particularly if it is globally recognised. Thus, clients are also involved in this field as they mediate between these different organisations to determine which agencies to go to and, thus, where to distribute their capital. Within this thesis, I am particularly concerned with networking organisations, as they have a complex relationship to the ‘field of cultural production’. These organisations are independently run and create forums for sharing ‘good practice’. Thus, they are not only distributing information as other types of PAOs do, but directly engage with practitioners in different ways. There are two main issues. Firstly, these organisations are run by senior practitioners from across the industry. This structure provides ample opportunities for practitioners to network, learn about the latest industry trends, and meet new peers. However, being run by senior practitioners potentially means that there could be a hidden agenda. For instance, a networking day being run by the owner of a global advertising agency chain could also be an opportunity for that individual to promote the use of new technologies of target mass audiences. This technology could simultaneously exclude audiences who have less access to it, such as BME groups.

This exclusion relates to my second concern, where these networks are intended to share ‘good practice’. While sharing practice is encouraged across the industry, what is of concern is who is sharing these practices. Chapter 7 focuses on two networking events in the UK and US, and outlines that the events are mostly run by white senior practitioners in GM agencies. While it is the content of these events that are important, it is also possible that the circulation of dominant ideologies is more likely. Thus, the promotion of CD is summarised, but it is the type of promotion being discussed that is problematic, based on unempirical founded assumptions (Van Dijk, 2000). These occasions highlight the blasé attitude to CD across the industry and stress why these organisations include high levels of influence, but low levels of cultural capital. Thus, the data chapters develop the relationship between discourse and intentionality, and whether these dialogues are intended inflict racist messages (Billig, 2006) and deter from the focus of CD.

Together, these three agency types are situated differently to the field of power, and their varying relationships will be outlined in detail in the data chapters. One of the main themes

that will be explored is the relationship between an individual's habitus and intentionality. For instance, if a practitioner has poor cultural knowledge of a particular topic, it will be examined as to whether they have intentionally created a racist message. As Chapter 3 outlines, intentionality is a complex prospect that the data chapters will explore, as it is closely related to critical discourse analysis. Michael Billig's (2006) work is particularly relevant, as he is interested in the form and content of speech and how attitudes are developed. What has not been acknowledged in literature is the relationship between habitus and intentionality, which I argue through the data are inseparable. If one is to analyse how an individual has developed an attitude or taken "a stance in a matter of controversy" (ibid: 2), this stance is likely to have been developed through their habitus. Thus, the data chapters will build a relationship between discourse, practice and the influence of PAOs to show how racism manifests itself across the industry in subtle ways.

Conclusion

The role of this chapter was to evidence the complexity of the advertising industry from a Bourdieusian perspective. Following an introduction to Bourdieu's framework of field theory, I outlined how it has been applied in the contemporary culture industry. While these studies were proven to be useful, I analysed their limitations for either a) focusing too generally on the cultural industry (Couldry, 2003), or b) not examining the structure of an industry's entire operations to determine how inequalities and inconsistencies exist (Hesmondhalgh, 2006).

In addition, I introduced the concepts of habitus and capital, arguing that studies of field theory cannot be established without considering them. Hence, I argued that the lack of coherence in existing studies is limiting for not considering how the three concepts work as a system to standardise, or 'professionalise' (Cronin, 2004; Wacquant, 1993), the industry. To some extent, some advertising studies in the past few years have acknowledged how these concepts can work together and in the context of CD. However, there is a lack of detailed application of the differences between small and large-scale producers, and the relationship to the 'field of power' that consistently reproduces ideologies and enables racism to manifest itself.

In considering my concerns with existing studies, the final section of this chapter outlined how I have adapted field theory for my research. Figure 5 was particularly important for highlighting the differences between small and large-scale producers, especially the struggle

and distance between CD agencies and PAOs. This began to show why racism is likely to manifest, as the 'field of power' tends to only partially accommodate CD when it sees fit, but mostly dismisses it as being irrelevant for recognisable frames of reference.

While I have acknowledged CD agencies' complex relationship to the 'field of power', there are still key questions that need to be explored, namely: How has 'race' been dealt with across the industry in both the UK and US? How has racism become institutionalised? How do racist stereotypes tend to reproduce themselves, even in organisations that claim to promote diversity? These questions are important for understanding how CD communication strategies are developed, and the following chapter offers detailed analyses of these questions.

Chapter 3

Dealing with ‘race’ in advertising

Introduction

This chapter analyses the importance of ‘race’ and racism in the advertising industry. Firstly, I outline how ‘race’ has been socially constructed in advertising. I examine how theories of ‘race’ and racist ideologies are embedded in media representations (Hall, 1980; Van Dijk, 2000), arguing that there need to be more studies focusing on why advertising practitioners reproduce these ideologies. Secondly, I outline accounts that claim that the advertising industry has supposedly moved past racist representations, and instead has developed ‘new’ cultural racisms and stereotypes. I analyse more contemporary notions of the ‘black culture industry’ that aim to rebel against white media owners (Cashmore, 1997), but I argue that cultural racisms are still evident in BME-owned institutions. I show why my adaption of field theory is important, as the majority of existing studies are based on assumptions of media representations, as opposed to examining why media practitioners develop racist communication strategies.

Following my focus on ‘race’ in advertising, I examine more contemporary notions of cultural diversity and multiculturalism in organisations. Organisations are increasingly replacing racial discrimination policies with ‘positive’ diversity initiatives (Ahmed, 2012; Puwar, 2004), and I examine why this is problematic for advertising and cultural production. To some extent, I focus on conceptions of institutional racism and the macro problems in the industry. I also outline how ‘white habitus’ has been explored in contemporary literature and the problems of always blaming white people for poor CD communication strategies.

To contextualise my discussions, I firstly outline studies that have addressed racist advertisements to explain why studying advertising practitioners – instead of just advertising representations – is important.

‘Race’ and racism in advertising

BME groups have historically been represented in advertising. As McClintock (1995; 2005), amongst others (Barela, 2003; Burton, 2000), has argued, BME groups were largely represented as slaves, inferior or diminished in comparison to their white counterparts during the first half of the 20th century. Some have focused on how BME groups are now

represented in the 21st century (Miller, 2005; Burton and Klemm, 2011). However, this thesis argues that researching representation is not enough. This thesis focuses on the processes of advertising practitioners themselves, in order to show how discourse, working practices and the wider industry impact habitus. A focus on these processes shows that there is a relationship between racism and capitalism, as advertising has historically reproduced racist messages. Although it is not the main focus of this thesis, I open by outlining three key studies that have addressed historical racist advertisements in order to contextualise my argument.

The social production of 'race' in advertisements

Anne McClintock (1995; 2005) has written most extensively on representations of 'race' in advertisements. In *Soft-Soaping Empire*, McClintock (1995) examines how soap became one of the first commodity types in the 19th century. Soap became a form of "Victorian fetishism" that embodied middle-class values at the time: cleanliness, Christianity and civilisation (ibid: 506). Pears Soap was the first brand to implement these "social values" within their advertisements (ibid: 507). Through what she calls 'commodity racism' – a form of promotion used to sell racist ideologies – McClintock analyses how these values are represented. McClintock's argument is important as she notes that "soap has no social history" (ibid: 508). Rather, advertising had the role of constructing the "imperial body politics", i.e. how 'race' was embodied as either white or black.

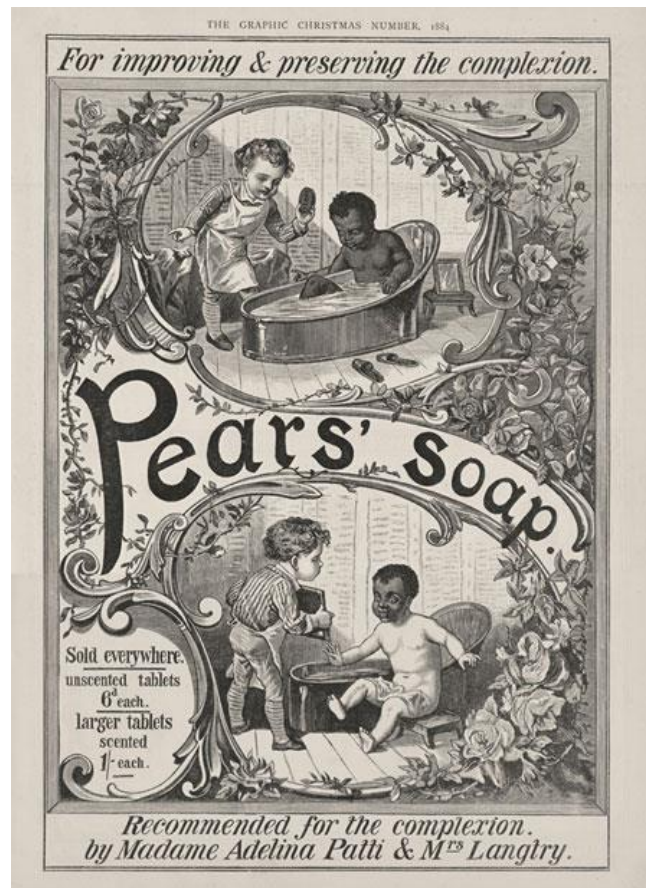


Figure 6: First Pears Soap advertisement (1880s)

Most studies adopt one of two approaches for analysing racial representations in advertisements – whiteness¹³ and colonialism – and McClintock chooses to focus on the construction of whiteness. She analyses one of Pears Soap’s first advertisements in the 1880s, where a white child and a black child are in a Victorian bathroom (Figure 6). These fetishes relate to white clothing such as aprons, “the familiar fetish of domestic purity” (ibid: 512). Barthes’ (1987) work on mythologies¹⁴ is useful here, as the semiotics of the lower image in Figure 6 have two connotations that reinforce whiteness. Firstly, the white child stands over the black child, showing that he remains superior regardless of the colour of his skin. This superiority is important for showing “imperial progress” as the white child remains a dominant European “heir” (ibid). Secondly, and more importantly, the black child now has a white body, but still has a black face. The mirror represents the black child witnessing “his

¹³ I return to the topic of whiteness later in this chapter, where I discuss the relationship between whiteness and habitus.

¹⁴ See discussion in Chapter 1.

predetermined destiny” and embodied ‘myth’ of being a “passive racial hybrid” (ibid). Therefore, this advertisement represents the ‘predetermined’ direction of racist advertising and shows how commodity racism was “an enduring advertising of white supremacy” (Hund, 2013: 31; Pieterse, 1992).

Wulf Hund (2013) takes a similar approach, but instead examines the relationship between advertising and colonialism through his example of Captain Morgan Rum (Figure 7). Hund outlines the story of Henry Morgan, a Lieutenant Governor who heavily invested into a Jamaican plantation in the 17th century. The sugar produced in the plantation was distilled as rum and used as a “power source of colonialism” and “evolved into a considerable means of barter in the transatlantic slave trade” (ibid: 22). Again, the semiotics of the advertisement are significant, as they reinforce British colonial messages. The posture of the number 10 player is “modelled on the Caribbean slaveholder” and is reinforced by his ‘flinching’, ‘timid’ black teammate (ibid: 23). These positions reinforce what Hund calls ‘racist symbolic capital’, as the advertisement was used as a tool by the ‘white race’ to promote colonialism. Therefore, these advertisements begin to show the relationship between racism and capitalism, as the embedded messages were created to sell the ideology of racism.



Figure 7: Capital Morgan advertisement (1980)

More contemporary studies focus on controversial representations of ‘race’ in advertisements – as opposed to being blatantly racist – particularly in the US. The United Colors of Benetton (Benetton) advertisements in the 1980s were seen as revolutionary for including a diverse range of skin colours, coinciding with their colourful clothing range (Back and Quaade, 1993; Barela, 2003; Giroux, 1994; Lury, 1996). Until 1984, Benetton’s adverts had focused on how the products were represented; however, their *Jumper of Many Colours* advertisement (Figure 8) took a different approach. Celia Lury (ibid) adopts Barthes’ theory to examine the racial ‘coding’ used as signifiers and the signified. This advertisement used ‘race’ as a mythical *signifier*, as the black woman is wearing a tribal print. Lury argues that the print is a “white western depiction of ‘primitive’ tribes” (ibid: 263) and becomes ‘textual law’ for coding ‘race’. The signifier in this case is seen as mythical, as the colonial history behind the print is hidden by the ‘ideological mask’ of the advertisement. Thus, the print is used as a *signified* fashion accessory (ibid), as the true meaning behind the print is hidden. In this instance, the print is used as racial coding, but appears ‘less’ racist.



Figure 8: United Colors of Benetton, ‘Jumper of Many Colors’ advertisement (1984)

The purpose of briefly outlining the above studies is to show how racist advertisements have developed, both blatantly and unconsciously. These studies argued that the advertisements

were produced to reinforce British colonial messages and slavery in the US. However, these studies fail, to some extent, for not making reference to ideology. I will outline debates that do address racist ideology in media practices. Beforehand, it is useful to examine accounts of ‘race’ and race relations. These accounts are essential for showing the relationship between ‘race’ and how advertisers perceive audiences in different social conditions.

Historical shifts in the meaning of ‘race’

I opened this chapter by analysing some key racist advertisements across the 20th century in both UK and US contexts. Whilst this research does not intend to deconstruct the semiotics of actual advertisements, analysing those racist advertisements was important for contextualising the importance of investigating the practitioners themselves. The current section addresses the shifting meaning of ‘race’ over time, and its different contexts in the UK and US.

Many have discredited the earlier descriptions of ‘race’. For example, Michael Banton (1987) outlines the religious influences of the Old Testament between the 16th and 18th centuries, where Noah’s curse of ‘blackness’ on the descendants of Ham were seen as God’s punishment (ibid: 52; Yudall, 2014). The more common discreditation of ‘race’ stems from its biological origins, where Charles Darwin’s (1859) work on the evolution of species in animals led to a series of scientific justifications of racial categorisation in humans, although has since been dismissed (Barkan, 1992; Bowler, 1990; Miles, 1989, 1993; Fenton, 1999; Gobineau, cited in Banton, 1977: 32-34; Yudell, 2014). This dismissal is mainly based on the fact that there has been no concrete evidence to prove its scientific foundations (Desmond and Moore, 2009). Thus, ‘race’, as this section outlines, has been used by people over time as a categorisation tool and these racial contexts have been heavily adopted in advertisements.

Whilst ‘race’ has been used in different social, political and economic contexts over time, there are still disagreements over its usage. Brett St. Louis (2005: 29) aptly outlines these problems:

On the one hand, race *can* be identified as a *biological category* that distinguishes between population varieties in the human species [...] or as a *syncretic category* that is formed (and continually reformed) at particular socio-historical junctures [...] On the other hand, race *does*

not exist in any real objective sense and instead is a *mythic category* that biologically misrepresents existing ethnic groups [...] or is a *reified category* that conjures the fictive biological, social and cultural unity of arbitrary racialized collectives (original emphasis).

In considering the problems that these definitions of ‘race’ bring, this section will analyse the political, social and economic presence of ‘race’, arguing that the definitions’ historical association with the culture industry impacts the current positioning of ‘race’ in advertising today. As the upcoming section argues, the colour-blind approach to ‘race’ in advertising policy is not only damaging to organisations, but also has implications on cultural production. It outlines a) the rise of racial politics over time in the UK and US and its influence on the advertising industry, b) colonialisation and the impact of racial politics in advertising, and c) the impact these contexts have on the commodification of ‘race’.

Political contexts of ‘race’ in the UK and US

The politics of ‘race’ in the UK and US inevitably differ, although more recently they have begun to merge. While it is not my intention to outline their entire political histories, some key events have been highlighted to contextualise their influence on racist advertising and general racial expression in the media industry. I argue that BME practitioners are attempting to use their positions to create new forms of black cultural expression, but their ideas are still being suppressed.

US scholars Michael Omi and Howard Winant (2014) reflect on the unheard US black scholars over time such as Kelly Miller, Anna Cooper and, to a greater extent, W.E. Du Bois, who were amongst the first to refute scientific racism in the early 20th century. This refute deepened due to the way the ‘race’ card was being used in US policy to justify why blacks were entitled to less rights than whites. For instance, while blacks were involved in the Civil War towards the end of the 19th century, they were still seen as objects that filled the less favourable, laborious positions (ibid; Du Bois, 1903). These racial politics began to deepen following the Civil War, as the “recursive stereotypes about the racialized ‘others’” laziness, criminality, and so on” continued to be engraved in ‘common sense’ racial discourse (Case and Hunter, 2014; Omi and Winant, 2014). The media, and in particular news reporting, had a large impact on reinforcing these racialised ideas, particularly with political and social

movements for racial justice, such as the Black Panthers, being seen as aggressive and undermined. As a result, a reflection was seen in advertisements such as those shown earlier by Pears Soap.

Throughout these political tensions up until the early 20th century, critical race theory (CRT) began to emerge as a body of legal research in the US into the unjust treatment of blacks (Du Bois, 1903). Critical race theorists focus on such treatment is now systematically evident in law, sport and, more recently, education with UK scholars (Gillborn, 2008), to protect the interests of dominant white groups. Whilst CRT has not directly been applied to discrimination in advertising, more recent researchers have examined how these forms of discrimination are evident in the workplace (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Bonilla-Silva and Embrick, 2007). For instance, Carbado and Gulati's (2003; 2013) work on the differences between 'grit' and 'grease' that was outlined earlier in the chapter aligns within this theoretical framework, as workers have to negotiate a "racial double-bind" (ibid: 1) in order to fit in with their organisation's dominant, white culture that advertising practitioners today are facing. While these arguments of political and organisational systemisation are valid, I shortly return to acknowledge why social conditioning by the media in reinforcing racial ideas in the minds of the masses was an even more powerful tool. However, it is necessary to firstly outline racial politics in the UK for comparison.

There are debates which see the UK's racial politics as separate to the US due to their differing histories. Earlier, I outlined how the biological and religious influences of 'race' developed the initial onsets of racist discourse. These discourses were reinforced in the UK when populations from its Commonwealth nations began to arrive in large numbers following calls for help with labour in the mid-20th century (Back and Solomos, 2000). However, this arrival ignited tensions between BMEs and the white residents of the UK, and 'colour bars' were activated in many outdoor spaces such as restaurants, pubs and toilets, reinforcing the rhetoric that blacks were not accepted (Solomos and Wrench, 1993). There is a similarity of the fear that rose amongst whites in both the UK and US, as policies continued to be introduced to segregate them. These ideas continued until several riots broke out in the UK, which led to the introduction of a series of Race Relations Acts (1968, 1976, 2000) that were intended to calm these tensions. These policies were strengthened over the years to include equalities in access to housing and human rights (see St Louis, 2005 for a detailed account; Solomos, 2003).

This overview briefly contextualises how the racial politics of the UK and US have been widely researched. While their political histories are different, it is important to recognise their similarities in respect of the main problem of a) the actual enforcement of such laws and the minimal impact they had on actual social relations, and b) the more indirect and ideological ways discrimination still existed through mediums such as advertising. Combined, these points evidence why the experience of racism is still evident in organisational policy and why racial discrimination still operates in more subtle, ideological ways (Ahmed, 2009; Carbado and Gulati, 2003; Puwar, 2004). It is for these reasons that this research focuses on three elements of the field of advertising, to trace where these subliminal forms of racism are experienced.

Social constructions of 'race'

There is a direct relationship between the social and politics of 'race' in both the UK and US. This section outlines the role of advertising in the interplay between the two, arguing that advertising has an intermediary role in reinforcing the fear of 'race' in society from political discourse over time.

Robert Park (1969) was one of the most influential US researchers from the Chicago School and was interested in the experiences of African Americans in Chicago and the problems that restricted assimilation. Assimilation is a highly contested concept, as the point and extent to which an individual/group 'fuses' into society is arguable (Alba and Nee, 2009; Gordon, 1964). However, assimilation is an important concept for this thesis, as the way in which advertising practitioners communicate with BME audiences may depend on their perception of whether those audiences have 'fused' into society. Park (1969: 573-574) explains assimilation as a:

process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experience or history, are incorporated with them into a common cultural life.

Park's definition argues that assimilation occurs when different groups merge as a result of them having a common way of life (Park, 1969: 737; Banton, 1977). Park (1969: 574)

developed the ‘race relations cycle’, which consists of four stages: competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation¹⁵. Put simply, Park believes that all groups will face some form of competition in new social living conditions. This competition is territorial, where each group defends their right to be part of that society. Park believes that, after the initial conflict, groups will eventually accommodate each other and eventually ‘assimilate’.

This cycle assumes that it is possible for different cultures to come together and live in harmony, an image often depicted by the media. However, Hall (1992) makes a valid observation, where Park does not detail the stages of assimilation, nor recognise the disparities for groups when this does not happen. Robert Alba and Victor Nee (2009: 2) argue that, in Anglo-American culture, assimilation is a form of “Eurocentric hegemony” and a weapon for disadvantaging BME groups, “forcing them to live by cultural standards that are not their own”. Thus, Park’s conception does not acknowledge how assimilation is also a powerful tool, masking “hidden ethnocentric assumptions about the superiority of Anglo-American culture” (ibid). Alba and Nee’s (ibid) argument is important here, as it can be contextualised to my discussions of how racist messages are embedded in advertisements. Racist advertisements with brands such as Captain Morgan Rum in the early 20th century were not only about reinforcing superiority. Rather, they were about reinforcing the ‘assumptions’ that whiteness was dominant, and they intentionally excluded non-white groups from advertising communications during this period. Therefore, assimilation can somewhat explain why advertising practitioners may strategically reproduce the ‘hidden’ ideology in working practices, that white culture is still superior.

The Chicago School also produced micro accounts of ‘race’ and prejudice, which give a clearer idea of how the racial habitus of an advertising practitioner may affect how they develop CD communication strategies. Herbert Blumer’s (1958: 3) work takes an alternative approach to Park, arguing that racial prejudice is a reflection of how racial groups “form images of themselves and of others”. Blumer believes that racial constructions are formed by spokespersons of a particular group. These constructions cause group members to form a perception of themselves as dominant, whilst causing a pattern of viewing other groups as a threat. More recent research has applied these threats to why legal forms of segregation, such as lynching and slavery, were legitimised, although they do not directly address the evident relationship to hegemony (Lyman, 1990). However, these ‘threats’ may also be evident in

¹⁵ See Park (1925; 1950) and Banton (1977) for more detailed accounts of this cycle.

advertising practices, where practitioners may see particular ethnic groups as problematic for representing their clients, and I examine their use of discourse through scenarios as such in Chapter 5.

Accounts of prejudice during periods of racial tension by UK sociologists take a different approach. Some of the more influential bodies of work focus on the relationship between ‘race’ and class¹⁶. John Rex’s (1983) study during the 1970s focused on the relationship between immigrant populations and their white neighbours, and explored whether the two groups shared the same class position. Rex’s analysis shows that white workers were given ‘rights’ such as trade unions and being part of the working class movement (Rex and Tomlinson, 1979). Rex and Tomlinson (ibid: 275) were interested in how immigrant workers were positioned even lower as the ‘underclass’ as:

minorities were systematically at a disadvantage compared with their white peers [...] and effectively became a separate underprivileged class.

This approach to ‘race’ went beyond focusing only on studies of racial prejudice that were largely seen in US sociology. British racial studies began to examine the ‘black subject’ (Hall, 1986: 28) and how black Britons occupied “a new kind of space” (Hall and Du Gay, 1996: 114) in British communities. In particular, these studies can apply to the difficulties that advertising practitioners were facing in developing relationships with BME audiences. Rex later expands his studies in relation to Marxist ideas of class consciousness. Chapter 1 outlined Marxist debates that saw the working class struggle under capitalism (Althusser, 1971; Banks and O’Connor, 2009; Rex, 1983; 1986). Rex directly relates class struggles to the social construction of ‘race’:

Those structures are classes and groups in conflict, which define themselves and are defined in ethnic and racial terms, but which also engage in a kind of class struggle resulting from their immediate

¹⁶ For instance, Robert Miles’ (1989) work was strongly related to Marxism, as he was interested in racial forms of class oppression.

relation to the means of production and its supporting political apparatus (Rex and Mason, 1986: 77).

Rex's approach to 'race' is important for this thesis for two reasons. Firstly, along with Hall (1996), he acknowledges the relationship between 'race' and class. This relationship shows that, regardless of ethnic or cultural differences, having black skin will always cause blacks to be seen as being underprivileged. Secondly, Rex relates 'race' to class struggles under capitalism. BME groups immediately have a hostile relationship to capitalist means of production, and this is evident through limited advertising communications. Rex's work was written in the late 20th century. However, I will shortly demonstrate that, whilst some argue that we live in a 'post-race' society with a developing 'black culture industry', 'race' is still significant for differing BME groups. There is a relationship between Rex's discussions and the Marxist ideas in Chapter 1, as under-privileging BME groups was both a conscious and unconscious 'motive', and a type of social control (Bedi, 2009; Ewen, 2000). This historical control shows why it is still difficult for advertising practitioners to develop CD communication strategies as, to some extent, the reproduction of dominant ideologies is still underlying.

Commodifying 'race' in the media

I have so far outlined the hostile nature of 'race' in political and social contexts, and the role advertising has historically played in reinforcing discriminatory discourse. The commodification of 'race' is important in order to see the economic value of including BMEs in advertising through 'primitive accumulation' (Harvey, 1989), i.e. benefiting from black images, but still excluding them as consumers (Cisneros and Nakayama, 2015).

There is a body of research that develops the concept of traditional racism (for an excellent account, see Back and Solomos, 2000). Ruth Benedict (1945: 87) was one of the first academics to use the term; "the dogma that one ethnic group is condemned by nature to congenital inferiority and another group is destined to congenital superiority". Peter Bohmer (1998: 15) presents a more concise definition, as "the systematic oppression of African-Americans and other people of colour and the related ideology of white supremacy and black inferiority". Bohmer's definition is useful, as he introduces the relationship between racism and ideology, as ideology circulates ruling-class interests. Some take a similar approach, but

instead believe that racism is a result of ideology (Miles, 1989)¹⁷. Rex's (1980: 131) work is useful to revisit, as he argues that racism "serves to bridge the gap between theory and practice", i.e. racism in society is the theory, whilst capitalism is practice. Therefore, racism and capitalism are "complements of one another" as "the doctrine of equality of economic opportunity and that of racial superiority and inferiority" (ibid).

These definitions of traditional racism are a useful starting point for analysing racist advertising practices, and this section outlines studies that directly discuss the relationship between racial ideologies and media representations. These accounts begin to show how racist ideologies are created, and I do this through accounts that focus on a) media discourse, and b) media representation. My aim is to show that looking at media representations is not enough for showing how racist ideologies occur. A deeper exploration into the field of advertising is needed in order to show how racist ideologies are developed. However, I argue that racism is not always completely ideological.

One of the leading accounts of racist ideologies and media representations was developed by Stuart Hall (1980). I pay particular attention to Hall's accounts as he was the first academic, and still one of the leading academics, to apply media ideologies to racism. However, I later show how areas of his work lack nuance, as there is little attention paid to the media practitioners themselves.

Chapter 1 examined how Marx began to apply the topic of ideology to class consciousness, arguing that the ruling class create ideologies for the working class. Later Marxists developed Marx's ideas further and applied them to the role of the media. For instance, Adorno and Horkheimer (2001) argue that the culture industry has a role in controlling consumerist ideologies, while Antonio Gramsci (1984) argues that the role of the media was to make sure that the working class 'consented' to consumerism. The relationship between ideology and media representations has been well addressed (Ewen, 2000; Lury, 2004; Van Buren, 2006). However, Hall (1980) was the first to directly address racist ideologies in media representations. To understand Hall's approach, I outline a) his account of ideology, b) his account of racism, and c) how the two are constructed in media representations.

Hall (1980; 1986) acknowledges the Marxist accounts of ideology and develops three approaches of his own. Firstly, Hall (1980: 18) believes that ideologies consist of a "chain of

¹⁷ Chapter 1 examined accounts on ideology and how advertising reinforces ideologies – such as consumption and class interests – in order to make capitalism work. I argued that these studies are useful for showing the relationship between advertising, capitalism and ideologies.

meanings” and exemplifies this through the word ‘freedom’. Hall refers to freedom as both a liberal ideology – as in “individualism and the free market” – and socialist ideology – as in a “collective condition” of a group in society (ibid). Therefore, a concept can be constructed in different ways through social practice. Secondly, Hall refers to ‘ideological statements’ that people make that are not developed by individuals, but are formulated within the ideology itself. This type of ideology relays the Marxist accounts of ‘false consciousness’ as addressed in Chapter 1, where people are deluded by their use of ideological ideas that “pre-date individuals” and are actually unconsciously embedded as a common sense (Hall, 1980: 19). Lastly, Hall believes that ideologies work by “constructing” the positions that individuals take, so that they “utter ideological truths as if they were their authentic authors” (ibid). Hall does not acknowledge how this last approach echoes Bourdieu’s (1993) take on the ‘charismatic ideology of the producer’, and I later address how this indicates a weakness in his account.

Hall (1980) uses his collective account to look at how the media are an ‘apparatus’ for circulating ideologies. He describes the media as a form of ideological production, creating images and understanding of the social world. In particular, Hall looks at how the media construct “for us a definition of what race is, what meaning the imagery of race carries, and what the ‘problem of race’ is understood to be” (ibid: 20). Hall did not take the reductionalist approach of classing the entire media industry as portraying one world view about racist ideas. Instead, he presents two accounts of racism – overt and inferential – and uses these accounts to examine how racist ideologies work in different ways, which are also applicable to advertising.

Hall refers to *overt* racism as the blatant forms of “openly racist arguments” or racist ‘views’ that were explored earlier (ibid). In relation to media representations, Hall is more concerned with inferential racism, where so-called “naturalised representations” of situations relating to ‘race’ are, in fact, “unquestioned assumptions” (ibid). Hall exemplifies this form of racism through television programmes, hosted by a genuinely liberal broadcaster, dealing with the ‘problem’ in race relations. The programme may seemingly be neutral and present a balanced debate, with questions and opinions from audience members. However, the programme is likely to end with some reference to society being better if the ‘problem’ would go away, i.e. insinuating that “the blacks are the source of the problem” (ibid: 21; Van Dijk, 2000). This type of insinuating is evident in advertisements. For example, Benetton’s ‘Angel and Devil’ advertisement (1991) was blatantly racist, but the process of creating that communication

strategy is unclear. This type of representation shows how a practitioner may not be aware that they are reinforcing a racist ideology, but the ideology is embedded as a social practice of indicating that someone needs to be blamed for the problem, and the problem would go away if the blacks did.

Although Hall's account is useful, he does not acknowledge the processes that individuals go through in making decisions on how they create media representations. This acknowledgement would show how habitus operates in unconscious situations (Bourdieu, 1990; 1993), as outlined in my adaption of field theory. Thus, Hall's argument is blind to how individuals – such as advertising practitioners – function under racist structures.

Teun Van Dijk takes a similar approach to Hall and focuses on the use of discourse in racist media representations. Van Dijk's study merges together his ideas on the reproduction of racism (1977; 1987; 1991; 1993) and theory of ideology (2002). His studies mainly focus on the content of media texts and how politicians talk on television. Similarly to Hall, Van Dijk (ibid: 94) avoids the "vague" accounts of ideology such as false consciousness, which are not developed enough to understand racist ideologies. Van Dijk's work is important here, as he develops a socio-cognitive framework for racist ideologies that comprises of three stages, and which contributes to my adaption of field theory.

Firstly, Van Dijk refers to racist ideologies as being generally shared amongst a particular social group. This sharing is normally in relation to other social representations such as immigration. Secondly, there is a focus on social groups being involved in the formation/reproduction of racist ideologies (Du Gay et al., 1997). Lastly, racist ideologies are used as forms of institutional talk and text (Van Dijk, 2002). Van Dijk claims his approach has a 'micro' focus, as he is looking at the discursive reproduction of ideologies in media talk and text. However, I argue that what is more important is the behind-the-scenes, everyday discourse that media practitioners use, as these then have an impact on representations. Therefore, Van Dijk fails to recognise the role of habitus in ideological reproduction. In addition, Van Dijk, as well as many others (Cottle, 2000; Solomos and Wrench, 1993), has a heavy focus on news discourse, as opposed to other relational fields such as advertising.

Regardless as to whether Van Dijk's (2000: 92) work needs developing, his work is useful for identifying that racism is not completely ideological, as "racism also needs to be defined in terms of various types of social practice". This thesis does not see racism as completely ideological, as one cannot assume that all advertising practitioners are racist. Rather,

examining how they talk about CD is important for analysing whether there is any intentional or unconscious racist motives.

The Obama era has created a new form of colour-blind racial discourse in both the UK and US, where the state claims that Obama's presidency is evidence that we live in a post-race society. Desmond S. King and Rogers M. Smith (2008) outline some of Obama's own speeches, and the issues that occur where he addresses the "counterproductive" (ibid: 6) anger and distrust amongst blacks and whites in the US (Van Buren, 2006). Over the past decade, advertisements have attempted to address such issues by including more interracial work environments, a stance to imply that the industry is dealing with issues of inequality. However, such advertisements are superficial as, whilst they may portray positive diversity, the racial politics behind the scenes in the industry is still problematic. Similarly, King and Smith (2008) outline some of the problems with Obama himself, claiming that:

Obama did not do enough, then, before, or since, to explain the conflict, gridlocked structure of modern American racial politics or to spell out the implications of this structure for prospects of racial progress (ibid: 7).

Thus, racial political discourse has become more apparent in Obama's presence, but this has not been supported by governmental changes to national racial diversity policies across different industries. In fact, his presence may potentially be more damaging for projecting an image that 'all is now well' and that diversity problems have now been solved. While discussing advertising policy is a separate context, similarities can be drawn between the assumptions of how CD agencies are seen as the solution. CD agencies are arguably problematic in terms of neglecting the internal problems of racial and cultural policy, as it may be assumed that these problems do not exist in black spaces. However, as the data chapters examine, there are ways in which their internal policies and practices are damaging.

So far, I have examined racist advertising and how racist ideologies are embedded within media representations. I now turn my focus to the newer, less blatant accounts of racist ideologies – cultural racism and racist stereotypes – and I examine their relationship in respect of the more contemporary advertising practices that this thesis examines.

The relationship between racism and stereotyping in advertising

Critical race theorists¹⁸ have developed the idea of traditional racism from its religious beginning, through to biological discrediting, and has now moved into the phase of ‘cultural’ racism (Blaut, 1992; Omi and Winant, 2014). Cultural racism is referred to as “racism without race [...] replacing the biological case for superior or inferior races with that of superior and inferior cultures” (Samman, 2012). Cultural racism is useful, as I am not only interested in the underlying racist ideologies within industry practices, but the way in which advertising practitioners talk about – and discredit – cultures other than their own. This section outlines three main debates of cultural racism as a) a form of negative stereotyping, b) largely linked to traditional racism, and c) exoticising cultures. I argue that cultural racism is not only about racism towards non-white cultures. Rather, cultural racism happens between BME cultures, which begins to highlight one of the problems in CD agencies.

‘New’ forms of cultural racism

An early account saw cultural racism as a form of negative stereotyping, which was largely related to images developed in the 20th century media. Martin Barker (1981) developed the theory of cultural racism in response to the increase in Asian and other BME groups in Europe from the 1970s. Barker’s approach to cultural racism detaches itself from traditional racism, and instead focuses on the “irreducibility of cultural differences” of non-white people (Essed, 1991: 14). Where traditional racism uses skin colour to differentiate ‘otherness’, Barker, amongst others, argues that cultural racism is “negative ethnic stereotyping [that] leads to racist effects” (Pred, 2000: 66). While I discuss stereotyping shortly, it is worth noting that the concept is widely defined as being “erroneous rather than accurate” (Perkins, 1997: 77). For Barker, cultural racisms are based on flawed assumptions, but they are used as a means of reinforcing the superior-inferior relationship between European and non-European cultures. However, Barker’s account is somewhat flawed, as he does not acknowledge the ideological nature of traditional racism that is still evident, particularly in advertising practices.

More recent debates acknowledge Barker’s account, but argue that cultural racism still has traits of traditional racism. Rebecca Powell (2000: 8) argues that cultural racism is still

¹⁸ Critical race theory has been widely researched, but this study particularly addresses strands of cultural and everyday racisms.

benchmarked against “white behavioural standards” and that “products of white culture (e.g. language, traditions, appearance) are superior to those of non-white cultures” (Jones, cited in Powell, 2000: 8). This benchmarking is widely evident in advertisements, particularly through the Benetton advertisements that I examined earlier. For instance, the tribal print being worn by the black woman in *Jumper of Different Colours* (Figure 8) signifies black cultural assumptions. However, the use of ‘race’ is the main signifier of difference, where the black woman is ‘benchmarked’ against the white women. Although cultural racism acknowledges aspects such as language and traditions, Barker’s account does not acknowledge how it is still tied to ‘race’.

James M Blaut (1992: 298) expands on Barker’s account and recognises how ‘race’ still works in this ‘new’ type of cultural racism:

Even if all of the roots are torn out, the vine will not wither; it will grow other roots, a new theory of racism [...] not as theory but as practice.

Blaut’s account is useful, as he defines cultural racism as either theory or practice. Blaut outlines the religious and biological accounts of ‘race’ that I highlighted earlier. He notes that the 1950s saw a turn against these accounts due to socialist movements and the opposition to Nazism. Until this point, the ‘roots’ of biological racism were used as a theory to legitimise white superiority (ibid). However, cultural racism was built on the theory of modernisation, where “non-Europeans are not racially, but rather culturally backward in comparison to Europeans because of their history: their lesser cultural evolution” (ibid: 290-291). Again, the Benetton (1980) example is useful for showing how this ‘backwardness’ is evident in advertising. Blaut argues that the ‘essence’ of cultural racism is the assumption that BME cultures are “poor. So they must follow, under European guidance [...] the path already trodden by Europeans” (ibid: 293-294). Therefore, cultural racism is the practice of discrimination through industries such as advertising, but is still rooted in the traditional modes of seeing BME groups as inferior.

Some have further examined the ways in which cultural racism relates back to ‘race’, through analysing religion. Ali Mir et al. (2015: 508) discuss how Christians and Muslims in the US experience cultural racism differently. They examine how white Christians detach themselves

from African American Christians, either seeing their Pentecostal traditions as ‘paganist’, or seeing preachers during the Black Power era as ‘militant’ (ibid). This distancing was used to legitimise why “white, and almost old-fashioned” Christianity is still the ‘national’ religion in the US, but also to legitimise why blacks do not share the same religious culture as whites (ibid). This distancing is also reinforced in media representations, as ‘militant’ black preachers are often at the centre of news stories on contemporary movements such as Black Lives Matter. This account is useful for showing how a cultural factor such as religion can be represented in different ways. However, examining the habitus of advertising practitioners is still crucial for analysing how they reproduce cultural factors in different ways.

Mir et al. (ibid) additionally examine how the media develop phenotypes for Muslims, and how they refer back to ‘race’. Mir et al.’s account is useful, as Chapter 5 analyses how advertising practitioners develop phenotypes for different cultures. These phenotypes are widely used in advertising and are based on ideas of what Muslims ‘look like’ (ibid: 508), such as beards on men and headscarves on women. Of course, not all Muslims conform to these phenotypes, but they are part of the “process of racialisation” in the ‘public mind’ (ibid: 509; Siebers and Dennissen, 2015; Van Buren, 2006). This process includes both the common racial identifier of both brown skin and other visual phenotypes. Mir et al. acknowledge that ‘misrecognition’ happens as there are also white Muslims, and also brown Muslims who do not conform to the common phenotypes. However, these phenotypes are developed in the media to construct images of what Muslims ‘should’ look like¹⁹. Therefore, the construction of such phenotypes shows that cultural racism cannot be detached from the origins of ‘race’.

There are similarities between accounts of cultural racism, being that they all relate back to whiteness. Cultural racism replaces the racial category ‘white’ with European (Agger, 1992; Blaut, 1992: 292; Hall, 1996). These accounts are useful, particularly when I analyse cultural racism toward non-European cultures in Chapter 5. However, these accounts fail for two simple reasons: the accounts ignore the fact that BME cultures can also be ‘culturally’ racist towards each other, and the accounts detach cultural racism from ideologies. This is not to suggest that cultural racism is indefinitely ideological. However, if there are ‘modified’ traces of traditional racism, there should be some acknowledgement as to whether ideologies are relevant. As Hall (1996: 39) argued, the general features of racism are “modified and

¹⁹ These studies also expand these discussions into what ‘looking like’ a terrorist is, but is not the intention of this thesis.

transformed by the historical specificity of the contexts and environments in which they become active”.

Theories of cultural racism are a useful starting point for showing how racism is not only limited to skin colour, but to different ethnic identifiers. The majority of studies into the topic are based on empirical research in the education field. I agree to an extent that the theory is useful. However, I do not necessarily imply that advertising practitioners demonstrate forms of cultural racism, either for developing CD communication strategies or in everyday working practice. Rather, as I now examine, racial stereotyping is more common.

Racial stereotyping

Stereotyping has become a central topic for analysis in media representations (Cribbs and Austin, 2011; Dyer, 1999; Perkins, 1979; Seiter, 1986), particularly for CD communication. Most early definitions of stereotyping see it as a ‘simple’ or reductionalist representation (Lippmann, 1922; Perkins, 1979). This section aims to show how stereotyping is by no means ‘simple’, and still has traits of traditional racism. Following an introductory account of Walter Lippman’s (1922) coining of stereotypes, this section examines accounts of a) negative stereotypes, b) racist stereotypes and ideologies in the media, and c) the difficulties with positive media stereotypes. I argue that it is ambiguous as to whether an advertising practitioner intentionally creates a negative stereotype, unless there is thorough analysis of how they created that representation and, thus, an examination of their habitus.

Most accounts of stereotypes acknowledge Walter Lippmann’s first use of the term in 1922. Lippmann saw stereotypes as being either simple, erroneous, second-hand or resistant to modification. In *Rethinking Stereotypes*, Tessa Perkins (1979) presented an excellent critique of Lippmann’s four accounts, and I outline two of her main arguments that aid my examination. Perkins’ approach is useful for this thesis, as she explicitly sees stereotypes as ideological and how they appear “in a capitalist society will depend on the recipient group’s structural position” (ibid: 75). Firstly, Perkins only agrees with Lippmann’s first account that stereotypes are ‘assumed’ to be simple. However, she deconstructs how simple stereotypes are either abstract or differentiated, and uses the phrase ‘dumb blonde’ as an example. Perkins refers to abstract stereotypes as being “higher level” generalisations, as ‘dumb blonde’ implies more than “hair colour and intelligence” (ibid: 76; Pickering, 1995). Rather, the phrase acts as a symbol – which also infers a woman’s relationship to men, her status and her behaviour – and this symbol creation is common practice in advertising.

These ‘simple’ stereotypes are typical in media representations of BME groups. Hall’s (1980) example of how black men are represented in Hollywood movies as the entertainer is relevant here. Being represented as the entertainer implies a general stereotype of what black men are known for. However, their role as the entertainer is often a symbol of their structural position in capitalist society, as their white counterparts may often be represented as the doctor or another higher professional (Perkins, 1979: 75). Lippmann’s (1922) account of seeing stereotypes as ‘simple’ is misleading, as the only simple element to them is how they are reproduced and generalised by the media (Cribbs and Austin, 2011; Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Therefore, in the case of advertising, practitioners have the role of creating these simplistic representations that are, to some extent, ideological.

It is useful to readdress Barthes’ (1987) mythical system here, as the role of the black person as the entertainer – or clown, as Hall (1980) suggests – may seem like a positive signifier. However, this role implies that black people only have one role in positive cultural representations, and cannot be taken seriously in other roles. Thus, the mythical system hides the ideological implication that black people are inferior in the capitalist system, and why there are typical media representations of the black entertainer.

Perkins (1979: 75) relates this typical representation to her second argument, where stereotypes can be used to ‘legitimately’ differentiate characteristics of the same group, which does not “necessarily imply prejudice or distortion”. Perkins addresses Klapp’s (1962) differentiation between stereotypes – ‘outside’ representations to one’s own social group – and social types – familiar representations – for gender. Social types are a useful reference, as some argue that they are an appropriate concept, instead of stereotypes, to describe what advertising practitioners use. However, Perkins (1979: 77) makes a valid argument that stereotypes are inevitable for two reasons. Firstly, it cannot be assumed that stereotypes are ‘outside’ representations, as groups also make stereotypes about themselves. These stereotypes can be either positive or negative, to collectively describe common tendencies that ‘we’ do as a group (Cottle, 2000; Pauker et al., 2016). Secondly, the focus on ‘outside’ representations assumes that one gender does not have contact with the other. Thus, Perkins makes a valid argument for how stereotypes are not always intentionally used to distort a cultural message, which may often be the case for advertising practitioners.

Perkins also addresses how such stereotypes work for BME groups. She evaluates the relationship between status – the position/class – and roles – the performance – towards ‘oppressed groups’ (ibid: 83). Perkins argues that one of the issues with oppressed groups is

that they lack “control and definition” for themselves (ibid). This ‘lack of control’²⁰ relates back to my analysis of Marxist accounts on class and ideology in Chapter 1. These accounts showed how the working class ‘lack control’ in advertising representation, and I criticised these accounts for not recognising how this differs for BME groups. Perkins does not directly relate to these Marxist accounts, but her argument is applicable for developing the problems between accuracy and ideological representations of BME groups. Although written nearly 40 years ago, Perkins’ account is useful, as she presents an early account of the relationship between racial stereotyping and media representations.

To some extent, Perkins’ argument is flawed as she does not differentiate between legitimate and intentional distortion. This flaw occurs as there is no empirical investigation of the media practitioners themselves, and the study instead is based on assumptions. This thesis aims to differentiate between legitimate and intentional distortion by examining the habitus of advertising practitioners, as it is otherwise unclear what their intentions are.

Some studies acknowledge these intentionally negative media portrayals (Pauker et al., 2016; Plant et al., 2009). In *Heroes, Villains and Fools*, Orrin E Klapp (1962) differentiates between those who do and do not ‘belong’ in society. Klapp primarily focuses on how the ‘social type’ of American, i.e. white, is used to stereotype non-Americans who do not ‘belong’. For instance, some studies in the US focus on media representations of Muslims not belonging to Western society post 9/11 (Alsultany, 2012) and relate back to conceptions of nation. Other studies have argued how this form of stereotyping is typical of the media presenting world view representations that are not necessarily true (Alcoff, 1999; Dyer, 1999), and that these ‘common sense’ representations relate back to conceptions of ideology.

Van Dijk’s (1985a) work is again useful to revisit here, as he directly addresses the relationship between racist stereotypes and ideologies in the media. He refers to racist stereotypes as “subtle everyday discriminatory practices sustained by socially shared representations” (ibid: 79). Van Dijk refers to these practices in news discourse, but this study shows how these practices are also evident in everyday advertising working practices.

Evidently, Van Dijk’s work has been useful in developing my argument at different stages of this chapter. However, it is important to note where his account fails. The span of Van Dijk’s (1977; 2000) work over three decades focuses on news discourse and the relationship to ideology. Similarly to Perkins, there does not seem to be any acknowledgement that not all

²⁰ This lack of control that BME groups experience is also evident in Hall (1980) and Dyer’s (1999) discussion of Hollywood movies, and Burton and Klemm’s (2011) analysis of travel brochures.

discriminatory practices are ideological. One of the reasons for this is that Van Dijk either focuses on theory development or analyses the final product of news, as opposed to the processes practitioners go through to produce news stories.

Some take a different approach to Van Dijk, arguing that media stereotypes can also be positive. Mark Blair (2002: 248) introduces ‘counter-stereotypical information’ that “challenge the dominance of [negative] stereotypes”. Blair examines how positive counter information, such as African Americans being hard working and ‘well behaved’, reduces negative prejudices (Peffley et al., 1997). Donovan A. McFarlane (2014) takes a similar approach, arguing that positive stereotypes are a useful and necessary social function. This positive stereotyping:

without negative intent tests the limits and fits of new cultural social, and religious values, as well as acceptability of difference bound in physical and non-physical characteristics.

McFarlane’s (2014) positive account seems to relate to what CD agencies intend to do. These agencies intend to build relationships with BME audiences, through developing positive representations of their cultural values. McFarlane’s argument is the opposite extreme to Van Dijk’s work, which solely focuses on negative representations, and instead shows how media representations are not always ideological. Others would agree that McFarlane’s approach is relevant, as positive stereotypes are essential in media practices, such as advertising, in order to create recognisable frames of reference (Katz, 2003; Leiss et al., 1997; Moeran and Christensen, 2013). This type of seemingly positive stereotyping is evident through making particular BME cultures seem appealing. However, this appeal in itself is problematic.

Some have addressed how some cultures are represented as appealing by being ‘exoticised’ in the media. Chalmer E Thompson and Helen A Neville (1999) believe that “exoticising” culture actually omits “the cultural practices or values of racial minorities”. Omitting this information can lead to “misinformed perceptions” of BME groups (Gordon, 1995: 203). On the one hand, “the ideological outcomes of the culture industry are in a sense unintended” as they are based on the assumptions of media practitioners (Agger, 1992: 65). However, it is inevitable that media practitioners select information about the target cultural group, in order to reach these assumptions. Van Dijk (1985b: 76) describes how media texts intentionally

leave out, or ‘delete’, key information (Bell and Garrett, 1998; Fowler, 1991). This intentional summarising and generalisation is used by media practitioners to reconstruct information about a particular group, leading to the ‘misinformed perceptions’ that are often developed in cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993). Therefore, Thomson and Neville’s argument is relevant, as exoticising culture may seem like a type of positive stereotyping, when it actually omits key information about a particular cultural group.

Similarly, Janet L Borgerson and Jonathan E Schroeder (2002: 571) acknowledge the ‘damage’ that can be done by exoticising culture, using Hawaii as an example. They outline how typical media representations of Hawaii visually reinforce Hawaiians as “colonial possessions and demonstrating Western superiority over the colonised” (Mirzoeff, 1999: 139). These representations are often in films, tourism brochures and other types of advertising, to reinforce how Hawaiians are “people whose lives are less complex and less valuable than the lives of Euro-Americans” (Wood, 1999: 113). Borgerson and Schroeder continue:

The claim is not that some advertising [...] might offend the damaged group or its members, but that [...] their opportunities for the future, may be damaged by certain forms of representation.

This statement is true to some extent, as media representations are often ideological stereotypes. These stereotypes may be used by audiences as a “‘stand in’ for experience as sources of information and serve as a foundation for future knowledge” (ibid). Thus, a white audience with no direct interaction with black people may use media representations as their source of knowledge (Shoorman and Widmann, 2013). This thesis builds on this argument to some degree, as I analyse where advertising practitioners gain their main sources of information to create CD communication strategies. However, Borgerson and Schroeder’s (2002) argument is solely based on the damage that can be done to the represented culture. From a commercial perspective, these ideological stereotypes may limit the market opportunities for advertisers, as opposed to building relationships with BME audiences through more concise communications. Again, this reductionalist account evidences why stereotyping as ‘simple’ fails.

This section has shown the difficulty with stereotypical media representations. The majority of literature focuses on how the media create and sustain negative media representations of BME groups. Whilst it is not acknowledged in some studies, there is an inevitable link to ideology and how the reproduction of cultural messages usually has some form of hidden meaning (Hall, 1980; Van Dijk, 1993; 2000). The debates examined in this section are useful for my analysis of discourse in Chapter 5. However, there were two main problems that were identified.

Firstly, the studies are based on the final media product, as opposed to the media practitioners themselves. It is not possible to assume whether an advertisement was intentionally made to be stereotypically negative or positive, without analysing how the advertising practitioners themselves created it. Secondly, as with the debates on cultural racisms, there is a general assumption that stereotyping is something that is *done* by white media practitioners. It is not surprising that these debates focused on white practitioners, as the media industry has historically been run by white media owners (Negus, 2002). However, with the increase in ethnic media and institutions such as CD agencies, it is also important to analyse how stereotyping happens amongst BME practitioners and, within this, which BME groups are excluded. In considering that this study partially focuses on CD agencies, I now turn to studies that address how such institutions fit within the ‘black culture industry’.

The ‘black culture industry’

Chapter 1 outlined Horkheimer and Adorno’s (2001: 167) conception of the culture industry in the mid-20th century, where capitalism has created a society where “consumers feel compelled to buy” and culture is commodified. I argued that this ideological system has historically excluded BME audiences, and their communications are still targeting the general masses. Consequently, this lack of CD communication is limiting the market opportunities for advertisers, with one problem being the ideology of whiteness.

In 1997, Ellis Cashmore acknowledged the problem with white-owned media corporations and coined the ‘black culture industry’ to recognise the struggles of black media owners. Cashmore describes the ‘black culture industry’ as one that “operates just as any other in advanced capitalistic societies” (Cashmore, 1997: 162). Until this point, US studies in particular had analysed the commodification of black culture (Baynes, 2007; Napoli, 2007) and the struggles blacks have with control in a white-owned industry (Chambers, 2008; Squires, 2009). However, Ellis argues that black media owners have the additional pressures

of ‘authentically’ representing their culture, where black culture has been oppressed and misrepresented in the media. Analysing conceptions of the black culture industry is relevant for this thesis, as I show how BME-owned CD agencies are part of this industry, although this does not necessarily imply ‘better’ communication.

This section examines studies that fit into Cashmore’s idea of the black culture industry in both the UK and US from three perspectives. Firstly, I outline Cashmore’s (1997; 2005) account of the black culture industry in the US, and analyse how he – amongst others – envision ‘authentic’ black culture. Secondly, I analyse how UK studies have addressed South Asian media ownership, and whether this ownership has changed society’s impressions of Asian culture. Lastly, I outline debates of the problems with white people reproducing black culture, analysing whether a BME owner would make a difference. From my analysis, I argue that the studies are too heavily focused on the music industry, which, in itself, supports the ideology that BME groups are only good at entertainment.

Cashmore’s account of the black culture industry is a useful starting point for US debates, as he presents two arguments to deconstruct the ‘problem’ with black entertainment by white-owned media. Cashmore (1997) focuses on the music industry, and how tribal rituals are an example of ‘authentic’ black culture, but is far detached from the present-day rap and hip hop industry. Cashmore acknowledges the anthropological work by John L Gwaltney (1993), and argues that the ‘core’ types of black culture – cultural values, language, achievements and experiences – are missing from media representations in the black culture industry (ibid). In considering these ‘missing’ representations, Cashmore’s first argument questions whether there is now such a thing as ‘authentic’ black culture, since it has been consistently reproduced in media practices, and there are several studies that directly address this problem.

Deborah Root (1996: 70) argues that cultural authenticity is often “imposed from the outside” for the interests of profit. Similarly, Jan Pieterse (1992: 51) evaluated advertising representations and was interested in the ‘shallow’ recreation of black culture by whites and, thus, the “black soul is a white man’s artefact” (Fanon, 1986: 16). These debates suggest that the reproduction of cultures is not necessarily authentic, as they are being reproduced for commercial purposes. Pieterse takes this a step further, and believes that these ‘shallow’ representations are created by whites. Pieterse’s (1992) suggestion is valid in the context of the racist advertisements he analysed in the early to mid-20th century (see my earlier analysis of Figures 2 and 3). However, his argument is somewhat limited, as he does not acknowledge

more contemporary institutions where the representations are created by BME practitioners. Therefore, the ‘authenticity’ of cultural representations in advertisements may be questioned, but one cannot assume that it is only whites who create these representations.

Cashmore (1997: 3) agrees with the above debates, as black culture has become a commodity that is now also ‘bought’ and appropriated by whites. He also acknowledges Edward Said’s (1993) account that all cultures are ‘borrowed’. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Said (ibid) argues that “the history of all cultures is the history of cultural borrowings”. Cashmore acknowledges the inevitability of ‘borrowing’, but he does not acknowledge the complexity of Said’s argument. Cashmore (1997: 5) sees a problem with the concept of ‘borrowing’ culture, as he believes that whites have intentionally ‘intervened’ in black culture to make a profit. This argument is valid, and has been explored in similar studies on the development of the urban music industry in the US (Sanjek, 2005; Collins, 2009: 159) and the commodification of black culture (Baker, 1987). However, Said’s (1993: 37) study was actually outlining how European imperial culture – even more so than colonialisation in the US – has created ideological cultural views in an “attempt to distance or suppress other views and experiences”. Said (ibid: 66) acknowledges how these views and cultural representations are produced, circulated and interpreted in capitalist practices. Thus, Said’s argument is far more complex than Cashmore makes out, and is valid for showing how the ideological reproduction of black culture happens.

Cashmore’s (ibid: 1) second argument leads on from his caution of cultural ‘borrowing’, suggesting that we should be cautious about how black culture “was once disparaged and mocked [and] is not regarded as part of legitimate culture”. Cashmore (ibid: 2) suggests that the visibility of black culture “provides more comfort than challenge” and is used as “proof of the end of racism while keeping the racial hierarchy essentially intact”. In the case of advertising, Cashmore’s argument would suggest that advertisers do not particularly want to develop CD communication strategies, but do so to give BME groups a ‘visible’ presence in media representations. Gilroy (1993: 123) takes a similar approach, by seeing black music and literature as “a type of compensation for very specific experiences of unfreedom”. These arguments are useful for showing the ways in which white media owners appropriate black culture into a commodity. However, I challenge Cashmore’s approach.

Firstly, to some extent, I agree with Cashmore’s argument that the ‘black culture industry’ aims to ‘challenge’ popular media representations. Chapter 5 will analyse how BME agency owners talk about the ways in which they aim to develop more creative CD communication

strategies other than popular communications. However, Cashmore is unwilling to accept that, to some extent, the culture industry in general aims to reproduce popular representations into recognisable frames of reference (Storey, 1993), particularly in the music industry.

Secondly, Cashmore (2005) seems to be suggesting that black culture – or urban music, as this is his focus – is now regarded as ‘legitimate’. Although urban music is now more mainstream and is listened to by different cultural groups, it is still seen as problematic. For example, Autumn B Lewis (2003) examines how rap music is ‘vilified’ in media representations and is used as a symbol of violence in movies (Du Gay et al., 1997). In the context of Barthes’ (1987) mythical system, rap music in Hollywood movies may seem progressive and evidence that it is now ‘legitimate’ in popular culture. However, the music actually signifies the danger and problems that the media associates with black culture. My data chapters will analyse this so-called problem with advertising, and how practitioners decide whether such representations are seen as too ‘aggressive’ for global brands. Cashmore’s argument is a generalisation, as opposed to an accurate reflection of media representations.

There are a few studies from UK sociologists that similarly look at how ethnic culture is being commercialised in the culture industry, but with more focus on South Asians. For instance, John Hutnyk (2000) takes a similar approach to Cashmore, who has a problem with ‘visible’ media representations of BME groups. Hutnyk (ibid: 8) argues that these visible representations are “useful but not necessarily progressive – a favourite trick co-opts a few high profile names to foster the illusion that everyone else is ok”. This use of high-profile names – or celebrities (Marshall, 2004; Pringle, 2004; Rojek, 2001) – is common practice in advertising, and is used as a strategy to imply that CD communication is taking place.

Similarly to Cashmore, Graham Huggan (2001: xvi) looks at how modern media representations in the UK sense are ‘obsessed’ with authentic representations of BME cultures, and are “commodities available for commercial exploitation”. Others have examined this new ‘cool Britannia’ (Huq, 2003: 200) or ‘new Asian cool’ (Wood, 2002) in relation to South Asian cultures, that were previously seen as unfavourable, or “uncool and invisible” in media representations (ibid: 242). For example, some have examined how Bhangra musician Talvin Singh helped to sell the idea that Asian culture can be seen as cool by mass British audiences (Sharma, Hutnyk and Sharma, 1996). However, these studies do not fully investigate how the BME practitioners reproduce their cultures, or whether they are accepted as ‘authentic’ readings.

There are similarities between the studies in the UK and US, as it is evident that the ‘black culture industry’ is utilising the market opportunities of the ‘brown pound’. However, there are two overall weaknesses. Firstly, there is a general assumption that CD communication ‘works’ better when it is reproduced by BME practitioners. This assumption fails, as it does not acknowledge the disparities between BME cultures. For example, a black African practitioner may not necessarily be familiar with black Caribbean cultural practices. Therefore, what is required is the training and research facilities to understand different cultural groups. Chapter 6 further analyses how advertising practitioners reproduce cultural messages for unfamiliar cultures, e.g. via their existing habitus or new field research. The studies also focus on the music industry, which suggests that black media owners are only visible in these fields.

This section has shown the shifting focus to BME media owners, although there is still a heavy focus on the music industry. These studies show that there is a general assumption that BME cultures, reproduced by BME practitioners, is seemingly ‘better’. However, there is a general disengagement with whether both white and BME groups intentionally reproduce racist ideologies and negative stereotypes about each other.

Racist intent? Intentionality in cultural production

So far, this chapter has outlined how racial discourse is ideologically embedded in advertising messages. There are complexities with how racism manifests itself within different social and institutional contexts, but there is a theme of how it impacts cultural production across the culture industry. I have established that industries such as advertising are particularly worth examining, as practitioners can easily embed racial discourse in advertising messages, which then impact social perceptions. Whilst I have already outlined the, often hostile, relationship between racial discourse and cultural production, there is also the question as to whether there is any harmful intent by practitioners. Inevitably, the question of intentionality will be prevalent throughout my data chapters, but this section aims to unpack the concept for two purposes. Firstly, I define the relationship between intentionality and the Marxist account of consciousness. Whilst the concepts derive from different disciplines, there is a similarity between the difficulties I may face by interpreting the unconscious or unintentional bias of practitioners. Secondly, I examine the relationship between intentionality and racism, as many argue that racist intent is difficult to prove. However, I argue that constructing a story

of how a practitioner facilitates their everyday discourse and the content of their advertisements is an effective way of examining the intent of racist discourse.

Before unpacking this argument, it is worth briefly outlining intentionality's theoretical contexts and its relationship to the intent of advertising practitioners. Husserl's (1993: 33) development of the concept derives from the social psychology understanding of our consciousness or awareness in different social settings:

The word intentionality signifies nothing else than this universal fundamental property of consciousness: to be consciousness *of* something; as a *cogito*.

Similarly to Marx's sociological context, Husserl believes that we are conscious of our surroundings, objects, events, people and experiences. The cogito refers to how we actually project and articulate our thoughts and feelings about different issues, such as taking a stance on a global media story (Butchart, 2017: 58). Husserl was swift to discredit Franz Brentano's earlier medieval philosophy, who believed that a) *all* mental phenomena is intentional, and b) intentionality is the *only* defining element of the mental (Butchart, 2015; Marion, 1998). Rather, Husserl's perspective offers a more complex, alternative view, as intentionality seeks to examine how our mental states and experiences are a 'representation' of something bigger. Thus, as reception studies note, there is a more complex process of how these representations are initially embedded in the minds of practitioners, advertisements themselves and then decoded by audiences.

The complexities of intentionality have generally been explored through three main frameworks, although two are less relevant for my argument. Naturalistic intentionality refers to how we mentally represent physical objects and how our minds make sense of them (Billig, 2006; Ricoeur, 2007: 87). While this type of framework would help with an analysis of advertising representations, it does not help to analyse the interrelation between production and consumption. Relational intentionality gives a surface understanding of not only being about physical objects, but the mysterious nature of our consciousness as "an intentional mental state or act is not always some actually existing extra-mental object" (Husserl, 1993: 4). To some extent, these two approaches relate to how Marxists view commodity fetishism, as there is a mystery behind the desires and power we give to objects controlling our

emotions. However, there is a more potent connection to the role of advertising in creating this powerful physical-mental relationship to objects, and my focus will be on this more developed framework of phenomenal intentionality.

Phenomenal intentionality directly focuses on the representation of an act, regardless of whether it was intentional or not. This is why, regardless of whether one has committed a racist act, if a conscious experience is not intentional, what is important is “what my experiences represent” (Matey, 2016: 2). An advertising practitioner may unknowingly create an advertisement that can be decoded as racist, yet it still represents a particular meaning to audiences. More importantly, what would need to be examined – and as I do in my data chapters – is if there was any unconscious, racist meaning behind the message, and this is where the analysis of discourse is relevant.

One of the most influential perspectives of phenomenal intentionality is that of Michael Billig (2002), who was interested in how discourse is used in the formation of attitudes and arguments. His work is useful, as he recognises that it is not important as to what a personal stance on a particular topic is, but rather the “outer, rhetorical” and ‘monologic’ meaning, such as those embedding in advertising that will have an impact on the attitude formation of others (ibid: 27; Butchart, 2015). It may initially seem as though the content of a message or slogan is the most important element of an advertisement. For instance, Pears Soap’s (1880s) advertisement was topped with the copy “For improving and preserving the complexion” (Figure 4), with additional text throughout. Whilst the words ‘improving’ and ‘preserving’ imply that using the product will not improve white skin, but also preserve it from turning any darker, its visibility at the top of the advertisement aims to reinforce a racist message instantaneously. Thus, similarly to how Barthes (1977) looks into the construction of myths in semiotics, the words were not “merely flung together with no thought for presentation” (Billig, 2002: 3), as there is no such thing as content without form.

Billig extends his theory to suggest that this formation of discourse has an impact on how we develop attitudes to take a particular stance, and this begins to tell a story of how practitioners construct advertising messages. He is not so much concerned with the internal attitudes we form, but the “outer, rhetorical meanings” (ibid) in everyday conversations. For instance, a South Asian practitioner may state that they believe their culture is more superior than other Asian cultures, as a justification for why their culture should be used for advertisements. However, the statement that their culture is most superior is not the most significant element. Rather, it is the implication that other cultures are inferior, and is where the culturally racist

implication may lie. Whilst this begins to surface the relationship between intentionality and racism, one is still faced with the dilemma as to whether a practitioner is intentionally or unintentionally racist.

Racist intent is extremely difficult to prove, but has been widely researched by critical race theorists who criticise the wording of policy documents in the US legal system and the UK education system. Whilst cultural theorists have examined racism in global media discourse, less attention has been paid to the actual question of intentionality. The most developed body of research derives from US legal studies. Patricia Marshall (2003) presents an excellent example in a US context, criticising the use of diversity discourse in the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) policy documents, and the sloppy dispersal of ‘diversity’. Whilst there is no direct or blatant use of racist discourse:

the principle of conscious intent is disturbing because the burden of proving racist intentionality is extremely difficult in light of the unconscious manifestations and dimensions of racism (Marshall, 2003: 92).

Both Billig and Marshall outline the difficulties of proving racist intent, but what is missing is an explanation of where individuals source their initial information to form these attitudes. Billig slightly acknowledges this explanation through his construction of argumentation, where individuals have internal and outward battles to make a stance. This perspective is useful for understanding how BME practitioners struggle to not cause ‘grit’ in organisations by presenting too much of cultural background (Carbado and Gulati, 2013), but instead manifest through speech acts of pretending to fit within their organisation’s culture.

What is missing in these debates of intentionality is the link of sociological perspectives of how attitudes are influenced by habitus. Whilst intentionality may often remain ambiguous, understanding one’s cultural background, experiences, and stances enable an understanding of one’s attitudinal nuances developed over time. It is only through these nuances, which can be threaded out by examining nuances of discourse over time through ethnography and then interrogated in interviews, can one begin to build a picture as to whether one’s racist discourse is intentional. Thus, there is an inseparable relationship between intentionality and the formation of discourse. Later in my data chapters, I will show how the analysis of

practitioners' discourse begins to show the connection to power legitimates, whose voices are heard and reinforced. In an organisational context, this power is being reinforced through the introduction of cultural diversity policies and initiatives, which, arguably, conceal the problems of racism.

Replacing racism with cultural diversity in organisations

Since the turn of the 20th century, organisations in the West have changed their approaches to diversity. In a broad sense, diversity can relate to the experiences of underrepresented staff, such as women, disabled people and, more relevant for this study, BME groups. John Mills et al. (2005: 23) quite simply define diversity as “everyone other than white males”. The majority of such studies focus on the experiences of women in organisations, disabled people, and the social construction of sex-based ordering (Butler, 2005; Gardner, 1997). For example, Judith Butler examines the expectations of women to ‘perform’ their role in organisations, and I later apply her performance studies to BME workers. There is a body of literature in both the UK and US that looks at racial discrimination in organisations, and how equality policies impact on the lived experiences of BME workers (Duan and Brown, 2016; Harte, 1988; Ross and Padovani, 2016). More contemporary studies have also addressed these discriminatory policies in the media industries, most notably in television and film (Malik, 2010).

Within this section, I examine how there is a general turn away from racial discrimination policies in organisations, and a turn towards promoting cultural diversity. This examination is important for showing the ideological intentions of these newer forms of positive diversity, as ‘real’ issues of racial discrimination receive less attention. This type of positive diversity is largely evident across the advertising industry, and this section has four main purposes. For contextual purposes, I will firstly outline some key definitions of multiculturalism and CD. I adopt CD as a concept in this thesis, but it is important to briefly outline its origins from multiculturalism. Secondly, I examine how institutional racism is still evident across the media industries, and the relationship this has to traditional racism. Thirdly, I analyse the ‘diversity’ problem in organisations, and the implications for cultural production. Lastly, I examine more contemporary studies of white habitus in organisations, and close by outlining why a more comprehensive framework is needed to examine the processes of advertising practitioners.

Defining multiculturalism and cultural diversity

The concept of multiculturalism has become a political buzz word since the 1970s in different countries²¹. There is a body of literature which presents detailed accounts and criticisms of multicultural policies (see Bannerji, 1996; Kymlicka, 2012; Parekh, 2007). It is not my intention to outline the history of multiculturalism, but it is useful to outline two non-political accounts that aid my discussion of how it is relevant to advertising ideology: acknowledgement of collective differences and positive aesthetics in the media industries.

One of the most common accounts of multiculturalism relates to forms of collective, shared beliefs. Bhikhu Parekh (2000: 2-3) offers a broad definition of multiculturalism, as “a body of beliefs and practices in terms of which a group of people understand themselves and the world and organise their individual and collective identities”. These collective differences are a structured, “shared and historically inherited system of meaning and significance” (ibid). Supposedly, this type of multiculturalism aims to be progressive, following periods of racial tension, particularly in the UK and US. Although Parekh acknowledges that multiculturalism is related to a ‘system of meaning’, he does not outline how it relates to other types of meaning-producing institutions, such as advertising.

Many contemporary studies have defined the positive elements of multiculturalism, believing it is the only way to manage diverse societies. Nasir Meer and Tariq Modood (2011; 2013) have written a series of studies advocating the concept of multiculturalism. Some have criticised Meer and Modood for holding on to multiculturalism, when it has evidently failed, calling for more ‘progressive’ alternatives such as interculturalism (see Cattle, 2012) and super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007). It is not my intention to detail how these newer conceptions have been dealt with. However, it is important to note that they similarly agree that multiculturalism has failed for a) focusing too much on ‘race’ and ethnicity, as opposed to other diverse factors, and b) focusing too much on the ‘fixed’ identities of BME groups, which may be one of the problems within CD agencies.

The majority of British literature over the past decade has presented a case for multiculturalism’s failure²², most prominently through the analysis of multicultural discourse

²¹ For instance, the US began to use the term in the late 1960s and was widely used in academic and political discourse to deal with the cohesion of BME cultures. Similarly, Canada and Australia began to implement multicultural policies throughout the 1970s and 1980s, and the UK from the 1990s (see Kymlicka, 2012; Parekh, 2007).

²² For example, Christian Joppke (2004) presents an excellent account of why multiculturalism has failed – in both theory and practice – across Australia, the Netherlands and Britain. This failure is due to deficits in policies across the different countries, and how deficits led to a lack of public support.

in the media. These discourses reinforce the dichotomy of the ‘West’ versus everyone else (Said, 1978). Not surprisingly, the majority of studies focus on the misrepresentation and stereotypes of Muslims in the British press (Ahmed, 1993; Poole, 2002; Poole and Richardson, 2006; Richardson, 2001; Whitaker, 2002), particularly after the 7/7 bombings in 2004 (Allen, 2005; Modood, 1992; 1994; 1997; 2005; 2006; Saeed, 2004; 2007). For example, Amir Saeed (2007) examines how the misrepresentation of Muslims in the British press reinforces racism. Saeed particularly focuses on how discourse is used to reinforce the ‘un-Britishness’ and ‘otherness’ of Muslims, whether they are legally British or not. Similarly, Miller (2002: 246) directly points out that the media have the power to “represent the world in a certain” way and construct who “regularly and routinely gets left out”. Whilst Miller does not directly point it out, this intentional and consistent absence of Muslims in mainstream advertising communications is evident.

These studies relate to the broader range of literature on the use of power in media discourse. For example, Cottle’s (2000; 2002; 2006) work builds on some of the studies of media discourse that I analysed earlier (Hartmann and Husband, 1974; Van Dijk, 1991), but has developed their ideas to analyse how the media articulate powerful discourses that misrepresent BME groups. These negative associations of multiculturalism have led to the development of related terms that aim to be more progressive.

There have been fewer studies on CD than multiculturalism, mainly because CD is one of many branches of multiculturalism discourse. However, there are two main approaches that help to show why it is more appropriate to focus on CD in order to examine advertising agencies: freedom of choice and aesthetics. Firstly, there are some debates that outline the differences between multiculturalism and CD, arguing that the latter encourages individuals to freely mobilise between different cultures. For example, Mill and Humboldt focus on the liberal element of CD (see Joppke, 2004). I acknowledge that there is some element of freedom with this, particularly in relation to how mass communications increasingly give individuals access to global cultures (Cottle, 2000; Ewen, 2000; Lash and Lury, 2007). However, Parekh is critical of these approaches, as it may give one a choice of whether or not to participate in a dominant culture, but is not realistic regarding an option, such as indigenous cultures. In addition, others miss the point that CD aims to foster “a common sense of belonging” (ibid: 11), something that is evident in CD advertising communications. Secondly, some accounts acknowledge the aesthetic elements of CD. The focus on aesthetics is widely applicable to advertising, as practitioners aim to develop appealing types of CD

communication strategies. Parekh is critical of these ‘romantic liberals’ who do not consider that aesthetics are only “a matter of taste” (ibid: 166). One of the main problems with society is that there is always a dominant culture (Parekh, 2007: 5) and the ‘other’ cultures are subject to “the negative images sent out by the dominant culture” (ibid).

Thus, both concepts lack nuance and do not have indefinite definitions, which make it more difficult for advertising practitioners to reproduce ‘positive’ CD communication strategies. It is not my intention in this thesis to defend CD as an indefinite concept. Rather, I use the concept for two reasons. Firstly, my data chapters examine how advertising organisations reproduce cultural messages into communication strategies. Secondly, I analyse how ideologies are embedded within these seemingly positive messages. However, diversity is now seen as something that needs to be ‘managed’ in organisations. In considering this unconscious element, I now examine how institutional racism impacts both advertising practitioners and advertising communications.

Institutional racism

Although the concept is highly subjective, institutional racism (IR) remains a relevant topic for discussion. One of the most widely acknowledged definitions of IR is from the Macpherson report in 1999, following the racially motivated murder of a black London teenager, and the Metropolitan Police’s failure to lead to a prosecution (ibid: 28):

The collective failure of an organisation, to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin.

This definition broadly outlines how institutional racism is a ‘collective’ act by a group of individuals, but is not nuanced enough to fully understand racial discrimination in different circumstances. It is useful to note that, while structural racism is related, it refers to the ways that racist nuances are embedded into the policies, “structural conditions and practices” of an organisation (Lukachko et al., 2014: 42). John Solomos (2003: 3) highlights the problem with studies where IR becomes a “catch-all phrase” to define all scenarios of racial discrimination. This section aims to make a clear differentiation between IR and the diversity ‘problem’ in institutions. Firstly, I outline debates that see how IR has a thread of traditional racism, and

therefore cannot be detached from ideology. Secondly, and to the contrary, I show how the diversity ‘problem’ in organisations is not always attached to IR, or ideology, and this can only be determined by examining everyday practices and habitus. Thus, I outline how IR is a) an intentional practice, and b) is not always intentional.

The majority of early accounts of IR agree that it relies on the collective discrimination against BME groups by whites. This type of collective practice was heavily evident in news media representations, e.g. magazines and television, of black crime reporting throughout the 1990s in both the UK and US, and has been heavily documented in literature (Alia and Bull, 2005; Kernot, 1990; Spoonley, 1993). While such studies largely examine news media, there are very few studies on IR in advertising, as there is more focus on negative and racist stereotyping. This is not to suggest that the advertising industry has never been deemed institutionally racist. However, it does evidence the lack of research that has been conducted inside the industry on both collective and individual advertising practices, as opposed to the final product of advertisements themselves.

With the analysis of collective discrimination in mind, Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton (1967: 5) presented one of the earliest conceptions of institutional racism in the US, where they saw a direct relationship between racism in institutions and individuals:

Institutional racism relies on the active and pervasive operation of antiblack attitudes and practices. A sense of superior group position prevails: whites are “better” than blacks; therefore blacks should be subordinate to whites.

This statement defines what the authors call ‘overt’ (micro) racist acts by individuals, and ‘covert’ (macro) racism in organisations. David Mason (1982) also identifies that there are differences between the “actions of groups or individuals” in comparison to the “manifestation” and power abuse of institutional structures (Essed, 1991; Omi and Winant, 2014). I examined this macro-micro debate in Chapter 1 in relation to ideology, arguing that the advertising industry is subject to macro, ideological constraints, but that advertising practitioners do not necessarily reproduce ideologies. However, Mason, Carmichael and Hamilton incorrectly assume that individuals always consciously reproduce ideologies, as individuals are subjected to the macro structures of institutions.

I challenge such viewpoints in this thesis, as there is no indefinite way of proving whether individuals intentionally or unintentionally reproduce racist ideologies. Bourdieu's (1993) work on habitus is worth reintroducing here, as one cannot make indefinite assumptions about theory unless it is supported by an empirical investigation of practice, which is the field theory in this study. As Van Dijk (2000: 92) suggests, "[r]acism does have an ideological basis, but cannot be reduced to it alone".

There is an alternative body of research that investigates IR on more micro approaches, either seeing individuals as intentionally reproducing racist ideologies, or not. I accept that it is ambiguous as to whether an act is intentional or not, but these micro accounts are relevant as macro organisational practices are not 'seamless' and "very rarely do they consist of [...] individuals with an identical ethos and pattern of operation" (Rattansi, 2007: 137-138). This type of discrimination differs to IR, which directly assumes that there is some form of conscious or unconscious reproduction of ideologies. The micro practice of developing CD communication strategies cannot be assumed to be a malicious act, and evidences why Ali Rattansi criticises IR as a lazy, 'blanket' term to deal with organisational discrimination (ibid).

In considering the non-malicious element of advertising practices, it can also not be assumed that IR or discriminatory practices are ideological. Rather than being ideological, these approaches see IR as a systematic structure of 'white advantages'. From this perspective, racism is exercised through the dominant 'race' using prejudice and power. US sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (1997) would criticise the micro approach taken in this thesis, as he believes that any study of racism amongst individuals "usually finds that racism is declining in society" (ibid: 467). His studies of 'race' in organisations acknowledge that qualitative studies may be useful to some extent, but believes they do not explain why racist attitudes still happen (Sniderman and Piazza, 1995). However, Bonilla-Silva (1997) makes two assumptions that cause his argument to fail.

Firstly, he assumes that studies focusing on individual racism ultimately find that the institutions themselves "cannot be racist" (ibid: 467). My concern with this view is that Bonilla-Silva assumes that only a macro evaluation of an institution can be conducted, to discover whether it is institutionally racist. This thesis argues to the contrary, in that it is more useful to start with the workers themselves to find where their attitudes stem from and how these attitudes are then influenced by institutional practices. It is here where the nuances of everyday racism and the "idea of experience" (Essed, 1991: 37; Shoshana, 2015) occur in

conversations, practices and processes (Ngo, 2016; Weaver, 2010). This approach has been seen in more contemporary studies of media practices (see Saha, 2012; Edwards, 2013; Miller, 2005; Morley and Chen, 1996), and there is certainly reference to the relationship between micro and macro racism.

Secondly, Bonilla-Silva (1997: 467) assumes that studying individuals “is simply a matter of surveying the proportion of people in a society who hold racist beliefs”. Again, there are methodological flaws with this view. One would not necessarily create a survey, or any other data collection method, and initially assume that the individuals have racist beliefs. For example, this thesis does not assume that advertising practitioners are racist, but aims to investigate how their processes of developing CD communication strategies are influenced by their habitus.

These studies of IR are important for highlighting the issues of discriminatory practices and policies within institutions, whether intentional or not. However, there is also a disadvantage in IR only focusing on one type of discrimination, when there are other “attitudes and procedures that discriminate against racialised populations” (Rattansi, 2007: 138). The type of discrimination that I aim to analyse from the data collection of the thesis focuses more on these everyday attitudes, and the following section outlines how this makes CD problematic in organisations.

The diversity ‘problem’ in organisations

A developing area of research over the past decade or so turns away from institutional racism and, instead, focuses on the diversity ‘problem’ in organisations. Sara Ahmed (2009: 1) presents a concise account of why the ‘arrival’ of diversity in organisations is problematic, as it “involves the departure of other (perhaps more critical) terms, including ‘equality’, ‘equal opportunities’, and ‘social justice’”. Similarly to the exoticisation of culture, as I outlined earlier, diversity also has the problem of being appealing, whilst disregarding the ‘real’ issues within organisations. I acknowledge that the diversity ‘problem’ occurs in all types of institutions, not only advertising. Within this section, I specifically demonstrate a) how diversity policies in organisations are problematic, b) how diversity is a visual performance, and c) how diversity is particularly complex for BME practitioners. These discussions will begin to close in on why my adaption of field theory is important for a study of advertising practitioners, and I open with some initial thoughts on what makes an organisation ‘diverse’.

It is subjective as to what makes an organisation diverse, but LeNorman J Strong (1986) presents a useful starting point:

one which is genuinely committed to diverse representation of its membership; is sensitive to maintaining an open, supportive [...] and purposefully including elements of diverse cultures in its ongoing operations; and [...] is authentic in its response to issues confronting it.

Strong makes three key points in this definition, where a diverse organisation: is committed to diverse representation, including diversity in its continuous operations, and appropriately deals with diversity when problems arise. Several studies have addressed these three points in different ways. The majority of studies focus on education and how to improve diversity communications in schools and colleges (Feagin, 1997; Lewis, 2003). Others focus on health and how to deal with diversity issues such as language barriers with patients (Duan and Brown, 2016). There is a developing area of research looking at diversity problems in media practices, such as television representation (Hall, 1980; 1997; Van Dijk, 2000) and public relations (Edwards, 2013). I particularly want to show how this type of diversity problem is different.

One of the main diversity problems in industries such as advertising is how diversity is dealt with internally and the implications this has on the reproduction of cultural messages. Sara Ahmed (2006; 2012) outlines an excellent account of the diversity problem in organisations and, although it is in relation to higher education, her examination is useful to aid my argument. Ahmed's work is relevant for this thesis, as she is interested in how diversity is operationalised and the experiences of BME workers themselves. In *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*, Ahmed (2012) interviews diversity practitioners in Australia and the UK to gain an insight into working practices. Ahmed sees organisational diversity as "a way of attending to what gets passed over as routine or an ordinary feature of institutional life" (ibid: 22; Carbado and Gulatio, 2003; 2013). She finds that one aspect of implementing diversity is the creation of a job role of some form of diversity officer, and this type of role may be created in advertising through the implementation of a CD communication team.

One of Ahmed's main analyses is based on the actual duties of this so-called diversity officer. Some media studies have examined how more BME practitioners improve on screen diversity representation (Adamo, 2010; Malik, 1996; Masouras, 2015). However, Ahmed outlines how diversity workers have the role of "just being there" (ibid: 23). One of Ahmed's interviewees explains that they were appointed to comply with the Race Relations Amendment Act (1967). This Act was created in response to the social hostility towards the UK BME community. The interviewee describes the lack of support for her role, and "maybe you're just there, because if you're not there then the university can't say that it's dealing with legislation" (ibid). Ahmed refers to these staff members as 'diversity champions', as they are seen as representing the 'diversity' in their organisations. However, the problem with these job roles is that they turn the gaze away from anti-racism and discrimination policies. Chapter 7 outlines how these roles are particularly problematic in advertising, and that having black bodies evident in agencies is a replacement for field research.

Ahmed highlights the wider issues with diversity workers and policies, but there needs to be more of a micro analysis of discourse and everyday operational processes. Nirmar Puwar (2004) outlines some of the problems with "celebrating", "managing" and "valuing" diversity, and being told that "diversity is good for us" in organisations (ibid: 1). Puwar discusses how this type of 'happy talk' (Bell and Hartmann, 2007) is actually a 'speech act' to make it appear as though diversity is happening. Similarly, Jeffrey C Alexander et al. (2006) outline how speaking about diversity is a performance, but the material product of these dialogues is superficial. These types of dialogues make it 'believable' that diversity is taking place and, as Foucault (1979) would suggest, is another method of circulating powerful ideas.

This type of ideological discourse is similar to what Van Dijk (1993; 2000) talks about in news media. These discourses are also evident in the BME-owned CD agencies to reinforce the 'good things', i.e. market opportunities, that diversity brings. However, as with Ahmed's example, my data chapters show how these 'good things' are limited if practitioners do not make changes to their actual working practices, and often turn out to be 'non-performatives' (Ahmed, 2006). These types of organisational discourses have implications on the working practices of practitioners, as they are more likely to talk positively about CD as opposed to actually making changes in their processes. Thus, Ahmed's work is a useful starting point for this thesis, but there needs to be more focus on habitus and why practitioners use discriminatory discourse, as opposed to merely criticising them.

It is useful to reintroduce Judith Butler's work here, as she particularly focuses on how discourse makes people act in different social settings, and is a useful starting point for analysing why some advertising practitioners develop negative stereotypes. Butler (1990; 1997) has written widely on performance culture, and her work is particularly useful as she makes reference to the importance of discourse use in organisations. Similarly to Van Dijk (2000), Butler is interested in discourse, referring to performativity as a "citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names" (ibid: 2). As with the social construction of 'race', Butler argues that we are also categorised and 'gendered' by "a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame" (ibid: 129). These 'acts' are particularly important for how groups are expected to act in different organisational settings, and are particularly exemplary in Ahmed (2009) and Puwar's (2004) examination of the visibility of BME groups in organisations. However, Butler makes reference to how and why we 'do' things in different social settings, and builds on Nietzsche's (1887: 29, cited in Foucault, 1977b: 140) foundational approach where it is not only about being visible, but "doing itself is everything" (Austin, 1976: 6). Therefore, it is not only about being a visible BME practitioner, but is about how one performs their role and, as I examine in Chapter 6, how they respond to the expectations of ideological 'good practice'.

In a more recent paper, Butler (1997: 115) does address the relationship between performative speech acts and habitus, but initially criticises Bourdieu's definition of a 'speech act'. Bourdieu (cited in ibid: 121) describes a speech act as actions, structures or "socially constructed dispositions" that determine the things individuals say. Butler sees a problem with Bourdieu's approach, as he assumes that speech acts are "positioned on a map of social power in a fairly fixed way" (ibid: 123). This supports my earlier account of why Bourdieu is more of structuralist, as he seems to lean more towards individuals being influenced by social structures. Therefore, Butler's work is useful for examining how CD is categorised and dealt with in different social structures. What is missing from her work is a thorough examination of how performance is linked to conceptions of ideology, as opposed to simply dismissing the fact that it is not completely subject to structuration, and this study aims to bridge this gap. In addition, there is no outline of how other intersectional discriminatory factors such as 'race' – and then, for example, being a black woman – simultaneously reinforce how performativity works. It is only then that it becomes evident how habitus and performance work together in different organisational settings.

It is only in the past few years that some studies have used the concept of ‘institutional habitus’ (Reay, 1998) in passing, but without any concrete definition or framework (Butcher, 2016; Feighery, 2013: 74; Payne, 2015). For example, Tatli et al. (2015) identify that ‘organisational habitus’ is distinctive in relation to other forms of habitus (see Tatli and Ozbilgin, 2012; Tatli, 2011). Some organisational studies focus on individual workers, and how subjectivities are developed in working practices and ‘organisational culture’ (Buchholz, 2006; McDonough, 1997: 106). These studies of habitus are a useful starting point in developing Bourdieu’s concept, but this thesis offers a concrete framework for examining discourses, working practices and wider industry constraints, to show how the three work as a system. However, there are few studies that address ‘racial habitus’, which begin to show the relationship between whiteness and how individuals circulate ideologies.

White habitus

Before outlining the problems I have with the concept of ‘white habitus’, I want to briefly reflect on the earlier notion of white privilege. ‘White’ itself has not historically been classified as a ‘race’, but instead European imperialism has made it the category to compare all human beings to (Dyer, 1997). This untouchable category creates a system of white privilege that Kendall (2013: 1) describes as:

an institutional (rather than personal) set of benefits granted to those of us who, by race, resemble the people who dominate the powerful positions in our institutions.

It is evident that white privilege is a system that automatically benefits those with white skin, and is constructed to portray white people as the ‘normal’ category (Hall, 1992; Gilroy, 2000). As shown in my opening examination of racist advertisements, a subject is “only racial when it is ‘marked’ by the presence of the truly raced, that is, the non-white subject” (Dyer, 1999: 14; Fanon, 1986; Said, 1978; 1981; 1985; 1993; Bhabha, 1983; Yancy, 2008). However, there is a body of research that addresses my concerns with research of whiteness and the “green light problem” (Kaplan, 1997: 328) when white people increase “the purview of whites themselves” (Eriksen, 1995: 171; hooks, 1992).

Richard Dyer's (1999) studies of whiteness in film-making is insightful for showing how film production was intentionally made for white skin, and is therefore not complimentary to darker complexions. Dyer compares the purity of whiteness on screen, through brightened lights, to Christianity and Mary's Immaculate Conception of Jesus' non-human spirit (Jordan, 1968). Dyer (1997: 23) argues that this purity is reflected in more recent ideas of whiteness being an incomparable category, where whites are "no more than their bodies". Thus, the films were intentionally made to demise black skin, "not because there was no other way" (ibid: 80-90) and, again, reinforces the power of reproducing dominant ideologies in media practices.

I am not suggesting that these studies of whiteness are not important, as white as an ethnicity itself is complex. For instance, John Solomos (2003) exemplifies how Irish immigrants faced discrimination and 'anit-Irish racism', particularly through difficulties of finding work in England in the early 20th century and not having an ethnic category in the UK census. However, Solomos himself identifies the benefits of whiteness when white Irish people were favoured for work following calls for labour in the mid-20th century, and black colonial workers experienced discrimination (Layton-Henry, 1994: 284; Solomos, 2003). Therefore, regardless of the difficulties that white people face in organisations, it is incomparable to the ideological repression of BME workers.

What I aim to show in the following section is that contemporary research is still heavily focused on the subject of whiteness in organisations, as opposed to the experiences of BME practitioners that this study investigates. Instead, I argue that there needs to be more of a focus on 'racial habitus' in organisations, which few studies currently address.

There is a developing area of research into the concept of 'white habitus', where white people tend to 'gravitate' or 'flock' together in different social settings (Bonilla-Silva et al., 2006; Chou et al., 2012). Bonilla-Silva et al. (2006: 229) first mentioned this term to describe how whites have limited "chances of developing meaningful relationships with blacks and other minorities". As this is still a developing area of research, this section is intentionally short, and I outline the problems I have with this concept. Firstly, I show how the complete detachment from Bourdieu's original concept makes 'white habitus' a blanket term to describe what white people do in different social settings. I earlier outlined how this focus on what white people 'do' to BME groups is evident in studies of institutional racism and diversity in organisations. Secondly, I argue that there is a general problem with

contemporary studies that focus on the experiences – or ‘gaze’ – of white people, and there are too few studies of BME workers.

Bonilla-Silva’s et al.’s (2006) social-psychology study is based on attitudes of white people in Detroit, US, and why they choose to ‘self-segregate’ from BME groups. The authors acknowledge some of the existing studies that focus on the experiences of BME groups in segregated areas such as ghettos. There seems to be an echo throughout the article that there is little focus on white racialisation in literature. For example, the authors quote some recent studies that have examined the ideology of whiteness and the normalisation of white privilege in organisations (Bonilla-Silva et al., 2006: 231; Myers, 2003). There is some acknowledgement of Bourdieu’s habitus, and one of Bonilla-Silva’s (2014: 114) earlier articles addresses the sociological perspective of ‘white habitus’:

racialised, uninterrupted socialisation process that conditions and creates whites’ racial tastes, perceptions, feelings, and emotions and their views on racial matters.

To some extent, this statement addresses how some of the elements attached to habitus aid in developing racist attitudes. Bonilla-Silva also addresses racial ideology and has similar views to Van Dijk, where it is seen as “the racially based frameworks” people use to justify racism (ibid: 9). This viewpoint is useful, as it is one of the first studies to address the relationship between habitus and ideology in organisations. However, I have several problems with how Bonilla-Silva develops Bourdieu’s original concept.

Firstly, there is a general assumption that white people have “extremely limited” experiences with BME groups and that their only source of knowledge is based on “racial stereotypes and generalisations perpetuated by the media” (ibid). This general view supports the ideological element of whiteness that has been seen in existing studies dealing with whiteness in the media (see Dyer, 1999; Hall, 1996). The whole purpose of Bourdieu’s approach to habitus, was to combine both a theoretical and practice approach to understanding how individuals deal with different social situations. Thus, Bonilla-Silva’s (2006) approach fails, as from the outset there is an assumption that white people have “negative views about non-whites”. Also

in a US context, Johnathan Flowers (2016: 4) presents the only alternative perspective of a ‘black habitus’²³, which he describes as:

a process of socialisation that promotes group membership (for some), while conditioning and creating the perceptions and feelings of black people with regards to other people of colour and white people in general.

Flowers suggests that a black person may be denied ‘full membership’ to black culture, as they may be ‘conditioned’ to create negative feelings towards black people. He uses himself as an example of a black man who uses ‘white’ English as opposed to the dialect associated with black cultures. Again, this account fails as it presents a very narrow depiction of what black habitus entails. There have been a range of valid accounts of how whiteness has affected the ‘black experience’ (Edwards, 2013; Gilroy, 1987), often through media representations (Hall, 1996). However, Flowers neglects other elements that could potentially add to the concept, such as difficulties with resisting whiteness and a full exploration of how ideology works, instead only offering a superficial engagement with the concept of ideology. This study will expand on black habitus to some extent, by analysing the experiences of black advertising practitioners and their experiences in organisations.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how the media and advertising industries have dealt with ‘race’, racism(s) and CD over time. The historical context was important for showing the relationship between social, political and media developments of ‘race’. However, the contexts of the different types of racism were outlined to highlight the significance of cultural racism, something that is widely neglected in media debates. The chapter has argued that habitus needs to be analysed to show how racial stereotypes are developed and scenarios where racist ideologies are embedded in organisational practices. Crucially, and what the data chapters will examine, is the relationship between racism and intentionality, as the thoughts and processes of practices will evidence where everyday and structural racism manifest.

²³ Samuel L. Perry (2012) also uses the term ‘racial habitus’ in a similar context.

Although the use of white habitus may serve the purpose for Bonilla-Silva's studies, it is not a fully developed concept to be applied to other intersectional fields such as advertising.

Bonilla-Silva (2006: 9) engages with ideology on a very basic level, addressing Marx's use of ideology, recognising how the "dominant race tend to become the master frameworks" and facilitate "their ideological positions". This basic engagement limits Bonilla-Silva's understanding of how ideology works in different social contexts, racial order building (Omi and Winant, 2014) and scenarios, where hegemony – or consent to whiteness – happens.

What it seems Bonilla-Silva was trying to do was to create a framework to understand how white people develop ideas about BME groups. There are existing studies that address this in relation to organisational practices and whiteness. For example, Feagin (1997) describes this 'white frame' as "an organised set of racialised ideas, emotions, and inclinations, as well as recurring or habitual discriminatory actions that are consciously or unconsciously expressed". Although Feagin does not directly relate to the concept of hegemony, there are similarities to Giddens's approach of seeing some racial ideas as being intentionally racist and linked to ideology, where others are unconscious and evident in everyday practices. These studies are a useful starting point for understanding how habitus works in different ways. However, this thesis aims to specifically develop a body of research that is increasingly looking at media practices in different fields.

Chapter 4

The cultural production of cultural diversity communication strategies: An internal investigation with advertising practitioners

Introduction

In the introduction to this thesis, I explained that the aim of this research was to examine the processes that advertising practitioners use to construct CD communication strategies. In Chapters 1, 2 and 3, I presented my theoretical approach and included my adaption of Bourdieu's field theory, which I will apply in my data chapters. In considering the aims of this thesis, my data chapters aim to answer three key research questions:

1. How are strategies and working practices for CD communication developed in the UK and US?
2. How are CD discourses used by advertising practitioners?
3. What are the structural limitations of CD communication in the advertising industry?

This chapter explores my methodological approach of this thesis, examining why I chose to pursue a study investigating advertising practitioners. I aim to reflect on why an internal investigation is important, as there is limited insight into how cultural diversity (CD) communication strategies are developed in literature. Previous chapters have outlined that CD communication relates to the way practitioners target BME audiences. This differs to the general market (GM) communication that generally avoids CD communication, which instead aims to target white, majority audiences. I particularly want to show why this study is timely for investigating how the industry is developing creative communication strategies for an ever-expanding BME population in the UK and US. I evidence how my thinking has developed since my initial research proposal, steering away from the semiotic and content analysis of 'race' in advertisements, which I partially contextualised in Chapter 3. I do this in three ways.

Firstly, I open by reflecting on my previous career as an advertising practitioner, and why I chose to focus on how CD communication strategies are developed and executed in working practice. I explain why interviews were selected for exploring discourses and how they enabled me to 'provoke' (Bourdieu, 1993) interviewees regarding their working practices.

Secondly, I draw on studies of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996; Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013; Saha, 2016) to explore the processes of advertising practitioners and how this led to the selection of ethnography in order to study the ‘real world’ (Miller, 2002; 2005).

Thirdly, following a brief consideration for ethics and confidentiality, I reflect on my capacity as a BME researcher and the implications this position could have on this thesis. My experiences of being marked as the ‘poster girl’ (Ahmed, 2009) for diversity strengthen my argument for an internal investigation, exploring the experiences of others. I revisit Ahmed’s (ibid: 44) depiction of a ‘poster girl’ as someone who is seen as the diversity advocate within their organisation (2009: 44). This examination is not only important because of my own ethnicity, but it will essentially show the implications that one’s ethnicity has on how they facilitate their habitus in working practice and the amount of power they have in implementing change. I also consider the potential downfalls of being a ‘stranger’ (Schultz, 1964) within the agencies and the implications this could have on my research. Lastly, I close by discussing why critical discourse analysis (CDA) is used to thematically explore the use of language and power in my data (Fairclough, 1995b). I ultimately argue that power is used to shape what the industry perceives as ‘acceptable’ CD communication (Foucault, 1984). In order to contextualise my argument, I open with some reflections of my research journey.

Initial considerations

In this section, I argue that the advertising industry is too focused on GM communication and is missing opportunities with the ‘brown pound’. This GM focus limits the extent to which CD communication impacts the industry as a whole. I briefly overview how practitioners are attempting to target BME audiences, in considering that racist advertising is now supposedly more subliminal (Burton and Klemm, 2011). Prior to this discussion, I open by reflecting on how my experiences as a practitioner have assisted in shaping the direction of this research.

A reflection on the journey of this research

My initial intention for this research was to conduct a comparative study with the UK and US advertising industries, analysing how they differ in their CD communication strategies. I also wanted to examine the working practices of practitioners, due to my own experiences of witnessing the industry’s attitude towards CD communication. From experiences of working in international advertising agencies with multi-billion pound brands as clients, I often found

that there was limited training and resources for CD communication. However, there are official ‘Codes of Practice’ stated in the Committee of Advertising Practice (CAP) documents²⁴. There is one code which deals with the fair representation of religion and beliefs, and another which covers offensive representation. Not complying with these codes can lead to an investigation into the agency’s practice and can potentially lead to the withdrawal of the given campaign. However, there are no codes that focus on ‘good practice’ – for wider CD issues such as ‘race’, identity and cultural values – but there are networking organisations that I examine in Chapter 7 which aim to do so.

The attitude towards CD communication began to considerably adjust in 2005 following action from the self-regulated Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA). The IPA launched a diversity forum to raise issues of racial representation in advertising. A ground-breaking report published between the IPA and Central Office of Information (2005) reflected the changing landscape of Britain’s BME population, the first of its kind in the UK²⁵. Two key statistics in the report referred to the drastic increase in the BME population by 2016. Firstly, half of the BME population will be under the age of 12, in comparison to half of the white population being under 40. Secondly, by 2051, England and Wales will be as diverse as London. As my introduction to this thesis highlighted, this increase in diversity is also evident in the US, whereby more than 50% of growth between 2000 and 2010 was due to the Hispanic population (US Census Bureau, 2011: 3). The American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA) is the US equivalent of the IPA and has diversity programmes to increase education for CD communication (American Advertising Association, 2016).

These statistics and associations are paramount for the industry’s approach to CD communication to not only highlight the necessity of communicating with these audiences, but also for the market potential. The IPA (2005: 3) report stated that “advertisers need to wake up to the opportunities of the ‘brown pound’”. Similarly, US agencies have come under rising pressure to increase diversity following various industry initiatives (Oliver, Murphy and Tag, 2014: 37). This pressure has seen the introduction of diversity policies within other media industries such as television and magazines (Downing and Husband, 2005; Horsti and Hulten, 2011; Malik, 2010; 2013). Whilst the advertising industry is yet to introduce such

²⁴ The CAP codes have been mentioned in order to contextualise my discussion. However, it is not my intention in this research to examine policy documents.

²⁵ Followed by an updated release in 2012.

comprehensive policies, there have been increases in attempts to specifically communicate with BME audiences.

A common attempt at CD communication is the inclusion of BME people in advertisements. This inclusion is often achieved by either casting BME models or by darkening the complexion of a white model in an existing image (Burton and Klemm, 2011; McClintock, 2005). This is usually executed via software programs and has led some agencies to invest in new technologies such as Adobe Campaign Management. This approach relates to Judith Butler's (1990) performance studies discussed in Chapter 3. In this instance, diversity becomes a "citational practice" (Butler, 2005: 2) and the advertisements become "the results of doing" (ibid: 25), as opposed to developing creative CD communication strategies. However, the industry has experienced two major challenges: the introduction of teams who specialise in CD communication, and the steady increase to roughly 70 independent CD agencies in the UK and US (MediaReach, 2015). Whilst existing studies focus on the increasing awareness of racial representation in advertising images (Burton, 2002; Lash and Lury, 2007; Miller, 2002; 2005), few focus on the actual processes of the practitioners themselves.

Upon reflecting on my experiences and existing literature, Chapter 3 touched on the historical representation of 'race' in advertisements. This helped in mapping how 'race' in advertising has developed and been re-shaped over the decades. Racism has historically been prominent within advertising, particularly when demising black characters (McClintock, 1995; 2005). This reinforced how 'race' was seen in society, particularly during periods of racial tensions, as Chapter 3 discussed. This reinforcement led to consumers not only being the commodity, but buying the racist ideology embedded within the advertisements (Ewen, 2000; Lury, 1996). In considering these ideologies, I now discuss why an internal investigation is important.

Directing the method choice: The 'off-screen' cultural production of cultural diversity communication

By researching practitioners, I aim to present new insights into their processes for creating CD communication strategies. Rather than attempting to be representative of the entire UK and US industries, my aim is to contribute to existing literature of cultural production and CD communication (Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013; Edwards, 2014). Studying the industry from the inside is referred to as 'off-screen', a technique used to investigate and expose the behind-

the-scenes production “patterns of discrimination in the media industries” (Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013: 183). This ‘off-screen’ approach unveils *how* BME audiences are perceived by the creators of the campaigns. In order to defend my choice of pursuing an internal investigation, it is important to reflect on cultural production.

As discussed in Chapter 2, Bourdieu (1993: 30) defines his concept of ‘field’ as a constructed “space of positions and the space of the position-takings” for different forms of resources and capital (Born, 2010; Thompson and Bourdieu, 1991: 14; Hesmondhalgh, 2006: 212). This field relates to the different spaces in the creative industries, where one can explore the power relations between the ‘creators’ and the ‘producers’ (Bourdieu, 1993; 1996). Reception studies suggest that practitioners encode learnt cultural messages into advertisements, in order for BME audiences to then decode (Hall, 1973). Bourdieu (1996: 167) describes this process as the charismatic ideology of the producer. The practitioners are not the originators of the cultural message, but have powerfully reproduced the message into a consumer-friendly package. Therefore, practitioners manipulate different cultures in order to persuade them to consume.

Cultural production is a crucial element in advertising practice, as the process of reproducing different cultures reaps power and rewards of market share for agencies. However, in literature, it is still ambiguous as to what the actual strategies and working practices are. Anamik Saha (2012) further discusses cultural production in contemporary media practices. Saha (*ibid*) shapes his discussion around the role of BME cultural producers in a British South Asian theatre company. *Curry Tales* (*ibid*) discusses the stereotypical representations of ‘race’ in the creative industries, namely the ‘positive’ stereotypes of curry and Bombay mix, which British audiences often associate with South Asian cultures.

Saha argues that it is the racialised minorities themselves who are sustaining the stereotypical representations. Discussing the responses from ethnographic research, Saha explains that the theatre teams repackage their own culture to appropriate it for a British audience. The audience is led to believe the representations of ‘Asianness’, and thus they have the power to reproduce these cultures (Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013). Therefore, collecting the data ‘off-screen’ with the production team enabled Saha to internally investigate cultural production strategies. Mazarella (2003) presents a similar study within an Indian advertising agency. As opposed to the cases of positive stereotyping in Saha’s study, Mazarella (2003) is concerned with cases of cultural homogenisation where “cultural meets capital” and “global brands encounter local markets” (*ibid*: 33). I consider this homogenisation again in my data chapters,

where I discuss the imbalance between marketing the ‘brown pound’, positive stereotyping and dominant ideologies. These elements ultimately impact the habitus of practitioners and how their cultural messages are decoded by audiences.

Saha’s discussion on cultural production has partially influenced the direction of this study. Rather than focusing on the onscreen representation of CD as previously researched (Downing and Husband, 2005; Malik, 2013; Saha, 2012; hooks, 1992), Saha (2012) draws to the BME practitioners themselves. I did not seek to explore the strategies of CD communication. Rather, a deeper observation as an outsider into everyday processes gives a critical insight into advertising agencies.

Trends of inequality? Justifying the two-country, two-agency structure

When deciding what types of advertising organisations to select for my data collection, I initially reflected on the normative structure of the global advertising industry. Around 79% of global brands use advertising agencies for creating advertising campaigns, and buying advertising time and space (Holm, 2017: 54). In *Advertising: the magic system*, Raymond Williams (1981) provides a critique of how the industry is “the most direct cultural expression of capitalism” (Holm, 2017: 161) through different forms of aesthetics. The introduction to this thesis outlined the various reasons why advertising was selected for this thesis, and Chapter 1 related the industry’s role in developing capitalist ideas. However, advertising agencies supposedly have autonomy to create fresh promotional ideas, whereas this thesis is particularly interested in the processes of developing CD communication (Holm, 2017). Of course, in contrast, there is the risk of losing control of brand consistency when giving too much creative control to external practitioners. However, the former is often more appropriate for generating fresh ideas in a competitive landscape; moreover, the majority of global brands do not stay with the same agency for more than five years for this reason alone. The selection of advertising agencies was then the most obvious choice of organisation for this study in order to observe the processes of cultural production and how ideas are generated, excluded and legitimised. This section details a) the general structure of advertising agencies, b) the difference between GM and CD agencies, and c) why the geographic focus of these agencies was selected.

The normative structure of advertising agencies

The structure of advertising agencies varies, although it is usually dependent on the types of services the agencies provide. The majority will have planning, production and placement teams, and vary between being boutique or full-service agencies. The global, full-service advertising agencies (which I refer to as GM agencies) involved in this research are often referred to as ‘holding companies’ or ‘mega agencies’ (Sinclair, 2012: 146). These organisations are likely to include various, full-service departments, operating out of various cities throughout the world and mostly manage the accounts of major clients such as Unilever and Coca-Cola (ibid: 32-42). The largest of these mega agencies is WPP, who hold a variety of smaller communications organisations such as Ogilvy and Mather. In addition to planning, production and placement teams, agencies as such are likely to include integrated digital, programmatic, ethnic, PR and market research teams. Thus, full service refers to the integration of different types of media communications that can be conducted for a client under the same roof, instead of outsourcing practitioner specialisms to various agencies.

It is not my intention to go into great detail about the different job roles of advertising practitioners, but to give a sense of the role of a typical practitioner and their input in the creative process. The creative team is likely to involve Art Directors, Graphic Designers, Copywriters and other more specialist design workers. These practitioners are likely to be involved in developing the creative visuals and discourse used for developing advertisements. The production teams are likely to work closely with the creative teams, in order to bring together the final idea of an advertisement in different types of media. Similarly, Account Planners mostly work on audience research if there is no set market research team. These may be merged with Account Managers, who mostly have a role in managing the process and logistics of the advertising campaign. Together, these practitioners have the role of bringing together the ideas, discourse, messages and branding of an advertisement to life.

As expected, the organisational structure of advertising agencies has become more complex since the turn of the century, due to an increase in technology, media platforms and the large budgets that brands are willing to spend on advertising (Nixon, 2003: 41). Some mega-agencies have further divided into sub-agencies, or ‘unbundled’ (Hackley and Hackley, 2015: 101), to deal with specific audience needs and dominate a particular segment of the market (Fill, Hughes and Francesco, 2013). One of the most prominent examples of this division are digital advertising agencies and – as they are more relevant for this study – CD advertising agencies. Some of these agencies are referred to as ethnic or multicultural agencies that may

or may not be part of a larger mega-agency group. Some mega-agencies go in the complete opposite direction and choose to continue expanding their in-house teams, working as mini-hubs on different accounts, but with a breadth of expertise under one roof, although this specifically differs for GM and CD agencies.

Is there a difference between GM and CD agencies?

One of the objectives of this thesis is to examine the distinction between GM and CD agencies. When reading into the working remits of CD agencies, there is often the implication that they offer a unique service that is not available in a GM agency. For example, many claim that their teams are specialists in BME audience research, and that they have resources that are unavailable in the GM agencies that aim to target more mainstream consumers. Some have identified the problems with poor minority representation, such as BMEs only making up 2% of senior management (Deuze, 2007: 135) and the tendency of UK agencies to hire from elite universities (Holm, 2017: 157). However, this research is particularly concerned with the actual working practices of these CD agencies and aims to investigate which elements differentiate from their GM counterparts. Thus, there is an implication that the development of CD agencies is a market response to poor communication with BME audiences in GM agencies. This study examines what the structural differences are, as there is an assumption that CD agencies will provide both a better organisational environment for BME practitioners and more targeted focus on BME audiences. However, this exploration is not possible without interrogating the organisational structures, the use of discourse as a powerful tool and the complications of cultural differences when determining which voices are heard.

In considering the objectives of this research, it was necessary to separately examine both GM and CD agencies. Some authors have examined the internal structures in advertising agencies, although few have looked at the relation to CD communication (Miller, 2005; 2008). One of the reasons for this limited amount of research is the problems with access. Others have written in interrelated fields such as public relations (Edwards, 2009; 2013), theatre (Saha, 2012), and film and television (Malik, 2010). However, these fields consist of different structures and working remits. This study aims to analyse the differences and similarities of GM and CD agencies, the patterns of inequality and privilege, and the circumstances under which these inequalities present themselves.

Nicholas Holm (2017: 161) talks about the chaos of advertising agencies, where often the most spectacular and creative ideas emerge. Few have written memoirs of their time working for mega agencies to contextualise the behind-the-scenes of agency life. For instance, Jerry Della Femina (2010: 168) wrote about his time working at Ogilvy and how some of the best creative ideas are formulated:

The profanity, the screaming, the yelling, the carrying on, the drinking, all at the same time – it’s one tight crazy little room that explodes, and it’s a very exciting process. To me, this is what advertising is all about because everything follows from that little room.

These spaces are opportunities to observe whose voices are dominating, who is being suppressed and how these voices are then reified into advertising messages. My analysis chapters provide a detailed examination to demonstrate that CD agencies add to the complexity of the industry, new types of exclusion, segregation, and whether these agencies are providing a new service or just replicating GM agencies under the brand name of ‘CD’.

Selecting the geographic focus of the study

There then comes the question of the geographical focus of the study. In the UK, the majority of advertising agencies are cluttered in Central London and the West End in order to be within a short distance of most UK national media, ancillary services and the headquarters of the global brands they are likely to have as clients (ibid: 54)²⁶. The same can be said for the US, where New York was the original creator and hub of advertising agencies, global brands and entertainment services, with regional offices across cities such as Los Angeles, Chicago and Atlanta. Most advertising agencies are likely to have several meetings a week with their clients, so these centralised locations are crucial for maintaining healthy stakeholder relationships.

The selection of the UK and US for this thesis was necessary in order to track the trends that occur in the places where the world’s global, mega-agencies operate. As mentioned in the

²⁶ On the other hand, marketing agencies are likely to be scattered across major cities across the UK and US in order to deal with more localised campaigns.

introduction of this study, it is impossible to provide a complete picture of how each individual agency operates. Thus, due to the intensive observations required for ethnography, I decided to select one GM agency in the UK, one CD agency in the UK, one GM agency in the US and one CD agency in the US. In order to receive a more rounded insight from practitioners' experiences across the industry, interviews took place in an additional four agencies (see appendix 1 for breakdown).

Ethnographic research as a study of the 'real world'

Before outlining my ethnography approach, it is useful to briefly outline the philosophical and methodological approach to this research. Many studies into advertising aim to quantify variables such as the number of consumers who like an advertising campaign, or the number of awards an advertising agency has won. Such studies derive from the quantitative style of research methods, such as questionnaires and surveys (Brewer, 2000: 30). This form of positivist research "conjures up an image of 'certainty', precision' and 'objectivity'" (ibid). From a philosophical perspective, this type of research aims to make accurate, ontological assumptions about the nature of society (Hughes, 1990). While such methods may be useful for studies aiming to quantify the impact of a phenomena, this study aims to gain more detailed data using a smaller sample.

This research takes an epistemological approach through the qualitative style. This approach aims to collect data in a naturalist setting, using methods such as interviews, ethnography and observations (Brewer, 2000: 30). Arguably, these methods may be difficult to interpret subjective information, and thus rely on deductive methods to make sense of data. However, it is the role of the researcher to ensure "the social world is revealed to us, not constructed by us" (ibid). While both qualitative and quantitative methods aim to create a form of knowledge in its given field, qualitative data is more appropriate for a study of this nature.

Ethnographic research offers the opportunity to observe the social world, as it is "assumed to have an existence that is independent of the language used to describe it" (Byrne, 2012: 208). Although analysing language offers insight into practitioner attitudes, ethnography enables the research to observe the natural, everyday practices, by "watching what happens" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1994: 1). Observing daily life originated in the early 20th century, where anthropologists sought to understand 'unfamiliar' social groups such as prostitutes and gangs (Goffman, 1979). To understand the 'unfamiliar', Schultz (1964) explains that the researcher must immerse themselves as a 'stranger' in order to depict a

‘cultural description’ (Wolcott, 1973) of the patterns, habits, customs and laws of the social group. My observations of how practitioners *do* things will give an insight into how they make sense of the social world and how they position CD in the ‘real world’.

There are two main methodological bases of ethnography: humanistic and positivist (or scientific) (Brewer, 2000: 37). The humanistic approach is what most ethnographers aim to do, giving an internal account of a social phenomenon (ibid), which this study aims to do. Positivist ethnography can be useful as its researchers believe it to be more accurate than quantitative methods, providing more accurate access to reality (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1994: 6). Although this is true to some extent, ethnography still only provides a limited sample of industry. For instance, this study conducts ethnography in four advertising agencies, when, in reality, thousands exist across the globe. However, what is similar across both types is the aim to tell a truthful story about the reality attempting to be examined.

Similar to the approach of this thesis, Daniel Miller (2002; 2008) conducted ethnography within advertising agencies. Miller’s focus on ethnography stemmed from his previous studies on the commodification of objects (Miller, 2005) and how the phenomenon of social media has enhanced consumer fetishism. The method of ethnography enables Miller to build a picture of “how and why agents on the scene act, think and feel the way they do” (Wacquant, 2003: 5), linking back to how practitioners perform (Butler, 1997). A more recent study of Miller’s (2002) took place in a Trinidadian advertising agency, which has a client base of fizzy drink suppliers such as Coca Cola and various Caribbean brands. Examining the practitioners allows Miller to assess their cultural production and how commodities are embedded with messages of comfort and familiarity (ibid; Berger and Huntington, 2002). This sense of familiarity is embedded through everyday images, which links to the semiotic process of signifying through advertising practices (Barthes, 1987; Baudrillard, 1996).

I examined these semiotic processes in Chapter 1, analysing how images of products are juxtaposed in advertisements (Ewen, 1976; Nixon, 1997; Lash and Lury, 2007). A practitioner in Miller’s (2002) study explains how Caribbean fizzy drinks are intentionally darkened to represent the ‘red’ and ‘black’ complexions of the ‘ideal’ Trinidadian native. The brand sends the message that consuming the drink represents the ideal image of ‘Africanness’ and ‘Indianness’, “which is an essential part of his sense of being Trinidadian” (ibid: 10-11). Miller’s ethnography enabled him the opportunity to relate how Trinidadian culture is used to construct the image of the product. He observes the use of colour as a symbol and the language of how practitioners signified the ‘red’ and ‘black’ complexions of Trinidadian

natives. Exploring discourse and cultural symbols is an important element that I also incorporate within this study to understand the attitudes, strategies and working practices of practitioners.

There are a range of studies that use ethnography in advertising research, the majority focusing on audience research in different social spaces (Jayasinghe and Ritson, 2013). Some focus on advertising agencies and draw similarities to Sara Ahmed's work on the performativity of gender roles and the impact this has on power relationships (Alvesson, 1994). My data chapters revisit Mats Alvesson's (1994) ethnography, which examines how identity and habitus are facilitated by a Swedish advertising agency. Alvesson's study is useful in comparing how discourse is used to reinforce these power relations.

The research design of ethnography is important for ensuring the data is appropriately collected and interpreted. While there is not one specific approach, Brewer's (2000: 58) account is widely adopted:

1. "Outline and features of the topic [...] including the aims and objectives of the research"
2. The field of site of the research, and how participants and samples are selected
3. Consideration of resources, such as space, time and money
4. Sampling and list of events to consider
5. Method of data collection
6. Considering 'gatekeepers', trust and access to the field
7. The researcher's position when interacting with participants
8. Considering the analysis method
9. Exit from the field and consideration of how the data will be interpreted.

Although it is useful to focus on these points, as this study does, the research process itself is equally important. Non-participant observation was considered as appropriate (Brewer, 2000: 61), as my primary duty was to refrain from conversation, or participating in conversation, that could potentially alter the natural process of cultural production. This overt approach made it clear to participants my intentions of the study and that my primary duty was to detach from my subjects.

In the case of this thesis, ethnography was carried out between November 2012 and March 2014 in four advertising agencies – two in London, UK and two in New York, US. I spent between two and six weeks in each agency, depending on the duration of the campaign the agencies were working on. Data was collected during 21 team meetings, 12 client meetings, 31 creative sessions and by exploring the market research data. In considering my limitations with access to the agencies for long durations, I specifically requested to carry out the ethnographies on shorter campaigns. This enabled me to observe the processes of the campaign from beginning to end, which proved to be fruitful. For instance, in UKCD1, the strategies implemented at the beginning of the campaign needed to adjust following market research on the target audience group. The campaign aimed to communicate with Jewish audiences in North West London, and the team had used archived data of Jewish audiences to create their initial strategy. However, the strategies were altered towards the end of the campaign, following new research from the marketing team. The new research indicated that Jewish audiences in London responded differently to Jewish audiences elsewhere in the UK. This proved that being present throughout the duration of a campaign was useful in order to track the stages of how each team contributes to strategising.

The interpretation of ethnography relies heavily on the assumptions made by the researcher. One needs to consider how they analyse communication issues, exclusion and attitudes of those being observed, but also justify how they have reached their end interpretation (Crotty, 2013: 7). Symbolic interactionism reminds us to deconstruct some of these assumptions when we place ourselves in the social world of others. However, it is also necessary to be wary of the epistemological stance we take as researchers. That is, although we are making particular assumptions, there is still “a philosophical grounding for deciding what kinds of knowledge are possible and how we can ensure that they are both adequate and legitimate” (Maynard and Purvis, 1994: 10). When deconstructing this knowledge acquired from data, it is necessary to consider the status of how such meaning came about. One of the beauties of the constructivist nature of ethnography is the link and connections made within and between the data. Therefore, there is a relationship between these methodological issues as “the epistemology generally found embedded in symbolic interactionism is thoroughly constructionist in character” (Crotty, 2013: 4). It is worth being conscious of these wider epistemological stances in the reflexive process, and how I interpret and construct some of the sensitive findings from this data.

When collecting the ethnography data, I was able to be present in various different meetings, activities and events. Of course, each agency had their own way of structuring and running these occasions. However, for both team and client meetings, where possible I would sit towards the back of the room. The majority of meetings in GM agencies took place in large boardrooms, seating between 20 and 35 attendees. These rooms would usually be structured with the tables clustered together in the middle of the room, with attendees sitting around the boarder. My distance from participants in these meetings gave me the opportunity to observe the power dynamics of the room. For instance, in meetings where the leader(s) of the meeting were seated at one end and closer to Senior Management, it was evident that part of the room had the rule of being reserved – although unwritten – as opposed to those who would naturally be negating the main decisions. In some cases, this would lead to some participants intentionally sitting near me in order to point out some of these less blatant statements of power, where I would occasionally get a nudge to indicate “*ah, he’s here [...] there goes that idea*” (Vanessa, UKGM2).

On the opposite end of the spectrum, there were less formal spaces that allowed me to observe the more natural flow of working practices. Team brainstorming meetings, or ‘wash-up’ sessions, were particularly insightful for showing the processes of how different ideas were brought together. USCD2 was an excellent example of this, as the structure of their ‘wash-up’ rooms were designed to be relaxed and inclusive. Off of the main open plan office were three of these additional rooms with sofas that seated 8-10 people. Simon, a Digital Director at UKGM1, explained that these rooms were intentionally designed as “thinking” and “collaborative, creative spaces”. Although these rooms were quite intimate, I attempted to keep myself distant and blend in with the furniture so that participants would forget I was there. Being present during these sessions was useful as, although these spaces were created for intimate, collaborative efforts, it was more evident seeing how a meeting facilitator would include or exclude particular staff members. As expected, the more confident practitioners would be relaxed, leaning back, with their hands spread across the tops of sofas and possibly brushing the shoulders of a colleague. It was evident which practitioners were not part of the main social circles of an organisation, as they were positioned in more formal, upright stances and usually sitting in a seat on their own, as opposed to being bunched together with their colleagues on a sofa. Similarly, there were others whose bodies were in a more crunched-up position and facing away from their colleagues, quite obviously indicating their restraint from socialising.

These latter types of participants were of particular interest as, whilst their exclusion from the main social circles was physically evident, their ideas during discussion were either a) unheard due to another colleague speaking over them, or b) told something along the lines of “*okay, maybe we can think about that for the next campaign*” (Brandy, UKGM1), followed by an awkward silence across the room. Again, such occasions were often followed by the undermined practitioner turning their head towards me to make eye contact, to ensure I had acknowledged what had just occurred. In some scenarios, this may just happen to the less experienced practitioners, who had not yet found their place in the organisation. However, in the vast majority of the GM agencies, it was usually the voices of BME practitioners that went unheard or undermined. Thus, the constructivist nature of ethnography enabled me to build a description of events in order to create a base of knowledge.

One difficulty in conducting ethnography in the advertising industry is being able to manage complex teams. As discussed by Miller (2002: 77), the job descriptions, teams and structures that encompass each agency vary, so the researcher needs to be flexible in how they collect and analyse their data. During the data collection, over 840 hours of ethnography data were recorded, averaging at around 210 hours per agency. In order to capture the working atmosphere and useful data, I intentionally arrived earlier and stayed later. This proved to be a useful strategy, as I was able to observe some of the out-of-hours challenges that practitioners faced.

For example, in UKGM2, the creative team stayed behind for over two hours after the remainder of the office left, as they were having difficulties in depicting an Asian character in an animated advertisement. The team tampered with darkening the complexion of the character, but concluded that darkening would perceive the character as being Afro-Caribbean. A member of the creative team then suggested whether a visible indicator such as a hijab would be more effective. Although presenting the character as an ethnic minority would widen the audience base, the client’s brief was specifically aimed to communicate with South Asian audiences. Since the agency had no specific research on South Asian audiences, they drew to the stereotypical indicators to depict the culture. Therefore, this extended visit allowed me to witness occasions where the teams were faced with CD communication challenges.

As well as collecting data outside of office hours, I also informally observed scenarios outside of the office. This often took place during social occasions, such as lunch breaks and after-work drinks. Although I was not an active member of staff, I was fortunate to be invited

and incorporated as part of the team after spending long durations there. This proved to be a fruitful experience, as I was able to capture rich data on how participants perceive their role, possibly without being aware. Bourdieu (1990: 1) describes these informal spaces as potentially causing anxiety amongst peers, as one is “making private worlds public”. This was exemplary at a local pub after work with UKGM2. Earlier in the day, I had conducted an interview with a member of the agency’s market research team. The participant had been open about her position as a BME practitioner in a GM agency. During her interview, she stated that, although she felt her knowledge of her cultural background would contribute to particular campaigns, she did not feel it should be used for wider CD communication. Rather, she explained that market research would prove a more ‘accurate’ method.

A few days later at the same pub, a discussion arose regarding Pakistani culture, and a colleague of the participant was discussing some findings from his market research. In disagreement with the findings, the participant yelled, “*how can you tell me that’s what we do? I’ll show you how we really do it!*” The participant’s response was greeted with laughter from her colleagues. After her short pause, it seemed she had no choice but to join in with the laughter, regardless of whether she felt her point had been considered. Scenarios as such relate to what Puwar (2004) describes as managing one’s ethnicity, culture or gender within a social workspace. One must negotiate their position in the workplace when “embodied differently” to those around in order to become one of the ‘insiders’ (ibid: 141). Therefore, the opportunity to observe during informal occasions gave me the chance to analyse whether BME practitioners feel it is appropriate to insert their ‘private’ habitus to their ‘public’ practice (Bourdieu, 1990: 1). As I examine in my data chapters, this relates to the inequalities of experiences for BME practitioners and their limitations in the powerful structure.

I also conduct ethnography at two networking events in PAOs. One event takes place in one of the UK biggest diversity networking days at a well-known PAO, and one takes place in a US PAO that is specifically holding an open day to recruit BME practitioners. I return to examine these two events in Chapter 7, but analysing these events is useful for showing a) how PAOs share ‘good practice’ across the industry, and b) how these PAOs limit market opportunities for CD communication and, instead, circulate ideologies.

Whilst ethnography offers valuable insights into the ‘real world’ of advertising practice, I also conducted interviews to gain insights into the attitudes of practitioners.

The insights of interviewing

Interviews are a useful means of allowing the researcher “to explore voices and experiences which they believe have been ignored, misrepresented or suppressed in the past” (Byrne, 2012: 209-210). These voices offer “a level of depth and complexity”, providing an insight on the “attitudes and values” of participants (ibid). For this research, I intentionally conducted the interviews following the ethnography, in order to question the practitioners on the working practices I had observed.

Being a naturalist qualitative method, the interviews employ verbal stimulus (questions) to get verbal responses (answers) (Brewer, 2000: 63). This interaction can come in the form of either open or closed questions. Highly structured interviews tend to be more formal and stick rigidly to these closed questions, usually without responses. At the opposite extreme, unstructured interviews are less formal and follow more of a conversation. This research uses the intermediary approach of semi-structured interviews, which includes more closed questions for more factual data, such as job role and socio-demographic information. Interviewing was particularly important for collecting “verbal reports of behaviour, meanings, attitudes and feelings” (ibid), and the questions were carefully formulated to ensure that the answers could be as open-ended and extensive as possible.

A total of 32 interviews took place – four in each of the eight agencies – lasting between 45 minutes and two hours. The participants ranged from account management, market research and creative teams, and from junior to senior management employees. With participants ranging between departments and different levels of seniority, I gained a wide perspective of the attitudes toward CD, “giving voice” to those “below” (Byrne, 2012: 210). As I discuss in later chapters, this shows the variations in power relations and the implications on working practice. The practitioners I interviewed ranged in ethnicity and gender in order to gain a wide range of perspectives, so that the opinions of one social or cultural group were not dominant.

My use of semi-structured interviews provided practitioners with the opportunities to expand on their answers with open questions, following my interview schedule (Appendix 2). The longest interviews tended to be those where the practitioner was aware of the challenges of their role as a cultural producer. As a consequence, I took advantage of asking practitioners to expand their answers and to give examples of different scenarios. This use of “flexible” questions enabled me to obtain access to an interviewee’s views, opinions and interpretations of significant events (ibid: 209; Mitchell and Jolley, 2007). This was useful when discussing

how agencies obtained cultural data on their audiences. In some cases, practitioners relied on the cultural knowledge of employees, whilst others drew from field research. This insight enabled me to deliberate on the practitioners' roles and the power they hold as reproducers of culture. Bourdieu (1998) calls this locating the position and dispositions of interviewees, and it was particularly relevant for the extensive range of interviews that he conducted in France to analyse poverty (ibid: 625). These interviews enabled him to analyse the relationship between participants' use of language and experiences, which required the interviewer to guide the dialogue in order to obtain the most fruitful information.

I opened each interview with a casual "prompt" (Byrne, 2012: 208), asking the participant to briefly explain their duties and background in advertising. These prompts are referred to as "conversations with a purpose" (Burgess, cited in ibid), encouraging the interviewer to informally introduce the interviewee to the direction of the conversation. An interviewee at UKCD1 expressed that the informal feel of the interview gave them the opportunity to openly discuss their role as a practitioner, which they felt they were unable to do with colleagues. The interviewee discussed scenarios where they felt they should intervene with the planning of a CD campaign, as they felt its production was 'borderline' offensive. In order to divulge their thoughts, I 'provoked' the interviewee into reflecting on the agency's social practices (Bourdieu, 1993). Provoking interviewees enables an objective process of self-analysing the "suffering of a social phenomenon, which is reinforced through the structure of their organisation" (Bourdieu, 1998: 511). CD communication is the social phenomenon in this case and interviews were useful in gaining insights. However, it is important to briefly reflect on ethical considerations, as there were some confidential issues that came up during the data collection.

Considering ethics and confidentiality

Appreciating the confidentiality of the companies and the staff taking part in the study was a major consideration for this research. Ethical considerations not only protect the "opinions about human action, opinions about right human action" and "right opinions about human action" (Kelly and Ali, 2012: 60), but they also protect the rights and confidentiality of the companies I researched. Prior to carrying out the field research, I advised each company and practitioners that I would be happy to send a copy of the written transcripts and thesis on completion. This reassured participants that their views and the industry were not being misrepresented, and complies with Brunel University London's ethical procedures. In

addition, three of the agencies asked that I sign a confidentiality disclosure agreement before commencing my research. Since I was gaining access to confidential meetings, witnessing the planning, execution of campaigns and working practices of agencies, this gave the agencies security that I would not mishandle the collected data.

This section has demonstrated why ethnography and semi-structured interviews were selected as appropriate methods to conduct this study. Ethnography offers the insight of watching what happens in working practice, observing how and why practitioners do things over an extended period of time (Wacquant, 2003). The vast amount of data collected through ethnography allows the researcher to present a “cultural description” (Wolcott, 1973) of events, examining how CD communication is positioned in each agency. Where ethnography provides rich observatory data, interviews offer an insight into the attitudes and experiences of practitioners. This leads to the data being co-produced, as the researcher is able to be reflexive with their ability to direct the conversation in the appropriate direction (Byrne, 2012: 210). Although it was not my intention to impose my own judgements, I now reflect on how my personal experiences in the industry have shaped this research.

“You’d know better than us”: Reflecting on my position as an ethnic minority

My experiences of working in the advertising industry as a BME practitioner have assisted in shaping the direction of this research. Being in the capacity of an Accounts Assistant for various agencies, my duties mainly consisted of assisting with analysing field research data and reproducing the data to create communication strategies. In addition to my main duties, I was often approached as a BME employee to assist with creating CD communication strategies. Although I had no formal training for developing CD communication strategies, a frequent assumption was “you’d know better than us” or “you should be an expert in comparison to us” due to my cultural background. With a black Caribbean cultural background, I was often prompted to present my ‘expertise’ of South Asian cultures. I recurrently suggested that field research into BME audiences should be carried out, in order to give an accurate insight into different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, this suggestion was often neglected, due to the limited CD resources in GM agencies. Regardless of my input or suggestions, my employers never took my opinions on board and chose to continue the stereotype of using skin colour as the main signifier of cultural difference.

In considering my experiences, I began to reflect on my previous roles as a BME practitioner. The responsibilities I was given as a junior practitioner in creating strategies emphasise the

power of practitioners in the culture industry. I was given immediate responsibilities and power in assisting with the strategic direction of CD communication for entry-level roles. However, the reluctance of senior management to consider finding new approaches to CD communication shows that there are still complexities in how it is dealt with. There is a body of research that looks at how BME practitioners face barriers in strategic decision-making in the culture industry (Malik, 2010). However, my data chapters will show how these discriminatory structures work in advertising to seemingly include BME practitioners. However, the use of dominant ideologies is still evident and CD communication is still homogenised.

As I outlined earlier, Saha (2012) similarly discusses the implications of being a BME cultural producer. Saha's (2012: 822) participants within the theatre company explain that they reproduce stereotypical symbols of 'Asianness', such as Bombay mixes and curries. These stereotypical symbols are used as they are interpretable and commercialised for British audiences. Saha argues that British audiences accept these symbols as they are familiar stereotypes of Asian culture. As Bourdieu (1990) suggests, this is due to the power of the creator in reinforcing stereotypes. Reception studies argue that audiences may be more complex than this and have the ability to reject media stereotypes (Hall, 1980). However, advertising still has the role of producing cultural messages. In some instances, it is the role of the BME practitioners to be the diversity advocates on behalf of their organisation.

Prior to commencing this thesis, I reflected on the several occasions where I was approached as the representative to promote diversity in my workforce. During an experience at a GM agency, I had been asked to create new strategies to communicate with young Muslim audiences in London and the South East for a well-known clothing brand. Although I was not given training, I suggested that we consider factors that are important to first and second generation Muslims in the UK, drawing on emotions to build a connection between the brand and the audience (Ewen, 2000; Gobe, 2009; Holt, 2004). However, my idea was dismissed during the pitch to the clients and replaced with the traditional method of employing young Muslims to represent the target audience. Although I had no input in the campaign, it was pointed out to the client that I was in control of the creative direction. My manager had placed me as the diversity representative. Rather than allowing me to take action on improving CD communication, I was more so a visual representative.

As Chapter 3 highlighted, the assumption that I was a diversity advocate draws similarities to what Sara Ahmed (2012) refers to as 'embodying diversity'. Ahmed discusses personal

experiences of the pressures she faced as a black feminist and experiences of being depicted as a “brand” (ibid: 44) for diversity, as opposed to her expectation of improving racial equality. Ahmed explains the embodiment she faced as being the “poster girl” (ibid) for her organisation and how her suggestions for improving diversity were quickly dismissed. Rather than accepting the real issues of diversity, Ahmed discusses diversity as problematic as opposed to being of real use. The visual presence of BME employees assumes that “we are diverse because you are here. Our difference becomes their diversity” (Ahmed, 2009: 43).

As I discuss in later chapters, this visual presence is problematic for many of the BME practitioners interviewed, as they felt their bodies were out of place in GM agencies (Puwar, 2004). As discussed in Chapter 3, the visual presence of diversity undermines the real issues of institutional racism and racial inequality. Ahmed’s work can, therefore, be applied to the experiences, attitudes and working practice of CD communication. Just as BME practitioners add “colour to the white faces” of an institution (Ahmed, 2009: 43), they are also adopted to ‘represent’ diversity in advertisements. Consequently, the adding of colour becomes a commodity of difference (Saha, 2016) as there is no intention to address the issues of diversity.

My capacity as a BME researcher had a series of benefits, the most prominent being that BME practitioners felt we were able to relate to each other, to help each other feel at ease and to present our ‘private’ experiences (Bourdieu, 1990). At UKCD1, an interviewee gave a thorough description of an encounter he faced with a client. He explained that he had visited a client to explain why an advertisement he had assisted in creating had failed to attract a high number of online page visits. The client had made several remarks such as “*I intentionally hired your kind to deal with this*” and “*I may as well stick with white agencies if this is what I am going to get*”. As the interviewee explained the scenario, he asked if I had any similar experiences. I discussed my experiences of being considered the diversity advocate and my concerns that little appears to have changed behind the scenes. Following this discussion, the interviewee began to discuss the CD communication strategies used in his agency and scenarios where they have been asked to be intentionally racist as ‘bad publicity is also good publicity’. The interviewee also assured me that other practitioners would avoid giving accurate accounts of their strategies, in order to not seem racist. Being a BME researcher in this case turned out to be beneficial, as the interviewee disclosed data that I may not have otherwise received. I will shortly return to the problems of reflexivity.

The advertising industry is a field that is mixed in age and gender. However, I was not immediately aware of any scenarios where my age or gender hindered my data collection. Yet, there are potential limitations of being a researcher in general. A researcher must consistently be aware of participants potentially altering their usual working practice. Whilst the ethical forms confirmed the purpose of this research and that all information was confidential, I was aware of my position as a “stranger” (Walsh, 2012: 218; Schultz, 1964).

Although I have a background as a practitioner, I am still unfamiliar with the everyday practices of the agencies in which I was conducting my research. My position as a ‘stranger’ reinforces why I must not form my own judgements due to my previous capacities, which is why this study aims to analyse the habitus of individuals in the field of advertising. Every agency has its own ways of creating strategies and working practices. The opportunity to observe is a benefit for ethnography, assessing discourse and bodily practices. Although practitioners potentially alter their practices when being observed, the researcher must disengage any previous assumptions and interpret the field as it presents itself.

Reflexivity and unloading ‘conceptual baggage’

Whilst I have reflected on how my industry experience has influenced this study, I will also consider the conceptual approaches to reflexivity. Here, I will outline some of the theoretical implications of reflexivity and, since this thesis largely takes a Bourdieusian approach, consider how Bourdieu himself considered reflexivity. As a black female researcher, I will also draw to similar authors who have told stories of black women in institutions, and their experiences of reflexivity with having such similar stories to their participants.

Although reflection may initially seem a ‘tick box’ part of a thesis, it is important that the reader sees the position, perspective, beliefs and values of a researcher. The researcher needs to be transparent about any potential bias with the findings. Malterud (2001: 484) specifies that “[p]reconceptions are not the same as bias, unless the researcher fails to mention them”. Any preconceptions need to be initiated to the reader. Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna (1989) quite aptly describe preconceptions as ‘conceptual baggage’. They outline this baggage as being “a record of your thoughts and ideas about the research question at the beginning and throughout the research process”, stating “your personal assumptions about the topic and the research process” (ibid: 32). Thus, I will briefly note two of the preconceptions I had prior to commencing this research, which were both situated on CD agencies. As I have no previous experience of working in a CD agency, I was curious as to what it would feel like

to work in a BME-owned agency, that specifically targeted BME audiences and predominantly consisted of BME practitioners.

Firstly, I had the idea that, since the entire purpose of these agencies was to cater to BME audiences, there would be an atmosphere where talking about different cultures was a 'safe' space. I come back to this idea of a 'safe' space shortly, where I consider Sara Ahmed's (2009) reflections on the experience of not belonging on one's own front door. Secondly, I felt that, as a black female researcher, black female practitioners would feel more at ease with building a connection with me. To prevent any creation of bias, I shortly consider how Shirley Anne Tate (2005) feels it is important to detach oneself from the research process, in order to appropriately tell the crucial stories of unheard voices. Before making my own connections to these black feminist writers, I will firstly outline some more general conceptual approaches of reflexivity for contextual purposes.

Reflexive practice as a conversation with oneself

As one of the foundational authors of phenomenology, Plato spoke of the importance of having inner conversations with oneself during the research process (Byrne, 2012). Although his research was conducted over 2,000 years ago, he still has a heavy influence on contemporary writers. Margaret Archer (2010) particularly praises Plato's approach when considering reflexive practice and how we self-monitor or 'pause' during conversation when looking for choices of appropriate words (ibid: 1). These inner conversations are particularly relevant for my own data collection, as I am not only researching the experiences of other black women, but I am conducting this research in an institutional space in which I am unfamiliar. Thus, I have quite a close attachment to the racism that some of my participants potentially experience.

As this study takes its theoretical influence from Bourdieu, it is worth acknowledging his own experiences of field research and, in particular, his encounters while observing racism. During his field research in colonial Algeria, Bourdieu was interested in the institutionalisation imperial rule and capitalist development (Bourdieu, 1958; 1961; Yacine, 2004). His ethnography took place in dangerous regions where battles between the French military and the guerrillas of the Algerian National Liberation Front took place. Whilst Bourdieu has never directly written about racism, this fieldwork led him to be critical of other French theorists who had also written on Algeria (such as Levi-Strauss, see Bourdieu, 1961), but had reduced the experiences of "colonialized 'others'" (Puwar, 2009: 372). This

fieldwork was also a crucial starting point for some of Bourdieu's foundational theories of habitus and field. As Rabinow (1986: 252) notes, these insights have "taught us to ask in what field of power, and in what position in that field, any given author writes". Thus, we, as researchers, cannot only detail what we are observing, but need to consider the social conditions, the experiences of inequality by different groups, and the powerful formation of 'otherness'.

It is not my intention in this section to delve into this body of Bourdieu's research. However, it has been provided as a context for how these experiences in the field have had an echoing effect throughout Bourdieu's later work. For instance, some years later, in *Sketch for a Self-Analysis*, Bourdieu (2008: 48) reflects back to his time in Algeria and:

the total engagement and disregard for danger [...] was rooted [...] in the extreme sadness and anxiety in which I lived [...] the simple desire to observe and witness, led me to invest myself, body and soul [...] which I wanted to account for at all costs.

Thus, although these experiences shook him, Bourdieu explains it was worth putting himself in such danger if he were to write detailed accounts of others' experiences. Whilst my data collection for this research is far less extreme or dangerous, it is worth considering Bourdieu's reflexive approach of the extent and depth of detail one needs to go into to tell detailed stories of the lives of unheard voices. In considering my position as a black female researcher – and before outlining my own reflexivity – I now turn to three BME feminist academics, from whom I have largely taken inspiration during this research journey.

Black, female and 'othered'

Reflexivity is a topic considered by most researchers prior to conducting a project. Conducting research in the advertising industry is complex, but being a BME researcher could further complicate this experience, in comparison to, for example, a white male. For instance, Miller (2005) as a white man in Trinidadian advertising agencies would have a different experience to a black female researcher, especially in spaces where she is already likely to be 'othered'. This section briefly reflects on accounts of two women in such

scenarios, who took a similar approach to my own of attempting to reconstruct discourses and experiences of other BME workers.

Shirley Anne Tate (2005) was one of the most influential writers for this research when considering my own reflexivity. Tate's research reflects on how her black female participants use discourse to construct meanings "of what is black and what is not" (ibid, 7). She noticed that:

there was a positioning and repositioning occurring as individuals translated and applied notions of authentic Blackness to themselves and others in talk, that it became apparent that reflexivity was involved in this negotiation of positions as women negotiated discourses of Blackness as skin, culture, 'race', community, consciousness and politics (ibid).

From this statement, Tate notices how her participants consider their own reflexivity in different social contexts, negotiating cases where they would have to refrain their black identities in a similar light to Du Bois' (1903) foundational accounts of 'double consciousness' (see Chapter 3). During such unusual or uncomfortable social settings, Tate analysed their "contradiction, construction and practice" in everyday discourse, which she categorised as a) "discursive positioning", b) "translation as reflexivity", and c) "identity re-positioning" (ibid: 14). Tate refers to these categories as periods of 'translation', where individuals negotiated the "personal and group meanings within identity discourses" (ibid: 8). For example, a participant may comment on or critique "her discursive positioning before entering into a new identity positioning" (ibid).

While Tate's approach will be revisited in my data chapters, what is of particular value to this discussion is how this impacted her own reflexivity in the field as a black female researcher. Tate's (ibid: 19) own take on reflexivity refers to:

how portrayals of social realities both describe and constitute these realities, so that these portrayals cannot be separated from what they describe or the language used to describe them.

From this approach, Tate believes that it is difficult for a researcher to detach themselves from the social realities in which they are researching. While her work is useful, this approach leads to one of the potential downfalls of researching a field in which we are so familiar. Throughout her book, Tate makes it clear that her intention was to give justice to black female voices. Thus, she had a strong attachment to discourses she was examining and, thus, potentially compromised her own sense of reflexivity.

Another BME female researcher is Sara Ahmed, who connects her research with her own experiences of being ‘out of place’ during a hostile and unsettling experience (Ahmed, 2006: 2). From her personal reflections, she recalls a situation that she had ‘forgotten’ about until commencing her research. Two policemen had stopped her near her home in Adelaide, asking, “Are you Aboriginal?” (ibid), as “there had been some burglaries in the area”. Ahmed recalls not wanting to feel like a stranger in her own home, or even to think about ‘race’. Similarly, Nirmar Puwar (2004, 129) describes the difficulties of feeling accepted, even when you are a ‘familiar stranger’ in your own surroundings and the significant ways that BMEs become ‘insiders’ (ibid, 119). From then on, Ahmed (2006: 2) wanted to write about the “experience of not belonging, to make sense of that experience, even when it is not the explicit subject of recall”. Leading on from these experiences, Ahmed’s (2006) research focused on the experiences of BME practitioners in HE in the UK and Australia. She particularly wanted to examine BMEs’ “relationship to institutional worlds” (ibid: 5). Ahmed’s (ibid: 545) account is of interest as she touches on the topic of intentionality, which is a theme throughout this thesis:

if consciousness is intentional, then we are not only directed toward objects, but those objects also take us in a certain direction. The world that is around has already taken certain shapes, as the very form of what is more and less familiar.

Ahmed’s account is useful, as she makes a compelling case for why interviewing participants is not enough. To gain a sense of their surroundings, experiences or racism and exclusion, one must evaluate the wider field through alternative methods such as ethnography.

Importantly, it is not only about the individual's experiences, but how the intentional and non-intentional actions and discourse of others influence these experiences.

These accounts have helped me to consider my own reflexivity in a field where I have experienced my own sense of exclusion and hostility. This chapter has outlined my aim of researching BME voices in white spaces – that are supposedly hostile – and black spaces – that are supposedly secure. My intention is not to replicate Tate's intention of giving 'justice' to the voices of BME women. Nor is it to dwell on my unfortunate experiences. Rather, my aim is for the data to speak for itself and make use of the method of CDA to evidence the inequalities that are still largely prevalent in the field of advertising.

Thematically interpreting data through critical discourse analysis: Exploring the powerful use of language for cultural diversity communication

Selecting the appropriate data analysis method is important in order to accurately interpret the language, attitudes and experiences of participants (Byrne, 2012: 209), and this section has three main purposes. Firstly, I discuss why critical discourse analysis (CDA) and thematic analysis have been chosen to analyse the data. CDA is employed in order to analyse how power is used to produce meaning in advertising practices (Foucault, 1972; 1977a; 1977b; Fairclough, 1995b). As highlighted in Chapter 1, later chapters will discuss how power is used to justify strategies and working practices. Secondly, I examine why the latent approach to thematic analysis was chosen, in order to construct a coherent argument on the themes that emerged from the data. Lastly, I close by stating how the themes will be analysed alongside existing studies of CD communication in the culture industry. Prior to these discussions, I examine why CDA was selected to analyse discourse.

Critical discourse analysis: Exploring the powerful use of language

Conducting this research from an internal perspective has given an insight into the varying attitudes, strategies and working practices of practitioners. The use of interviewing gives an insight into the attitudes toward CD communication by practitioners of different cultural backgrounds, whilst ethnography unveils the actual working practices. In order to make sense of the collected data, an exploration of discourse is necessary. Analysing discourse – and, more specifically for this study, CDA – enables me to assess how judgements are formed, the use of stereotypes and how the wider structure of professional advertising organisations

control the industry. This analysis will then enable me to understand the “production of meaning through talk” (Tonkiss, 2012: 406).

Understanding meaning through speech can be explored through discourse analysis. As discussed in Chapter 1, discourse is concerned with the production of meaning in talk and text, socially constructing a representation of reality (Foucault, 1972). This construction draws similarities to semiotic analysis, where the researcher sees the data as a system of signs (Saussure, 1916, Foucault, 1972). By identifying key aspects of the data as signifiers, the researcher is “attempting to understand the organisation, construction and meaning” (Walsh, 2012: 247). Identifying these signs enables the researcher to draw theories, knowledge and meanings to interpret a detailed cultural script.

Forming meaning through language use is not the only benefit of discourse analysis. According to Michel Foucault (1972: 49), discourse analysis has the benefit of organising a field of knowledge or practice (Hall, 1992: 290). In this sense, CD communication is a form of discourse in advertising practice, as the analysed language can be separated into different fields of knowledge (Foucault, 1984: 103). For instance, USGM1 takes an integrated approach to CD communication, implementing a diversity team to deal with all things relating to CD. During a brainstorming meeting, participants legitimised their strategies for CD communication. The team discussed words that came to mind when considering communication strategies for a radio advertisement for a Latin American audience. The brainstorm contained terms such as ‘salsa’, ‘jalapenos’ and ‘Cinco de Mayo’ that are stereotypically associated with Mexican or Hispanic culture. The stereotype the team associates with the culture indicates the perception of that cultural group in the social world (Byrne, 2012). These perceptions are then culturally reproduced to create a field of knowledge for the audience group (Bourdieu, 1990; 1993) and, as I analyse in later chapters, implement a form of institutionally racist practice (Edwards, 2013; Van Dijk, 2000).

There are other debates which take a more in-depth approach through CDA. CDA differs to normal discourse analysis, as it particularly focuses on the role of power in social practices. Norman Fairclough has written extensively on CDA. Fairclough believes that the focus of social practice is important for analysing the relationship between “social structure and the perspective of social action and agency” (Fairclough, 2001: 1). Analysing this relationship is important in order to examine how the structure of the advertising industry impacts how practitioners operate in working practices. Giddens (1984) would suggest that the agency of practitioners will always be limited, as structuration dictates their use of discourse in

organisations. However, this study will investigate what Fairclough refers to as the “order of discourse” to examine how discourse is structured, reproduced and legitimated (Fairclough, 2001: 1). This examination will show the struggle of agency and habitus against the powerful ideologies of the industry. Thus, CDA enables the researcher to examine social activities, the use of discourse by social actors and how discourse positions the identities of the different social actors (ibid: 2). The main approach to CDA that this research takes is the dialectical-relational approach, which focuses on four stages (Fairclough, 2010: 226):

1. Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect.
2. Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.
3. Consider whether the social order ‘needs’ the social wrong
4. Identify possible ways past the obstacles.

These wrongs refer to cases of injustice or inequality that my data chapters aim to examine, particularly through their discursive formation (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2000). Once acknowledged, there are obstacles in place, as it is difficult to directly grasp how, for instance a racist statement, has been embedded in one’s habitus. Whether the scenario ‘needs’ the social wrong is of particular interest in light of structures across the field, as well as whether those structures are intentionally withholding BME audiences equal access to their communications. However, my main concern is whether there are any ways past these structural practices, or whether the ‘field of power’ continues to intentionally restrain CD communication.

In addition to CDA presenting sites of power, it can also demonstrate sites of resistance (Gaventa, 2003: 3). As Foucault (1979: 100-101) explains:

Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised against it [...] discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart.

In this case, discourse can also undermine and expose the fragility of power. For instance, during an interview within UKCD1, the CEO discusses the benefits of establishing a CD agency. He explains that *“These big, fancy corporations think they’re all powerful and in control. Ten to fifteen years’ time they will all be in trouble for not understanding diversity.”* The establishment of CD specialist agencies demonstrates the lapses of power within GM agencies. These agencies use power as an ‘instrument’ to resist CD communication. The CEO lists some of the major clients they have obtained from GM agencies, which shows the fragility of sustaining power in the industry. Consequently, CDA reveals the challenges for CD communication across the industry, which is a theme in this research, and I now briefly highlight why thematic analysis was adopted to organise and make sense of the collected data.

Identifying emerging themes through thematic analysis and coding

Where CDA is a useful research tool to explore the use of language, I also used thematic analysis as an additional method to manage the large amount of data collected. Thematic analysis is a common research method in qualitative research (Byrne, 2012) and is classified as a process of “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 79; Clark, 1969)²⁷. Braun and Clarke (ibid: 82) explore these patterns further by explaining that a theme should capture important aspects of the data in relation to the research questions. Therefore, the key purpose of thematic analysis is to minimally present, organise and interpret data in rich detail (Bauman, 1987).

Rather than the semantic approach of identifying and discussing themes, I chose the latent approach, which attempts to theorise and shape the underlying ideas and conceptualisations of the data (Patton, 1990; Frith and Gleeson, 2004). Geertz’s (1973) work on interpreting cultures helps to understand the creation of CD communication strategies. As discussed earlier in the context of ethnography, Geertz (ibid) explains that the research must draw on a range of cultural knowledge to understand the meaning of the data in order to construct a cultural script. Geertz’s field research took place within illegal Indonesian cockfights in the 1950s. He explains that cockfighting, on the surface, can appear to simply be a cultural ritual,

²⁷ Thematic analysis takes place in six linear steps: familiarising yourself with the data, generating codes, generating themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

but the researcher must uncover the layers of the cultural script to depict its deeper meanings. Geertz discusses the gambling aspect of the fights, depicted through the themes of ‘deep’ or ‘shallow’ fights (ibid). Although higher monetary stakes are at risk for the ‘deep’ fights, Geertz explains that status is also at the centre of the events. The bets are symbolic of the risks involved; however, it is the status that is maintained in the long run for its participants. Therefore, Geertz’s example demonstrates how uncovering the various layers of activity develops themes for theorising cockfighting in Indonesia.

I was drawn to Geertz’s study to decode the layers of detail in my findings in order to create the appropriate themes. In line with the objectives and research question, the primary themes of approaches to strategy development, trends in working practices and the role of professional advertising organisations were inevitable. However, each of these themes had more complex layers once I analysed the data. For instance, there were obvious cases where blackness was used as a homogenising strategy to group all ethnic minorities together in campaigns. This was important as a theme, as it was not only consistent in GM agencies, but also in the CD agencies that claim to avoid such generalist strategies. This analysis looks to wider questions about how the industry as a whole deals with CD and the role of structuration when defining ‘good practice’. Therefore, thematic analysis was important for finding trends amongst the large amount of data collected.

Limitations of this research

While this research is a valuable contribution to contemporary media studies, as with all research, it has its limitations. It is worth outlining the practical and theoretical limitations that feed off my discussions of self-reflexivity.

One of the most difficult practical factors with the data-collection process was considering my own positioning in relation to my participants. For instance, a typical day at UKCD1 could include formal client meetings, individual research interviews and social drinks after work. During a formal client meeting, there would be considerable distance from myself – the researcher – and the participants, who would be in their professional capacities. A meeting as such would often be followed by interviews with the participants, to gain more personal insight into the outcomes of the meeting and how they feel their opinions were negated. Quite swiftly, a participant could go from being in a professional capacity, to feeling vulnerable in an interview. There was not only a sense of me having a sense of power in that position, but often I felt the same sense of vulnerability when speaking to other BME practitioners with

whom I have had similar experiences. Lastly, being invited to after-work drinks was often the most complex. I had to consider that this was a gesture that my participants had, in a sense, welcomed me into their social circle, but to also be wary that these were also official data collection opportunities. Thus, I was not completely detached from the social world I was researching.

Renato Rosaldo (1993: 187) discusses the value of researchers making use of various positions, “uniting an analytical with an ethical project and render obsolete the view of the utterly detached observer who looks down from on high” (ibid: 194). Regardless of these shifts of positions, Rosaldo reminds us that it is important for a researcher to take an unbiased stance. However, there is still the battle between sympathising with similar experiences of racism, yet still accepting my position as a ‘stranger’ in the field (Walsh, 1998: 218).

One of the other, most substantial, limitations of this research is realising how restrictive the scope of my data is. Whilst collecting interview and ethnography data is a lucrative and valid qualitative method, ethnography in particular focuses on intensive field research in few organisations. Whilst I am gaining a thick, cultural description of these organisations (ibid), I cannot assume that the working conditions, experiences of racism and practices are the same in other agencies. Therefore, the two-country, two-agency model is justifiable for the detail the study requires, yet I am also aware of how this restricts the assumptions I make for the rest of the industry. Thus, my analysis of these experiences aims to present a “social construction of reality” (Berger and Luckmann, 1991: 15) for unheard voices that are likely to exist in multiple forms across the industry.

Although Chapter 2 has considered the theoretical limitations of this thesis, it is worth briefly revisiting my focus of field theory. I have previously outlined some of the limitations of Bourdieu’s theories of cultural production and field, as he does not focus on the contemporary structure of the culture industry (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). While I have adapted my framework to accommodate my concerns, my adjustments are specifically accounting for the inclusion of CD agencies, GM agencies and PAOs. A researcher repeating a similar study would then need to adjust this framework according to their own specifications. For instance, someone researching freelancers in the advertising industry may choose to focus on freelancers, advertising agencies in general and regulatory bodies. In the field of television, one may choose journalists, news media corporates and industry regulators. However, this framework is still useful for recognising the division of categories and the balance of power between each.

Conclusion

Summarising my research journey has enabled me to reflect on how my experiences have not only informed this thesis, but demonstrated the need for further research into the experiences of BME practitioners in the media industries. This chapter focused on why an internal industry investigation with advertising practitioners enables me to explore their attitudes and working practices. Exploring Miller's (2002; 2005) ethnographic approach enabled me to prepare for the duration required in each agency to collect valuable data, as well as how to analyse the language use of practitioners. Exploring this in my data will enable me to theorise where the implemented strategies have emerged.

It was important to reflect on my own position as both a BME practitioner and researcher. My position as the "poster girl" (Ahmed, 2009) for diversity in the various agencies I have worked is demonstrable that BME practitioners are often used as a commodity for the company. This is used as a selling point to potential clients, as opposed to addressing its real issues. This potentially causes more harm, as it is used as an object (Saha, 2016) instead of identifying areas where CD communication can be improved. Rather than just listing what I had collected through thematic analysis, critically analysing the data with existing literature conceptualises my arguments. In addition, CDA enables me to explore the use of language by practitioners through both attitudes and working practices.

The next three data chapters will answer this research question, through the application of my adaption to field theory. Chapter 5 examines discourse for practitioners and how language is used to systematically position BME audiences. I also examine how powerful discourse is used to exclude black practitioners, whilst favouring non-black BME practitioners, and the problems this begins to show for developing CD communication strategies. Chapter 6 analyses working practices, and I particularly draw from the ethnography data to see how the strategies in Chapter 5 have been facilitated. Lastly, Chapter 7 critically examines PAOs and their role in defining 'good practice'. Ultimately, I examine the role that these organisations have in circulating dominant ideologies, and the problems involved in limiting market opportunities for CD communication.

Chapter 5

Advertising practitioners' use of cultural diversity discourse and the manifestation of racism

Introduction

“Blacks don’t really have a culture, so why do we have to communicate with them?” (Charles, USGM2).

This chapter is the first of three data chapters, where I apply field theory and critical discourse analysis to analyse the complexity of how advertising practitioners from different cultural backgrounds talk about ‘race’ and cultural diversity (CD). As outlined in my framework, the purpose of focusing on discourse is to examine a) the language practitioners use to talk about ‘race’ and CD, and b) where their ideas about CD originate. This examination is important for contextualising whether practitioners gain their main source of knowledge from family, the media or the work place. These sources will give an indication of how practitioners socially position different cultural groups, which groups are disadvantaged, and whose interests are being served (Omi and Winant, 2014). However, I also examine the underlying manifestation of racism and how subtler types of cultural racisms and negative stereotyping are part of everyday discourse. This examination begins to highlight the problems discussed in Chapter 6 when attempting to develop positive CD communication strategies.

This chapter is divided into three sections in order to develop my analysis. Firstly, I examine the attitudes toward black culture, and how black practitioners have a different experience of racism than their non-black BME colleagues. I particularly focus on the use of racist ideologies and how there is a systematic demising of black culture, as demonstrated above by Charles, and as examined by critical race theorists (Delgado and Stefancic, 2001). Secondly, I focus on the differences in experiences between non-black BME groups such as South Asians and Latin Americans. Although they generally have more positive experiences, I discuss the problems with the stereotypical ways in which their colleagues talk about their cultures. Lastly, I discuss the experiences of white practitioners, in relation to the unconscious white privilege they experience, but also the white ethnic practitioners that feel ‘invisible’. Overall,

this chapter contributes to current media debates by deconstructing problems of privilege and disadvantage between different cultural groups, and begin to demonstrate the problems faced when developing CD communication strategies. To contextualise my discussion, I open by analysing some racist perceptions of black culture and the impact this has on the experience of black practitioners.

Erasing black culture

Chapter 3 outlined some historically racist advertisements, where black people were represented as dirty and inferior in comparison to angelic, white characters (Burton, 2009; McClintock, 2005; Tadajewski, 2012). I argued that more research is needed into why advertising practitioners develop these racist, negative and stereotypical communication strategies. This opening section addresses these problems, by examining the ways in which black culture is spoken about and the ways that racist discourse manifests.

Racism towards black practitioners

Several scenarios occurred in both the UK and US GM agencies, where black practitioners received racist comments from their colleagues. I begin with an ethnographic analysis of UKGM2, where a prominent example of racism took place.

UKGM2 is a full-service global advertising agency, consisting of five account teams, staffed with between four and seven practitioners in each. I conducted my field research within one of these teams consisting of four practitioners, whose client is a global entertainment brand. On average, the team creates roughly four advertising campaigns per year for the client. The team consists of an Accounts Assistant, a Client Liaison Officer, a Market Researcher and a Creative Director, and it also seeks freelancers when additional support is needed. Emma, a white Creative Director, heads the team and sits in a confined office with four other Director-level staff. The remainder of her team sit at the opposite end of an open plan layout, which has a more creative feel, with large orange sofas situated at either end, and a more relaxed setting than the corporate feel in the Director's office.

Upon commencement of my field research, the team was about to begin the next spring/summer campaign for its client. A week earlier, Emma had sent me through the brief from the client, so I was familiar with what I would be observing during my time at the agency. The brief only consisted of two paragraphs over half a page, noting details of 'a new

toy range' the client was about to release. The campaign was set to run for a period of twelve weeks between June and August 2013, and the team had two weeks until it needed to pitch its idea to the client. Rather than using their usual tactic of celebrity endorsements, the client had decided that they wanted to use cartoon versions of 'real kids' who have 'real experiences' with their products, but wanted to reflect the 'diversity' of their consumer base. I return to the motivations behind this selection of discourse shortly.

Over the next two days, Gaurav, a South Asian Market Researcher, was left to put together some ideas of how he could approach the theme of diversity. On the second day, he sat on the orange sofas with Vanessa, a black Accounts Assistant, and discussed his idea with her before presenting it to the rest of the team:

Gaurav: So, what do you think of this? Bear with me, but what if we have a black kid and an Asian kid playing with a dry toy? I don't know, like Barbie or something [...] Then this new toy blasts onto the screen and then there's loads of colour and shit to make it seem really exciting.

Vanessa: Hmmm, mmm, you and your wild ideas! I like it, but what do you think Emma will think of the black and Asian thing? I mean, the client wanted 'diversity', but is it too much?

Over the period of an hour or so, Gaurav and Vanessa went back and forth with different ideas. However, throughout that hour, Vanessa remained hesitant on three separate occasions that Emma may not agree with their approach. During her interview later that day, Vanessa explains that "*we have a great relationship, she's given me opportunities I thought I'd never have [...] but I don't feel confident with bringing new ideas to her, she's really proper traditional.*"

In considering Vanessa's thoughts of Emma, I wanted to get more insight into their relationship dynamics whilst they work together and get a sense of what Vanessa meant by "*traditional*".

The following day, Gaurav presented his ideas to the rest of the team, where some of these ‘traditions’ became evident. The meeting took place in a small meeting room near Emma’s office, consisting of a round table in the centre with eight chairs surrounding it and a large spread of windows that overlooked the rest of the floor. Vanessa and Gaurav entered the office together to set up the Powerpoint presentation, and then sat together at one end of the table confidently waiting to present their ideas. Emma and Paul, a white Client Liaison Director, entered shortly afterwards, and Paul immediately went to sit with his colleagues. Emma briefly greeted the two, whilst swiftly pulling down the window blinds and then sat at the opposite end of the table.

Before continuing with my analysis of the presentation itself, it is important to consider the dynamics that had been set in the room. Emma had entered the room in a manner that reinforced her authority, as the senior team member for the client. The three more junior team members then sat together on one side of the table. From this layout, it was evident that there was an expectation that the junior team members should be seated together, even though Gaurav was presenting new ideas to the entire team. Thus, although the presentation was intended to have a supportive atmosphere, there was tension in the room and pressure on Gaurav to “*perform in front of boss lady*”.

Gaurav confidently delivered the first half of his presentation and enthusiastically presented his ideas, justifying why “*using a black and Asian kid*” would “*really be what the client is looking for*”. Before Gaurav proceeded to his slide presentation to show his market analysis, Emma swiftly interrupted and brought out a folder of around 15 sheets of paper that reflected different skin tones of brown: 1 being the lightest and 15 being the darkest. When laying the sheets of paper down, Emma insisted that a tone between 1 and 5 was appropriate for the client to create a more “*neutral*” appearance to the audience:

“I know he doesn’t look completely black, but that’s the idea [...] we also need to communicate with a generic audience base. For example, we can just dress him up in some cool clothing and put some urban music in the background [...] that keeps it urban so black audiences will understand his identity, but still keeping it neutral for other audience groups to understand.”

Emma's selection of discourse is important, as she develops an idea of what she associates with black cultural identity. This discourse was also repeated by other white practitioners in UK and US GM agencies, associating black culture with “*urban music*” (Simon, UKGM1; Kay, USGM1) and “*cool*” clothing (Charles, USGM2).

The discourse used in this scenario is a useful starting point for building the relationship between habitus and intentionality, prior to analysing the link to racism. Earlier in this thesis, I introduced Bourdieu's sociological perspective of habitus, where individuals use their background, existing knowledge and upbringing to make decisions, and believes that we ‘insert’ this knowledge into different social situations (Cook, 1992). Although Bourdieu did not specifically examine how habitus works in different social contexts, more recent researchers have analysed how one inserts their habitus from, for example, family life, social circles and the workplace (Tate, 2005). Thus, individuals adjust their use of discourse accordingly.

On the other hand, Chapter 3 outlined social psychology perspectives of intentionality and focused on Billig's (2006) recent work of how discourse is formed and structured to develop attitudes. To some extent, ideas of intentionality may be more useful for examining whether individuals have intended to make racist statements, as recent studies believe that it depends on the mental state of the individual. For instance, Searle (1991) talks about ‘conditions of satisfaction’, where our mental beliefs are one element of our beliefs, but a linguistic expression in a social space is an intentional act to satisfaction to confirm their belief (Searle, 1991: 28). This satisfaction may relate to Emma's scenario. From the outset, she explains that it is through her 10 years' worth of experience in advertising that leads her to make her decision:

“That's just how it is [...] a client doesn't want a utopian vision of the world, they want something that will sell and something that's normal for the majority.”

To some extent, it is accurate to assume that the client would want to use imagery that is more recognisable to a general audience. However, as Billig (2006) would suggest, it is necessary to deconstruct how Emma formed the content of her response. Firstly, Emma dismisses any wrongdoing with her statement by rightly claiming that the industry does

prefer these standardised visuals and “*that’s just how it is*”. This statement reinforces existing knowledge, whereby such standardisations are part of GM industry norms. This assumption is a typical starting point for critical discourse analysts, where historical evidence is used to justify one’s positioning of their ideas in a social setting (Van Dijk, 2000, 61-63). However, what is more evident from Emma’s claims is her belief that using darker-skinned characters creates “*a utopian vision of the world*” that she believes is unrealistic. Considering this campaign aimed to target major cities across the UK that have high BME populations, there was no evidence to suggest that the use of darker skinned characters would be unfamiliar for the target audience. Therefore, Emma’s assertions show the power of authority in creating frames of reference that are not necessarily realistic, but support the dominant ideology that whiteness is better.

This dialogue still questions whether Emma intended to be racist. It is important to reiterate that the client did not make any specific requests for lighter-skinned characters in the advertisements, but for some form of presentation of ‘diversity’. As this was not a direct request from the client, Emma’s assumption then brings into question whether this intentionally offensive statement is due to her own upbringing as a white British woman, or if her views had been developed due to her time in the industry. Emma’s time in the industry shows that her habitus has been influenced by the industry’s norms of dismissing CD. She may not have intended to be racist, but there are racist utterances with how structural racism has impacted her habitus, and I later address how this affects processes of production. Her assumption that it is only appropriate to use skin tones that are “normal” comes directly from her own perceptions. These statements evidence that Emma utilises elements of habitus that have been accumulated as ‘acceptable’ representations throughout both her personal and professional life. Thus, her imposition during Gaurav’s presentation was not only an act of authority (Wodak and Ludwig, 1999), but to stress her dismissal of overaccommodating diversity for a white majority audience. However, I questioned the non-black practitioners to further investigate what they perceived as black culture, and there were traces of racist ideologies.

When questioned about the meaning of black cultural identity, the majority of non-black practitioners agreed that music, clothing and hairstyles comprised a large proportion. However, religion, “*cultural traditions*” and “*family values*” were not recognised, and this was evident across both agency types in the UK and US (Saeed, UKCD1; Simon, UKGM1; Kay, USGM1; Charles, USGM2). What this suggests is that there is a generic ideology of

dismissing black culture that is not necessarily developed from family and upbringing. Instead, there is a more powerful force within the media industries that reinforces these simplistic, stereotypical representations, and I further probed the practitioners to get a sense of where they had developed these ideas of black culture.

Many of the white practitioners explained that their attitudes are based on seeing “*how colleagues act*” (Simon, UKGM1) or “*what my black friends usually go for*” (Brandy, UKGM1). During an informal social gathering with USGM2 at a local bar, Keisha, Judith and Charles were engaging in a debate about Charles’ response to being accused of shop-lifting the previous weekend. The three had worked together on the same account for nearly two years and were joined in the bar by four members of staff from other teams. As the entire office finishes work at 1pm on Friday afternoon during the summer, some visit the bar for a couple of hours before heading home. The group were seated in a booth for eight people. Although I could have sat around the table with them, I pulled up a chair on the edge to keep my distance as a non-participant.

During the second round of drinks, Charles, a white Accounts Assistant, was evidently agitated as he ruffled his hair while he explained his story from the previous weekend. He increasingly raised his voice as he progressed into the story, explaining that he felt “*angry looking back*” that he had been “*less aggressive*” towards the shop assistant for mistakenly leaving a shop with an item of luggage. Keisha, a black Arts Director, and Judith, a black Senior Officer for Diversity, reassured Charles that he took the “*right approach*” and “*choice*” as it gave more substance to his innocence. The group was sympathetic to his situation and Keisha tried to change the conversation by speaking on the “*lighter note*” of what everyone had planned for the weekend. Raising his voice again, Charles responded, “*Thanks a lot guys! I was hoping you’d give me some hip advice, like shout back at the lady like an angry black guy [...] isn’t that what you would do?*”

With Keisha and Judith being the only black people present, they were evidently embarrassed by Charles’ statement. Keisha uncomfortably finished her glass of red wine and was hesitant to raise her head. However, Judith was more forthcoming in her defence. After slamming her glass of wine on the table, she sharply called out Charles’ name. Swiftly, she explained to Charles that he “*cannot go around making blanket statements*” and that he needs to recognise that he was “*not right*” in his opinions. After a moment of brief silence without any response, Keisha proceeded to ask again what everyone planned on doing for the weekend and the conversation was uncomfortably laughed off and dismissed.

During her interview, Judith explained that she felt she had to stand up to Charles as a more “*experienced*” staff member who has faced racism throughout her years in the industry. She explained that she did not feel hurt as “*clearly Charles didn’t mean to offend me [...] but he needs to know, otherwise he’ll keep making these careless mistakes throughout his career*”.

Judith evidences Tate’s (2005, 45) approach to ‘racialised bodily schema’, where “black women both master narratives, whiteness and blackness” and take on “double consciousness and multiple identifications” (Gilroy, 1987). As Judith works in the GM field of cultural production, to some extent she is expected to comply with the industry norms of practice and standards of professionalisation. Judith recognises that she may have acted differently in a “*room full of black folk [...] all hell coulda broke loose*”. Thus, if Judith worked in a CD agency where issues of racism are likely to be more sensitive and such a scenario occurred, her reaction may have been different. However, she recognises that being a black person in a white space can set off a “moment of post-colonial racism, a double bind. Of intrigue and interest and objectification and racialised inscription all at once” (Carrington, 2009, 176). In Judith’s eyes, reacting aggressively simply was not appropriate for the field in which she was present, but simultaneously enabled the power of structural racism to continue.

I followed up Charles’ question in his interview, asking why he assumed his colleagues may have responded more aggressively in that situation. He explains:

“I didn’t mean it in a harsh way, but I just made an assumption that other people may have responded differently [...] it’s not necessarily because they are black, but I guess it’s just an image I have in my head that a big black guy would have been more intimidating than measly old me [...] it may also be because I watched Training Day last night with Denzel Washington, he’s pretty aggressive in that and no one was messing with him! [...] I guess I based my response on how the media stereotypically represent black people.”

There are two main conclusions that can be taken from Charles’ response. Firstly, it is evident that Charles did not intentionally realise he was making a racist stereotype. What can be taken from these scenarios is that there is a deeper, underlying meaning behind how individuals make judgements and decisions about different cultural groups.

It is worth reflecting back to my discussion of cultural racisms and racist stereotyping in Chapter 3. Charles' attitude draws similarities to Blaut's (1992) account of cultural racism as, although Charles did not intend to be racist, his use of discourse shows that he has underlying racist ideas that black people 'act' in a certain way. This is particularly why I criticised Perkins' (1979: 83) early account of stereotyping in Chapter 3; although she acknowledged the "lack of control" that black people have historically faced in media representations, she did not differentiate between whether this type of stereotyping was conscious or unconscious. However, and more importantly, Charles' ideas are developed from racist media stereotypes, and this is an early indicator of how dominant ideologies are circulated.

Charles' use of discourse shows how easily such racist ideologies become inscribed in advertising messages and cultural production processes. As Tate (2005, 24) argues, "public discourses become inscribed in our subjectivities" and Charles' selection of discourse evidences one's power in reflecting their perspectives: a systematic function of CDA. Although Charles claims his ideas are born out of media representations, he has evidenced that he has accepted this world view and feels confident in expressive his view in public discourse. Thus, it is not only his private thoughts that are important, but his lack of consideration of what his colleagues may think shows his confidence in his views being publicly shared and accepted (Banks et al., 2013; Johnson et al., 2014).

Secondly, it is useful to address Van Dijk's work here, as he particularly acknowledges CDA in his study of news discourse, and is applicable for analysing this scenario. Van Dijk's (1985a) work examines how language is constructed and how discourse functions in different social settings. From analysing the news, Van Dijk finds that broadcasters use stereotypical language to generalise African Americans as being violent. In Charles' case, his selection of discourse does not immediately have implications on his working practices. However, his discourse does have an impact on how his black colleagues perceive him, and Judith in particular expresses her discomfort of being "*undermined*" as 'big, black and aggressive'.

It is evident from Charles' scenario that he did not intend to be racist. However, Charles was not aware of the racist meaning that he had constructed for black people, and I readdress the problems this has on working practices in Chapter 6. This meaning plays an important function in media practices, as "the instrument of the social construction of reality" (Van Leeuwen, 1993: 193; Paterson, 2011; Zizek, 2008: 28) and a tool for "maintaining unequal power relations" (Wodak, 2001: 10). Slavoj Zizek (2008: 32) would refer to Charles as a

‘cynical subject’, i.e. he cannot see past the ideological mask of media representations, where he recognises:

the distance between the ideological mask and the reality, but it still finds reason to retain the mask.

In this case, Charles acknowledges that his racist attitude is developed from the media and recognises that “*not all black people are like that*”. However, he still chooses to retain his ideological view that black people are the minority. Thus, although Charles did not create the ideology, he has an important role in circulating it as a form of social reality (Eagleton, 1994; Saha, 2016; Sloterdijk, cited in Zizek, 2008: 28), and this ideology becomes part of his functioning habitus. Although Van Dijk’s (1985a; 2000) work on the final product of a news broadcast is useful, my analysis shows the importance of analysing how practitioners talk about a subject first, and then analysing the actual media product. This lack of focus on the intentions of media practitioners is a weakness in Van Dijk’s work overall, as he makes assumptions about whether a racist stereotype was consciously or unconsciously developed.

The scenarios analysed so far in the GM field evidence how racist discourse is used in a dismissive manner and is excused as just how things are in the industry. However, the use of discourse shows that racist ideas about black people come from both personal and institutionalised grounds, before the actual production of creative work (Saha, 2016). Thus, there is a relationship between intentionality and habitus, as the two work together to simultaneously disadvantage both black practitioners and the progression of black culture being implemented within advertisements.

In Chapter 3, I criticised those who took the same approach as Van Dijk, particularly those who made general assumptions that racist stereotyping is something that is only done by white people (Cashmore, 1997). The next section again challenges these homogenised views, and shows the ways in which non-black BME practitioners also create negative stereotypes of black culture.

Attitudes of black culture, by non-black BME practitioners

In Chapter 3, I examined how non-black BME cultures had been dealt with in the media. For example, I outlined how Muslims had been phenotyped to have beards, and the problems with seeing Hawaiians and Latin Americans as exotic. One of the main problems that Ali Mir et al. (2015) found was that these cultures had again been negatively stereotyped by white media owners. This section challenges these approaches, and argues that, whilst non-black BME practitioners experience racism, there are still scenarios where they are racist towards black practitioners. What I aim to do is dispel the myth that racist stereotyping is something that is only done by white practitioners. I particularly show why it is not enough to ‘visually’ have BME practitioners working in advertising, and use two examples from the US to contextualise this.

Some of the non-black BME practitioners relayed similar experiences to black practitioners, and empathised with how black culture is homogenised due to their own experiences of being racially profiled. These experiences were particularly evident in USGM1, which consisted of a wide range of ethnicities and cultures.

USGM1 is a part of a large multinational media group and consists of four major brand accounts; it is one of the top 20 media agencies in the US. I conducted my research within one of these account teams, whose client is a global sporting brand. Their office is based in a shared, modern tower block near Madison Avenue, New York. I conducted my ethnography research between July and September 2013, returning in January 2014 to finalise some interviews. During this period, the team worked on two major campaigns for the client: one pitching to be the sponsor for a major sporting event in 2015, and the other for the annual relaunch of their best-selling sneakers.

The agency is based on the top two floors of the office block, with the upper floor being a cafeteria offering a 360-degree view of New York. The floor below is where the agency’s open plan office is based and is where the majority of the data collection took place. Upon reaching this floor, the décor is bright and colourful, surrounded by flowers and state-of-the-art technology. The office is divided into four main sections, separated by foldable glass doors. Around 15 members of staff work in each of the four sections, divided between the four account teams. Along the back wall, there are hot desks, which are used on an ad hoc basis by freelancers and interns. As a result, there is a clear distinction to the core members of staff.

The team I observed worked towards the back of the office and had a direct view of Madison Avenue. The team consisted of nine members of staff; however, during my research period, they were split into two teams to deal with the two campaigns that were running simultaneously. Throughout the three months, I observed the team managing the annual sneaker campaign, which consisted of four members. It was clear during this period that the team had a strong bond, as this was the third year in a row they had worked on this campaign. However, over the weeks it became evident that there were tensions between team members and how they deemed the “importance” of each other’s cultural values (Mike, USGM1).

An example of these tensions occurred during my second week at the agency. Mike, a white Market Research Assistant and Kay, a white Strategy Creative Director, were sitting at Mike’s computer, talking about one of the freelancers that were joining their team the following week, to bring insights into sneaker trends in the Japanese market:

*Mike: So, what do you think? I think hot Asian chick.
Petite, long hair.*

*Kay: You wish! As long as they’re hot and ethnic, you’re
happy.*

Mike: True.

Kay: Think she’ll fit in?

Mike: She probably won’t, but as long as she does the job.

As the team sit on a condensed round table in front of their computers, Rosa, a Latin American Marketing Manager, overheard their conversation. She leant to the side from her computer and slammed her hand on the table, clearly agitated. She swiftly intervened:

“Seriously guys. Every single time. How would you like it if someone profiled you. Like if you were joining a team of Latinas and were told you wouldn’t fit because you’re white [...] actually, in hindsight, that probably wouldn’t happen, just because of the fact you’re white!”

Mike and Kay did not respond, but both appeared uncomfortable. They put their heads down and lowered their voices. A few minutes later, Mike signalled Kay to follow him to the cafeteria on the top floor and they had disappeared for around half an hour. Upon their departure, Rosa shook her head and continued to work. Later that day, I offered Rosa the opportunity to conduct her interview. At her request, Rosa and I conducted her interview at a small deli a few minutes away from the office as she wanted to feel “*comfortable*” to speak freely.

Throughout the interview, Rosa was extremely open about her employment experiences while living in the US over the past 20 years. She was less concerned with the objectification of BME women, but more so about the stature of BMEs in general. She explains that she found being racially profiled during her first two jobs in marketing “*quite astounding*”, but was “*rather used to it all*” by the time she applied for her current role:

“I’m Latino, so I understand what it’s like to be racially profiled. But then, I do see how a white person would look at us all the same [and then] stereotype.”

Rosa related this profiling to the dispute she had earlier that day with her colleagues. She explained that, while she was used to hearing “*this type of discriminatory, sexist*” discourse, she understood how someone not from a BME would not find their language offensive, as there are not enough faces of colour in the organisation for them to be challenged. Similar to my discussions of the ‘poster girl’ (Ahmed, 2009) role of BME workers in organisations in Chapter 3, Rosa continues by explaining how she received her job. She reflects on a conversation she had with her current Line Manager, explaining that the job role specifically desired a candidate with “*expertise in ‘diverse’ markets*”. As she recalls the scenario, she reverts to her stance at the office of having her arms crossed and avoiding eye contact. She pauses in discomfort on several occasions while she reflects on the scenario:

“She [Rosa’s line manager] was crazy excited to hear all about my 10 years of experience consulting for different markets across Northern and Southern America [...] I told her about my work with Disney and marketing a couple new movie releases, one had a black cartoon character as the main

character [...] I went into detail about the different bits I did to make sure the communication was right for black audiences, but she was like ‘yeah, you don’t need to worry about that here, black people are just part of the mass, right?’”

In this scenario, Rosa acknowledged the negative stereotypical attitude of her Line Manager, and empathised with black culture as “*you never know what they’ve saying about Latinos to other people.*” I asked Rosa whether she had ever challenged any of these racist views before, but she shrugged her shoulders and stated “*it’s just how it is.*”

This scenario evidences the shared experience of BME practitioners, and there are two main findings that can be taken from this. Firstly, Rosa ‘understands’ why a white person would assume all BME groups are the same, particularly if they have less experience with socialising or working with them. However, with her three employment experiences in the US, it is evident that, over time, Rosa has just accepted such attitudes as industry norms. These experiences reiterate some recent CRT work on the historical narrative that ‘race’ is generally accepted as a mythical category, but “*is a reified category that conjures the fictive biological, social and cultural unity of arbitrary racialised collectives*” (St. Louis, 2005: 29, original emphasis). That is, the systematic process of disadvantaging ethnic minorities is continuously reproduced in organisational discourse. While on the surface it may seem that more diversity is happening in advertising agencies and that the Obama era has made everything okay (King and Smith, 2008), BME groups still play a superficial role in representing diversity, while, as the following chapter demonstrates, being restrained from producing creative cultural messages.

Rosa’s experiences relate to some of the problems of recent studies into unequal creative labour. Although Rosa is in a fairly senior position in her team, she is still excluded as the person that does not fit in and still experiences “*unequal power relations*” (Oakley, 2006: 265) because of her ethnicity. Angela McRobbie (2002: 526) continues to discuss these disparities through the ‘perceptions’ and ‘reality’ of power:

There is an irony in that alongside the assumed openness of the network, the apparent embrace of non-hierarchical working practices,

the various flows and fluidities [...] there are quite rigid closures and exclusions.

McRobbie suggests there is an assumption that, while working in a team, and in this scenario as a senior member, you are openly accepted. However, Rosa evidences that she experiences exclusion due to the way in which she challenges her colleagues when she disagrees with something they have said. One of the main factors of Mike and Kay's dialogue was not the way that they spoke about the expertise or skills of the freelancer joining their team, but their unspoken hesitancy as to whether she would "*fit*" within the team. The specific selection of their discourse immediately excludes the freelancer before she has even joined the team and reinforces the "the body as the subject of practice" (Crouch, 2000: 68; Massey, 2004). This discourse evidences the shared, social meaning of otherness in the workplace that is experienced by BME groups in that, while it may not be the same between different groups, it is still an exclusionary practice.

Secondly, it is important to note that Rosa works in a GM agency, so her colleagues' attitude towards CD is inevitably going to be less important than if she were in a CD agency. On the surface, it could be implied that working in a CD agency may make one more open minded about BME cultures. The following scenarios examine how non-black BME practitioners were, in fact, more negative towards black culture in CD agencies, and demonstrated forms of cultural racism. What I aim to show through these examples is that there are deeper attachments in the relationship between habitus and racist intentionality.

There were evident examples of dismissal towards black culture at USCD1. Being a smaller, niche agency in the field of cultural production, the agency clearly had fewer tangible resources than a typical GM agency. USCD1 is based in East Village, New York and is located in a small industrial estate. Upon approaching the building, there is a car park accommodating around 20 vehicles and the agency's open plan office is in a hut based towards the back. When entering the office, there are six rows of tables, facing towards the right wall. I conducted my research between February and March 2013 when the team was working on three accounts simultaneously. Due to limited resources and the relatively small clients that CD agencies are likely to work on, it is usual for these agencies to split their time between different clients.

Throughout my time, I was mainly observing Victoria, a Latino American Strategy and Client Advisor, who advised on the creative strategy across all accounts. She mainly worked independently towards the back of the room, and intervened with each team throughout her day, mainly to give feedback from the client. During my final week at the agency, Victoria approached the team working on a campaign for a Latin American beverage company. She had just heard back from the client about the strategic direction of the campaign that was intended to reach the Latino market. As this was a short campaign that would focus on local festivals during Cinco De Mayo across New York, there was a small budget of \$7,000.

Victoria was speaking to the team about the importance of stressing Latin American culture:

Victoria: So this needs to be the main focus. Lisa, can you make sure you do some local research on Latinos?

Lisa: Sure. But why don't we also include other cultures? These festivals have like so many different types of people attending. Typically 80% Latino, so that's a great margin for targeting others. Like, black folk are the second largest consumer of [brand name] in the States.

Victoria: Like who? There's not really another prime market that's as important or has as strong cultural values than Latin Americans. I'm not going to waste resources on blacks.

Victoria's discourse is important as it is an example of how she is dismissive of black culture, but more accommodating of Latin American culture. Although the client and campaign specifically focus on Latin Americans, she makes two strong assumptions. Firstly, she assumes that black people have less cultural values, a statement that is widely familiar and embedded in organisational discourse (Carbado and Gulati, 2013; Tate, 2005; Puwar, 2004). What is striking about Victoria's language is the cultural assumptions she makes as someone who works in a CD agency. It can be assumed that such discourse would be more 'accepted' in a GM agency as their remits and resources are not catered for BME groups. Secondly, she chooses to believe that it would be a 'waste of resources' to focus on black culture. This

attitude brings into question what Victoria's attitude would be if a client specifically targeting African Americans came to the agency.

To probe these attitudes further, I wanted to get a sense of Victoria's habitus and where her ideas about the importance of different cultures stemmed from. During her interview, she states that "*African Americans are just American*":

"It doesn't always matter where you're from or what your background is, particularly for African American people who are part of the majority [GM] [...] I've never met a black person and said 'yeh, you're so cultured that I need to target you.' They're all the same in my opinion."

It is evident that Victoria did not see any problem in the way she dismissed all types of black cultures as the same and how she spoke of 'blackness', therefore homogenising all black people as the same (Gilroy, 1987; Hall, 1990). Upon deconstructing Victoria's dialogue, there does not appear to be any harmful, racist intent in her opinions. However, as Billig (2006) suggests, it is the naivety of her discourses that have a wider impact. In this case, her opinions are also damaging for a CD agency that could potentially have a large portfolio of clients aiming to target black audiences.

These attitudes were not exclusive to the US CD agencies, as similarities were also evident at UKCD1. UKCD1 has a similar structure, where their team of four South Asian practitioners has a variety of clients on an ad hoc basis. Drumming up consistent business is even more important for the agency, as they do not have any ongoing clients that use them on a repetitive basis, and there may be a reason for this. The agency is based in a modern tower block along the River Thames, ideally located near other small media organisations, and many local bars and restaurants. Upon entering their offices, there is a youthful feel of greys, white and yellow as the main colour theme. To the left, there is a small office where the CEO sits, with a large board room in the middle, with the main open plan office to the right. With a small team consisting of six members of staff facing forward, visitors are all kindly greeted by smiles upon entering.

During my research period between November 2012 and January 2013, the team worked on several accounts from savoury Indian food brands, to telecoms and government campaigns

targeting BME groups. During my ethnography, there were no specific occasions when the team spoke negatively about black culture. However, throughout the three months of my research period, it was evident that there was no specific focus on black culture for any of the campaigns that aimed to target ‘diverse’, ‘ethnic’ or ‘multicultural’ audiences. It was during the interviews that it became evident as to why this was.

During my interview with Saeed, the Managing Director, he began to give some insights into how he has seen the industry and the UK population trends change over the past 20 years since he started his agency. He spoke positively about the recognition of South Asian cultures and the diversity that Polish and Middle Eastern audiences were bringing to the UK. He recognised that, while the media may see these cultures as “*less favourable*”, he is making use of these lucrative audiences. However, when speaking about black culture, he believed that “*black people do not have their own culture*”. I asked Saeed to expand on his reasons for this and he explained that “*it’s not a racist thing to say, it’s just from my years of seeing how blacks are in comparison to other cultures*”. Similarly, during her interview, Lena, a Trainee Accounts Assistant, who speaks fondly on Saeed’s influence on her career, gives a similar explanation that black people are “*cultureless [...] as their culture is pretty similar to GM culture, anyway*”.

What is evident from these scenarios is that the practitioners are not necessarily racist, but they are demonstrating a type of cultural racism. Chapter 3 outlined accounts of cultural racisms, where individuals discredit and undermine cultures other than their own (Samman, 2012; Blaut, 1992). There are two main problems with existing conceptions of cultural racisms, that particularly relate to Barker’s first definition in 1981. Barker argued that cultural racism is detached from traditional racism and, rather, refers to the “irreducibility of cultural differences” between European and non-European cultures (ibid; Essed, 1991: 14). Firstly, cultural racism is to do with ‘culture’, as opposed to ‘race’. However, Barker assumes that these cultural racisms happen between European and non-European cultures, and does not address how these racisms occur between subcultures (Thornton, 1995). In the case of Saeed, as a South Asian person, he assumes that black people are “*cultureless*” as their culture is supposedly close to British culture, anyway. Although these are his personal opinions, they are evidently having an impact on a) his team members, who are influenced by his views, and b) potentially the lucrative client base aiming to target black culture. More recently, Powell (2000: 8), similarly to Barker, argued that cultural racism is benchmarked against “white behavioural standards” and that “products of white culture are superior to

those of non-white cultures”. However, the case of UKCD1 evidences that this is not only something that happens in white spaces, or white culture, but also towards black culture by other BME cultures.

What it seems that Saeed was suggesting is that black people have a complex relationship to white Westernised culture. On the one hand, black people have historically been rejected from the type of Westernised culture that benefits white people, as white privilege is an ‘institutionalised’ belief that does not provide access for BME groups. Thus, although an individual may be Black British or African American, they do not have the same experience of ‘Britishness’ or ‘Americanness’ as a white person (Hall, 1986; 1996: 114). These types of relationships relate back to the discussions of nation and class, and the different relationship that black people have historically had with capitalism (Root, 1996). Therefore, this detachment and “*cultureless*” position that Hall (ibid) discusses is not only experienced by black people, but it is also placed on them by non-black BME people.

Secondly, there is a relationship between ideology and cultural racisms, particularly through how non-black BME practitioners talk about black culture. Some argue that cultural racism is completely detached from ideology, as it is not particularly related to ‘race’ (Barker, 1981; Pred, 2000). However, these accounts fail as they do not acknowledge how traditional racism is the ‘root’ that reincarnates itself in different types of social practices (Blaut, 1992: 298). Therefore, ideologies are still evident in less blatant ways that may have been developed from a variety of social interactions, such as family or education institutions. As Hall (1997; 1980; 1986) explains, ‘ideological statements’ are not necessarily developed by individuals, but are formulated from other social interactions and construct the positions that individuals take. Put simply, these ideological statements form part of the unconscious habitus of individuals, which then resurface in different social situations, whether intentional or not.

I draw two main conclusions from my discussions in this section. Firstly, there is a general dismissal of black people having any unique culture, by both white and non-black BME practitioners, across the UK and US, and in both GM and CD agencies. I revisit these uses of discourse in Chapter 6, where I analyse how these views are reproduced into cultural messages, and how they are circulated and interpreted into CD communication strategies. Du Gay’s (1997) circuits of culture is useful to readdress, as the following chapter shows the relationship between individual perceptions, cultural production (Pierson and Bauwens, 2015) and, thus, the lack of representation in advertisements. Although this chapter specifically focuses on discourse and experiences of racism, there is a lack of recognition of

how these discourses are limiting the creativity of BME practitioners. More concerning, these hostile experiences are taking place in the very field that claims to support the development of BME communications, and such CD agencies may be limiting their client base as a result.

I have not suggested that there is always intentional racism in the examples I have evidenced. What I have aimed to show is that ideologies are still powerful, even though they operate in unconscious ways to the individuals who are circulating them (Couldry, 2000; Oakley and O'Brien, 2015). Secondly, I have shown that these types of cultural racisms occur in both GM and CD agencies. The evidence of cultural racisms in CD agencies may be problematic, as CD practitioners have the intention of creating CD communication strategies for various BME audiences. Chapter 6 revisits the implications that these discourses have on working practices and the development of CD communication strategies. However, I now turn to the black practitioners themselves, who have directly experienced racism at work.

The experience of racism

From the scenarios above, the white and non-black BME practitioners did not make any reference to racism in the workplace. In this section, I examine how black practitioners talk about their experiences of racism, and the naivety of their colleagues for not realising when they make racist remarks. I aim to show a) how black practitioners experience more racism and negative stereotypes than other non-black BME groups, and b) how these experiences differ in GM agencies, and the CD agencies that are considered as safe 'black spaces'. I particularly want to show why studies of the experiences of media practitioners need to deconstruct the 'diversity' category, using interview responses from black practitioners in the UK and US.

There were similarities amongst black practitioners in both the UK and US, where they had experienced racism in their organisations. What was intriguing about their responses was that the racist comments made by their colleagues came across as unconscious, "*blasé*" racism in everyday conversations. This was made evident by a black practitioner at UKGM2.

UKGM2 is a mid-sized advertising agency based at London Bridge. The agency has won various awards for its 'creative' and 'innovative' advertising and, more recently, for its commitment to employing a diverse workforce. The agency has two major client accounts: a global children's entertainment brand, and a global sporting brand. During my visit between January and March 2014, I spent time with the sporting brand team, which consisted of four

practitioners of different backgrounds. Their modern offices are based in a prime location along the River Thames, in a core area where many media agencies and global brands' head offices are based. Based on the second floor of the shared building, the teams are divided into six open plan offices, with an open coffee shop in the middle. The specific team I examined was based in one of these offices, decorated in bright red with green chairs, with the practitioners' desks and Mac Books facing each corner of the room.

Amongst the practitioners in the agency, only one was of black heritage, namely Vanessa, an Accounts Assistant. During her interview, Vanessa was very open about how she felt about her position as the only black person in the organisation and whether this had an impact on her. She did not speak about formal situations in the workplace where she felt uncomfortable, but referred to several social or ad hoc occasions. On one of these occasions, she reflects on an experience where she worked with a different team and overheard her colleagues talking about a night out:

“Most of the guys in the office usually went Sky Bar or something on a Friday after work, especially if we hit our figures [...] Jenny said ‘who’s coming’? And Annette said ‘the usual guys, I asked Vanessa but she’s probably got some kind of African comedy show to go to again tonight’ [...] I remember it so clearly when she said, ‘I so don’t think she fits in with us’.”

Vanessa recalls the experience as feeling “*fresh*” in her mind, as she feels “*anxious*” whenever she has social interactions with colleagues, and that she does not “*naturally*” fit in her organisation’s culture. She continues to explain that “*I know that’s because of me, but it’s just natural. I don’t want to seem too black [...] and not seem so British that I’m trying not to be black.*” She recalls that this situation made her “*doubt*” and feel “*uncertainty*” about expressing her Ghanaian cultural identity in front of colleagues. As she reflected on these scenarios, her head was bowed and she shifted in her seat uncomfortably, clearing her throat whenever she hesitated to use the word ‘black’, as if it were a dirty word. Even more so, she did not seem to acknowledge that these were racist statements made by her colleagues, instead blaming herself for how she feels rather than holding them accountable, a result of the systematic acceptance of everyday racism (Carbado and Gulati, 2003; Puwar, 2004). In

working practice, Vanessa seemed confident in her everyday activities, but behind the scenes she reverted into a different character, when she was made to feel embarrassed by her cultural background.

A similar feeling was expressed by Judith at USGM2. She confidently asserts that she is happy to stand up for “*the bullies that try to put me down for my race*”, as she did so with her colleagues’ naïve racist statements outlined earlier. However, behind the scenes during her interview, she expresses similar feelings to Vanessa of anxiety, explaining that her African American identity is a “*burden*”, reducing “*the possibilities of my colleagues asking me for advice*”.

Other than being black practitioners, there is a similarity in Vanessa and Judith’s cases, where they both work for GM agencies. This is not to suggest that their organisations are blatantly racist, as there is a difference between traditional racism and everyday racism, as outlined in Chapter 3 (Mason, 1982; 2000; Rattansi, 2007). However, these cases do show the organisational culture of expecting workers to conform to ideological, white social practices (Ahmed 2006; 2009; Puwar, 2004). Chapter 3 outlined Nirmal Puwar’s (2004) discussion of the physical presence of the human body being ‘out of place’ in different social settings. She explains that the body is socially and politically constructed, with the output of being gendered, racialised and demoralised. These constructions are based on what Gilroy (1993: 2) refers to as “modes of identification”, where shallow social constructions of cultural identity restrict non-white identities from fitting in. Thus, these social constructions are operational on a daily basis and lead to negative, racist comments, such as those experienced by Vanessa and Judith.

What is evident from these experiences is that they have implications on how black practitioners facilitate their habitus and cultural identity, in an “organisational space which allows the operation of, the acceptability of racism” (Jenkins, 1986: 135). These spaces require black practitioners to then ‘perform’ their role of embodying blackness, as this is expected of them from their white and non-black BME peers (Gilroy, 1987; Butler, 1997). From this analysis, it is evident that there is a relationship between Gilroy and Butler’s work. Chapter 3 outlined how Butler’s work focuses on gender performativity in different organisational settings, and how habitus seemingly portrays our identity in organisational settings (Boucher, 2006: 112-113). However, the ways in which Vanessa and Judith talk about their experiences show that their habitus ‘acts’ as a false sense of identity, acting out ideological norms (ibid). Gilroy’s (1993) work relates to these norms, as he argues against

these essentialist constructions of racial identity, that legitimise historical racism and the progress of whiteness (Bourdieu, 1990; Jhally, 1987; Wacquant, 2005: 7). Thus, this analysis shows that, behind the scenes, some black practitioners accept racist comments as part of ‘normal’ organisational practices.

These findings have two main implications on the habitus of black practitioners. Firstly, it was evident that the black practitioners felt they had a different, “*isolated*” (Shelley, USCD2) experience to non-black BME practitioners. Shelley continues to explain that “*even my Latino colleagues don’t understand that I have my own culture, being black*”. From this analysis, I am by no means assuming that being a black – or any BME – practitioner means that one is more likely to develop ‘better’ CD communication strategies. However, these scenarios show that black practitioners are more likely to experience discrimination and racism within their organisation, and this ultimately has a knock-on effect on the development of their creative ideas. Thus, the facilitation of their habitus is restricted in comparison to their peers, due to how society has ideologically constructed black culture as “*worthless*” (Cassandra, USCD2). This restriction particularly becomes problematic for the CD agencies at the latter end of the ‘field of cultural production’, as they rely on their cultural capital to offer unique services in the industry, but are restricted with these racist experiences.

There are similar studies that have addressed the experience of BME workers in different organisational settings. For example, Carbado and Gulati (2003; 2013) discuss how BME workers attempt to minimise the risk of disrupting the natural flow of their organisation by facilitating their cultural identity. Although they do not make any direct reference to habitus, this type of facilitation relates to how Bourdieu (2001: 104-105) talks about individuals ‘inserting’ their habitus in different social situations. Carbado and Gulati develop their concept of the ‘racial double bind’, which builds on Du Bois’ (1903) early development of ‘double consciousness’. These concepts relate to the ways in which black people facilitate their identity, but the ‘racial double bind’ looks at the ways in which this is more problematic in organisational settings. Within organisations, this ‘double bind’ becomes restricted, regulated and monitored, which directly affects the extent to which black workers operate in working practice. However, the studies do not directly address the negative impact of non-black BME workers, as this section has evidenced.

In a more recent study on media practices, Lee Edwards (2013: 7) conducts interviews in PR agencies in the UK, and directly calls on black practitioners to stand up for themselves, instead of, sometimes, accepting the “self-imposed” racist comments as ‘normal’

organisational practices. Edwards' aim was to evaluate how the practitioners' identity has impacted their careers, where many felt excluded from their colleagues, as they were assumed to have different interests and identities. Such assumptions were identified during difficult conversations, where one of the participants, Cornelia, a black practitioner, expressed that her white colleagues assumed they would "have to talk about the MOBOs or we're going to have to talk about jerk chicken" (ibid: 249). These assumptions draw back to how stereotypes are used to determine one's cultural identity, and Edwards believes that it is down to the racialised minorities themselves to stand up for themselves.

To some extent, I agree with Edwards (ibid), that the only way change will happen is if practitioners stop being the "social mirror", reflecting their organisation's stereotypical expectations (Malefyt and Morais, 2012). However, my findings suggest that these changes are dependent on the type of organisational setting. In a GM agency that does not particularly have a remit to acknowledge CD, it will inevitably be more difficult for black practitioners to justify why inserting their cultural identity is necessary. In this case, it is important to recognise the ideological system that has created the negative and exclusionary discourses towards black people. As Foucault (1977a) explains, these short, discursive statements are a "group of conditions of existence", created to sustain a commonsense rule for particular groups. Therefore, changing historically embedded ideologies is not easy to destruct.

In reference to CD agencies that specifically have working remits to consider CD, one would assume that black practitioners would not have these same "isolated" experiences. The fact that BME practitioners have the same experiences in both GM and CD agencies is a key contribution to current media debates, as one would assume that these practitioners would have a more 'favourable' position in a 'black space'. With this finding, I particularly stress why the current calls for more diversity in the media industry are not enough to bring about changes in organisational attitudes towards CD. What is needed is a comprehensive programme of implementing changes to the industry's culture. As I now examine, there are reasons why these experiences of racism are more prominent for black practitioners than other non-black BME workers.

Appropriating non-black BME culture

Whilst my findings show that black culture is generally deemed inferior, I now analyse how non-black BME cultures are spoken about through two main findings. Within this section, I examine a) how non-black BME cultures are externally seen as more appealing, and b) how

practitioners appropriate and favour their own cultures over others. What I aim to show is that BME groups do not have the same experience, as many studies suggest, and I demonstrate this through two scenarios in the UK and US.

Exoticising Latin American culture

In relation to what practitioners deemed as ‘appealing’ types of BME culture, inevitably Latin American culture was repeated as being the most “*exotic*” (Rosa, USGM1; Keisha, UKGM2; Pedro, USCD2) in the US. This type of ‘appealing’ discourse was mostly evident in general, everyday conversations between practitioners, as opposed to being in structured working environments. At USCD1, prior to a morning team meeting, Victoria, a US-born Latin American Strategist, and Lisa, a white Research Planner, were discussing the “*excitement*” of Latina women. As Victoria was my main contact for the day, we met slightly earlier to talk about what her plans were. As Lisa was also working with her that day, she joined us ten minutes later and we had an informal coffee together, although my data collection had already commenced. Both Victoria and Lisa were laid back in their mannerisms. Victoria had her elbows slumped on the table and feet on one of the chairs, while Lisa slouched on the table with one leg up. It was evident that they felt comfortable enough to speak in my presence. The pair were discussing a live stream of a Jennifer Lopez concert they had both watched the previous night:

Victoria: J-Lo is the epitome of a hot Latina, can you imagine if we could get to endorse the [brand name] campaign?

Lisa: That would be crazy [...] but we’ve already got P Diddy on that one. He’ll draw in a good audience.

Victoria: Yeh I guess. But nothing gets the people going like mama Latina [...] You just don’t get that with others [cultures].

There are two main points that can be taken from this dialogue. It is evident that the practitioners believe Latin American culture is more appealing than other BME cultures, and this is evidenced by both white and BME practitioners across the US agencies. For example, Charles, a white Accounts Assistant at USGM2, explains that “*it’s only when I started*

working here and heard of the Latinas speaking Spanish [...] then I thought, wow, that's super hot!" However, their use of discourse also evidences that the sexualisation of Latin American women is what gives the culture its exoticisation. Butler's (1997) work is useful to revisit here, as she lays out an argument for why sex-based ordering is problematic. She focuses on how gendered discourse is a "citational practice" in organisational settings (ibid: 2), and is useful for showing how, in some scenarios, Latina women are expected to act by their colleagues. It is important to note that, while this sexualised discourse may be deemed offensive, its structured, formation and tone into everyday conversations is completely different to the intentionally racist statements towards black culture.

The above scenario evidences the sexualisation of Latin American culture, but there were others that tied it to "*strong cultural traditions*" and having a "*unique language and dialogue*" (Rosa, USGM1).

This type of cultural essence was evident during my observations at USGM2. USGM2 is a large advertising agency based in Central Manhattan, with over six major client accounts. The agency owns three floors of an eight-floored, glass tower block. Two account teams share the same floor, with a staircase dividing the two. During my visit, I conducted my research with a team dealing with a major US banking company, where the team consisted of eight members. The team was divided into two – one dealing with GM clients, and two team members were dedicated to 'multicultural communications'. This agency was one of the first to introduce the type of sub-CD agency that I introduced with my adaption of the 'field of cultural production', and evidences how GM and CD teams work together.

Upon entering their office, there is a clear sense of cultural recognition. The open-plan office is bright and airy, with the back end of the wall consisting of floor-to-ceiling windows. Throughout the remaining spaces on the walls, there are paintings and quotations from famous BME influencers, such as Obama, Opera, Freida Carlo and Fidel Castro. The colours of yellow, red and orange are particularly evident and brings a sense that the office is an openly creative space, for both GM and CD practitioners.

Miguel, a Latin American Arts Manager, was my main contact at the agency and, during his interview, explains the importance of cultural expression in the office. He explains that, when he joined the agency, it was his suggestion to introduce a 'multicultural' team and include some "*culture and life*" in the office décor. Miguel believes that the agency respects the

importance of cultural values and how important this is when recruiting new members to the team. For instance, he explains that his Latina colleague, Monica:

“never fails to come in and give me the double-cheek kiss [...] this is engrained within our culture [...] all of us do it [...] if you don’t then you’re not a proper South American [laughs].”

Miguel associates this cultural custom with Latin Americans and appreciates it being seen amongst his Latin American colleagues. Such an expression could also potentially be problematic in organisations if there is an expectation of what Latin Americans are ‘supposed’ to do, but which may not be engrained as part of the habitus or tradition of other cultures. However, Miguel’s colleagues similarly express their acceptance of such traditions, as they are seen as *“damn right hot”*, *“informative”* (Mike, USGM2) and *“a beautiful part of the culture”* (Kay, USGM2).

There are debates as to whether exoticising Latin American culture can be seen as a positive stereotype. Chapter 3 addressed this debate, where McFarlane (2014: 127) suggests that positive stereotypes are “without negative intent”, where there is “acceptability of difference bound in physical and non-physical characteristics”. However, I want to reiterate the problems such ‘positive’ discourse evidences. Firstly, the Latin American practitioners talk positively about their culture, in reference to both being exotic and having strong cultural traditions. However, particularly in GM agencies, non-Latin American practitioners only talk about the exotic and sexualised element of the culture. Thomson and Neville (1999: 23) address this problem, explaining that this exoticisation actually omits “the cultural practices or values of racial minorities”. Thus, when it comes to developing CD communication strategies for these audiences, there is the potential of “misinformed perceptions” being created (Gordon, 1995: 203).

Secondly, although Van Dijk’s (1987; 2000) work has been particularly useful in this thesis, I would not take it to the extreme of suggesting that non-Latin American media practitioners intentionally delete key information when creating media discourse. If anything, the above scenarios evidence a weakness in Van Dijk’s (2000) work, where he focuses heavily on how white people use ideological discourse towards black culture. It is evident that the type of discourse being used towards Latin American culture is technically a positive stereotype,

although still problematic for unintentionally omitting other key information. However, it also reinforces that such ‘positive’ discourse was not used by the same colleagues towards black culture.

I acknowledge that positive stereotypes are essential in media practices such as advertising, as they are useful for creating recognisable frames of reference (Katz, 2003; Leiss et al., 1997, Moeran and Christensen, 2013). However, there is a difference between the positive representations evident in media images, and the implications that these stereotypes have on everyday social discourse.

In considering the different ways that practitioners are expected to facilitate themselves, I want to draw on one of the weaknesses in how Bourdieu talks about habitus. In one of his more recent papers, Bourdieu, with Judith Thompson (1991: 12), refers to the dispositions of habitus as creating “practices, perceptions and attitudes that are ‘regular’ without being consciously co-ordinated or governed by any ‘rule’” [my emphasis]. However, there is also a confliction in his argument, as he suggests that individuals ‘insert’ their habitus according to the social situation. What is evident is that practitioners are aware of their dispositions, but how they facilitate those dispositions is dependent on the social setting and context of the situation. To some extent, this may be what Bourdieu was suggesting when he described habitus as a ‘structuring structure’, but there was no acknowledgement of how these dispositions differ for different groups in society. Thus, BME practitioners are likely to have less choice in how they facilitate their habitus and, in some scenarios, ‘suffer’ so that they do not cause ‘grit’ amongst their colleagues (Carbado and Gulati, 2003).

It is evident from these findings that BME practitioners have different experiences in different organisational settings, and I now want to show how this differs for another non-black BME group, before analysing white practitioners.

Appropriation between South Asian practitioners in the UK

The similar types of appropriation with Latin American culture also occurred amongst South Asian practitioners in the UK. This appropriation was particularly evident at UKCD1.

Throughout my data collection period, the team members were consistently advocating their dedication to localised multicultural communication and specialism of “*recognising the UK’s diversity of cultures*” (Saeed, UKCD1). However, within this section, I will outline two

examples of the problems that occurred between the South Asian cultures themselves, and the implications that these are likely to have on developing CD communication strategies.

During my final month of observations, the team had just won a pitch with a UK telecoms brand, that were expanding their advertising campaign to target the Asian community for Eid. The campaign was a low-budget ‘local’ campaign, which included offline advertisements at bus stops, billboards and ethnic print media. Sajna, an Account Manager, and Lena, a Trainee Accounts Assistant, were the main members of staff managing the campaign. In order for Lena to have more junior support in writing press releases, the team decided to bring in a freelancer for the two-week duration of creating and executing the campaign. During the shortlisting between three candidates, Lena suggested choosing this particular freelancer due to her “*clear, Afghan name*” on her CV:

- Sajna: So, what did you think of Amina?*
- Lena: She seems really cool [...] she can definitely bring some expertise to the team, especially cos some of the more senior guys have left now.*
- Sajna: Yeh it’s gonna be nice having someone we can talk to about Afghan TV! [...] we can be like a new trio.*
- Lena: I know, gotta get it in there for the underdogs.*

This dialogue evidences the excitement of having a new team member of a similar Afghanistan background, as it meant there would be an additional person to share their cultural values with. Emile Durkheim (cited in Lukes, 1985: 151) would describe this as a form of solidarity, where their relationship is likely to be based on their shared interests and belief systems. This scenario also reinforces a type of meritocracy that is usually seen in GM creative and media fields, that usually disadvantages BME, female and the disabled access to these fields (Allen et al., 2017). However, in this scenario, Amina’s appointment could be seen as a type of ‘positive’ meritocracy for bringing more BME faces into the industry. To investigate further, I asked Lena to expand on what she meant by the “*underdogs*” in her interview, to find out what ‘values’ she was hoping the new employee would have:

“I didn’t mean it to say anyone puts us down, but like naturally us Afghan girls feel like our culture doesn’t matter. Like, sometimes Saeed will make a comment about us like we’re not as privileged as him, being Pakistani.”

Lena’s comments show that there are sometimes hostilities between the different cultural groups in the organisation, and that the social hierarchy in South Asian cultures is evident in their organisational setting. She makes particular reference to a scenario that occurred when the team was developing communication strategies for “*affluent South Asian*” audiences in 2012:

“This is always a tricky one when it’s requested by a client. Like, we don’t really wanna exclude people, because it was for [a broadband brand] providing connectivity to South Asian countries. But Saeed wanted us to focus on Pakistani audiences since they are one of the biggest affluent South Asians [...] it kinda made me feel a way when he said that, but that’s just how it is.”

This example shows the privilege that is associated with some South Asian cultures, and how Lena had to accept “*that’s just how it is*”. This type of historical caste ideology that Kemper (1979) talks about happens when one Asian culture is privileged over another, as its cultural morals, traditions and beliefs are socially constructed as being more important than others. From this finding, I particularly want to emphasise why it is important to analyse the experiences of different BME groups, as the South Asian practitioners have distinctive experiences to Latin Americans. However, there is a similarity between the two, where their cultural expectations are placed on them by their colleagues of different cultural backgrounds.

These examples evidence the relationship between social capital and organisational relationships. Similarly, Gaurav, a Market Researcher at UKGM2, explains that he finds it particularly difficult to make his colleagues understand why he feels his culture is unique in the UK Asian community, as “*everywhere you go, you see us [...] so how can you not think we’re important?*” The way in which Gaurav talks about his culture reflects my earlier discussions of how Bourdieu relates social capital to class. In Chapter 2, I outlined how

Bourdieu saw social capital as a physical or mental resource that gives individuals a “durable network” of relationships and recognition (Wacquant and Bourdieu, 1992: 119). However, from Gaurav’s perspective, it is more than only being recognised within his own social groups, but there is an expectation that his culture’s social capital should be recognised by external groups. Therefore, this is where I agree with Edwards’ (2013) perspective, that it is down to the practitioners to make themselves visible.

The scenarios that I have analysed in the past two sections have been important for emphasising the experiences of BME practitioners for two reasons. Firstly, I wanted to stress that making negative stereotypes and cultural racisms is not something that is unique among white people. There are ways in which BME groups talk about themselves as being ‘better’ than other BME cultures, and I have evidenced how this has implications on how ideologies are circulated. Van Dijk (2000: 8) makes reference to the difference between ideologies and social practices in religious groups, and how they cannot simply be merged as ‘ideological practices’. However, this section has shown the ways in which there are ‘ideological practices’, as the social practices of the different South Asian cultures wanted to advocate their culture as ‘better’ and more ‘privileged’ than others, stressing who does and who does not belong.

Secondly, these discourses will ultimately have implications on the working practices of practitioners, how they make decisions about developing CD communications strategies, and which cultures they choose to exclude, an argument further developed in Chapter 6. However, this chapter has contextualised why it is essential to firstly examine how practitioners in a particular industry talk about CD, before analysing how they reproduce cultural messages. Whilst I have so far examined how BME practitioners talk about CD, I now turn my attention to analyse white practitioners, and how they ‘unconsciously’ experience privilege.

Privileging white practitioners

White privilege is an institutional (rather than personal) set of benefits granted to those of us who, by race, resemble the people who dominate the powerful positions in our institutions (Kendall, 2013: 1).

In Chapter 3, I outlined some key debates of whiteness, and showed that there is a relationship between how whiteness is the invisible, ‘normal’ racial position (Hall, 1992; Gilroy, 1992; 2000) in society and media representations. This section analyses how this racial position of whiteness affects white practitioners, and I develop two main arguments. Firstly, I show the disadvantages of being homogenised as a white person, particularly when non-white people talk about white culture as just British or American. To some extent, I address how this homogenisation is a different type of cultural racism. Secondly, I examine how some white practitioners reap the benefits of being a white person in a ‘white space’, but also how white practitioners are unconsciously in more favourable positions than their BME colleagues no matter where they are positioned in my adaption of field theory. I want to avoid the “green light problem” (Dyer, 1999: 10-11) in this section, where the focus on white identity limits the real problems faced by BME groups (Erickson, 1995: 171). However, I aim to demonstrate how their use of powerful discourse and racial position is disadvantageous for CD communication.

Essentialising white ethnicities

There were different scenarios that occurred in the UK and US, where white practitioners spoke about their frustration of being the “*white dude*” (Paolo, USCD1) or the “*white lad from the block*” (Paul, UKGM2). Within this section, I analyse how white British and American practitioners responded differently to other white ethnic practitioners, and I particularly want to show how their use of CD discourse differs.

It was evident amongst white ethnic practitioners, in both the UK and US, that their colleagues “*didn’t get*” (Pedro, USCD2) their cultural heritage. This confusion was relayed by a white practitioner at UKGM1. UKGM1 is one of the largest advertising agencies in the UK, with a large, rolling basis of major client accounts, and offices based in the US, Mexico, Dubai and South East Asia. Their offices in London consist of six major clients, with around 30 practitioners. During my visit, I observed a team of four practitioners working with a major sporting brand they had been working with for over four years. The team consists of four white and one South Asian practitioner. However, Patrick, a white practitioner born in Jamaica, expresses his frustration at not being taken as “*culturally serious*” as his South Asian colleague:

“I may look like I’m culturally white, but I am culturally Jamaican. Culture wise, it’s all I know.”

Patrick’s statement evidences how important culture is, as opposed to only ‘race’, and reinforces why this thesis specifically selected to focus on CD. Similarly, Pedro, a white Cuban-born Accounts Assistant at USCD2, gave a comparable response to Patrick, and went into more detail about how his colleagues perceive him. Pedro went to live in the US five years ago to increase his career opportunities, and has had various roles within both GM and CD agencies across Latin America. He explains that, as the only person in his team that does not have “*dark skin*”, his colleagues call him the “*office white dude*”:

“my fair skin and blue eyes, you’d think people don’t know that there are white Cubans [...] I’ve probably got more life and agency experience than most people that work here, but I guess that’s just how it goes in this game. I’ll continue to push my way in until they realise how good I am.”

These cases evidence how Patrick and Pedro have different experiences in two ways. Firstly, they do not see themselves as the ‘normal’ white man that is portrayed in media representations, or how literature tells us what white people experience (Dyer, 1999: 14; Fanon, 1986; Yancy, 2008). These experiences evidence how other white ethnic practitioners have a different type of habitus to white British or American practitioners, as they are likely to be more weary of the complexities of CD. Thus, cultural racism is not something that only happens to BME groups.

Chapter 3 outlined some contemporary debates of ‘white habitus’ and I briefly acknowledged the problems I had with how it has been conceptualised. Bonilla-Silva (2014: 9) has written extensively on ‘white habitus’, and makes a sweeping claim that white people have “extremely limited” experiences with BME groups, which is why they get their knowledge from “racial stereotypes and generalisations perpetuated by the media”. To some extent, Bonilla-Silva’s claim is inevitably true, but he assumes that all white people have the same amount of knowledge or cultural experiences. However, there is also the claim that white

people ‘flock’ or ‘gravitate’ together, which does not acknowledge how white people act when they are the only one amongst BME colleagues.

To contextualise how Bonilla-Silva’s concept is not always relevant, Lisa, a white Research Planner at USCD1, explains the difficulties she had working in a BME-owned CD agency during her interview:

“I’ve worked in various general marketing advertising and communications agencies since I left grad school, but I wanted to work in a multicultural agency to widen my knowledge and skills for communicating with different audiences. A big problem I have working here is that I’m often left out of implementing strategies due to my limited knowledge of CD and diverse audiences [...] it’s the most strange thing, as when I worked at Wunderman [a global GM agency] I was the top dog. Here, I do feel a bit useless at times.”

Lisa’s response shows the difficulties she has with feeling useless and that, sometimes, white practitioners also experience hostility in unfamiliar working spaces. Therefore, the generalisations that Bonilla-Silva makes reinforces why this study focuses on CDA, as a) it is important to analyse how people use discourse in different ways, and b) how these discourses are used aggressively in organisational spaces. These findings show that other white ethnic practitioners sometimes experience the same feelings of exclusion as BME practitioners, when they are in the scenario of being the only non-BME person. In addition, Pedro is particularly aware that there are “no tick boxes” for someone of his ‘white other’ or ‘white mixed’ origin, so his colleagues are unsure of how to perceive him. Thus, they experience the same feeling of ‘grit’ that Carbado and Gulati (2003; 2013) describe that only happens to black workers. In Chapter 6, I revisit these examples, and analyse how these experiences have implications on how CD communication strategies are developed.

It has not been my intention to argue that the experiences of white practitioners in different situations is comparable to those of BME workers. BME workers have to “repair decades’ worth of damage” (Judith, USGM2) to both the experiences of BME workers, and how ‘appropriate’ CD discourse is used in organisations. There are two main take-away points. Firstly, to some extent, I agree with Edwards (2008; 2013) that BME practitioners have a

duty to change their experiences in organisations. However, as I outlined earlier, there is still a discriminative organisational culture that exists even in the recent development of BME-owned corporations, as the industry is still dominated by the institutionalised ideologies of whiteness. It is evident that some practitioners are advocating for changes to be made, but the weight and pressure of “*getting things right*” (Deepika, UKCD1) is often outweighed by the pressure of sustaining an income. In addition, whilst some white practitioners were aware of their racial positions, there were some who were oblivious to the organisational ‘benefits’ of being white.

Consciousness and white privilege

In the above examples, I exemplified two cases where Patrick and Pedro felt that their cultural background was not recognised by their colleagues, as they are ‘racially’ white. In this section, I analyse how conscious white practitioners are of their organisational privileges in the UK and US, and outline the implications of how ‘race’ and CD is spoken about in organisations. I firstly examine how some white practitioners are aware of the benefits of being white. On the contrary, I also analyse how white ethnic practitioners, such as Patrick and Pedro, are unconscious of how their whiteness benefits them in organisational settings. This analysis will show the powerful operation of whiteness in unconscious ways, and indicate why there are particular difficulties for major changes to CD communication in GM agencies.

During his interview, Paul, a white Client Liaison Officer at UKGM2, was talking about successful periods of his career:

“Some bosses are difficult to work with, but it’s all about trust, you know. Sometimes I’ve done something risky, risky in itself because the industry’s so cut through [...] I’ve pissed myself many times when I’ve nearly been made redundant [...] that’s why you’ve just gotta stick to what works, making sure mass audiences are your main focus [...] some have got the sack for trying to be too creative with diversity.”

Paul exemplifies the benefits that come with being ‘mass audience’ focused, but also talks about the “*connection*” and “*trust*” he builds with his managers. He continues:

“I’ve been lucky, the industry’s tough, but my managers have been mad cool. We head to the pub after work, we even went to Ireland a couple years back. It’s practically like we have the same lifestyle heading there to see family for holidays [...] some people just don’t fit in and don’t get it.”

Paul evidences one of the benefits he has with having similar cultural values to his manager. Although he does not think this is the only reason he keeps his job in volatile conditions, he believes it “*helps a lot*” in two ways. Firstly, Paul evidences the ‘flocking’ and ‘gravitating’ together that is associated with conceptions of ‘white habitus’ (Barlow, 2003; Bonilla-Silva, 2006: 229-230). In this case, Paul is consciously aware of the benefits of being a) white, and b) developing a connection with his manager, which is potentially more complex for BME practitioners. Secondly, Paul also makes reference to “*some people*” that do not fit in, and makes particular reference to Priah, a British South Asian Senior Analyst, who he labels as the “*awkward one that doesn’t come to the pub*”.

It is evident from Paul’s response that he has made a racist statement towards Priah, as he sees her as not fitting into the organisational culture – or ‘white space’ – that his organisation has created. On the one hand, his habitus, developed from his agency’s practices, has created a perception of why Priah does not ‘fit’ and is a conscious act to ‘self-segregate’ from socialising with her (ibid). This mindset he has developed begins to show the relationship between discursive and structural racism. Paul states that he has made it clear to Priah that she is the awkward one in the team that does not fit in and “*lets her know about it*” on repetitive occasions. Thus, the way he talks about and to his colleague is evidence of an exclusionary and instrumental strategy to make sure that she is “*the odd one out in the team*”. Although this was a case of blatant structural racism within UKGM2, there were more subtle instances that occurred across the GM that came across in the working practices to be examined in Chapter 6.

The types of overtly racist speech acts, that are openly discussed in organisational spaces, evidence how racist discourse still circulates in everyday conversations to benefit white

interests (Chou et al., 2012; Foucault, 1980: 119). In addition, these types of statements show how racist ideologies are rooted in organisational cultures (Blaut, 1992: 298), and evidences a “collective failure” of dealing with racial discrimination (Macpherson, 1999: 28). Although this was an extreme example that was only evidenced by one practitioner, this does show why Bonilla-Silva’s (2006) work is relevant, and how easy it is for racist discourse to become normalised.

To the contrary, in the US, there were cases where white ethnic practitioners were not aware of the benefits of having white skin. I earlier examined the experiences of Patrick and Pedro, who are racially seen as white by their colleagues, but are attached to their Latin American cultural backgrounds. For example, Pedro, in USCD2, explained how he felt “*different*” to his colleagues working in a black space, but there was a later scenario where having white skin was a benefit:

Diego: *[the brand] wants us to develop a campaign to reach both Latinas and your normal American woman [...] we can't just make it all about cultural diversity.*

Pedro: *Cool, so we just need to make it more generic [...] who's pitching [the idea to the client]?*

Diego: *Can you? I just don't want one of the girls to do it [...] if they think we're all just too ethnic they'll give the campaign to [competitor].*

From this dialogue, it is evident that Diego has suggested that Pedro delivers the pitch to the client, so that the agency does not come across as “*too ethnic*”. Consequently, Pedro experiences two dilemmas. Firstly, I earlier outlined how Pedro is not recognised for his cultural background and this has somewhat been repeated with the above dialogue. Secondly, Diego implies that Pedro is the ‘most’ white person that works in the agency, so is a representative of how the agency is not ‘too’ ethnic. Although Carbado and Gulati’s (2003; 2013) studies are in relation to the BME groups who are visibly different to their white peers, Pedro still fits within this complex category. However, Pedro does not recognise the associated benefits that come with white skin, as he only attaches to his cultural capital of being Latin American.

This section has outlined the complexities of whiteness in both conscious and unconscious ways. In the following chapter, I examine how whiteness is more complex when it comes to developing CD communication strategies. I acknowledge that the ‘green light problem’ exists, but this section was important for showing occasions where white practitioners are in more favourable positions to their BME peers.

Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the experience of racism and advertising practitioners’ ‘race’ and CD discourses across the field of cultural production. Through analysing the experiences of black practitioners, it is evident that they have a more hostile experience of racism, in comparison to their non-black BME colleagues. The experiences of non-black BME practitioners clearly differ in the UK and US. However, I have shown how cultural racism occurs between different BME groups, and how cultural identity is placed on people in organisations.

Whiteness is also complex, as some white ethnic practitioners faced the same difficulties of not having a voice in their organisations. However, there are ways that unconscious white privilege works in different scenarios. In some cases, white practitioners often used their racial position to keep their jobs and utilised their habitus to reinforce structural racism. In this case, their racial position was used to benefit white social practices and facilitate the organisational culture of ‘othering’ those without white skin (Puwar, 2004). In other cases, white ethnic practitioners felt demised, as their cultural heritage was not recognised. The main contribution from this chapter is that discourse is important, regardless of who constructs it (Fairclough, 2001; 2010; Edwards, 2013; Carbado and Gulati, 2013). This is because statements made in organisational spaces have a real impact on feelings and the impact on cultural production, as the following chapter shows. Whiteness is beneficial in organisational spaces, whether a practitioner is conscious or unconscious of this. Moreover, BME groups experience racism differently and black people are significantly repressed in less blatant ways. However, there were obvious occasions where those deemed as outsiders were intentionally excluded.

What this chapter has shown is that the difficulties with using the ‘right’ type of CD discourse happens in BME agencies, as well as white-owned media organisations. These difficulties may evidence why Cashmore’s (1997) advocacy of the ‘black culture industry’ did not take off in media and cultural studies. More importantly, this chapter has shown the

ways in which discourse is used to exclude, benefit and circulate racist and stereotypical ideas about CD and, as the following chapter analyses, the implications that these discourses have on the development of CD communication strategies and working practices.

Chapter 6

Developing CD communication strategies and legitimising working practices

Introduction

Chapter 5 analysed how advertising practitioners used ‘race’ and CD discourses, and the implications these discourses had on a) how black practitioners experienced racism, b) how non-black BME practitioners were seen as more appealing, and c) the relationship white practitioners had to developing powerful ideologies. I evidenced how these discourses influenced the habitus of practitioners when they talk about CD, and the role they had in supporting the dominant interests of white practitioners. This chapter analyses the process and working practices of how practitioners use these discourses to develop CD communication strategies. I particularly apply Fairclough’s (1995a; 1995b) critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse the processes of how verbal and visual discourse are developed to reinforce racial exclusion across the field.

This chapter is divided into three sections to analyse the processes of advertising practitioners. Firstly, I examine how practitioners legitimise their development of CD communication strategies and working practices, and justify why the strategy they have used is appropriate. I differentiate between how CD practitioners in the US positively aim to acknowledge a variety of cultures, whilst, in the UK, CD practitioners exclude ‘others’. Secondly, I analyse how practitioners talk about their organisation’s CD policies, and how GM practitioners use these as a means to a) to exclude BME audiences from their communications, and b) how they justify that policy – or formal text – limits their creative practice. For confidentiality purposes, I do not specifically analyse organisational policy documents. However, I analyse the ways in which practitioners select a particular discourse in order to reason why they do not develop CD communication strategies. Lastly, I analyse the effect of inadequate research resources in both CD and GM agencies, and why this may be intentional in order to continue developing stereotypical representations.

I make particular reference to how Barthes’ (1987) mythological system is still relevant six decades after its first publication, but also apply contemporary media studies that address media practitioners’ processes. Overall, I argue that ideologies operate through exclusionary practices in both GM and CD agencies, reinforcing why this thesis shows that there is a

general problem with how the advertising industry deals with diversity. Within this opening section, I continue my examination of how practitioners use discourse. However, in line with the aims of this chapter, I particularly focus on the reinforcement of discursive and structural racism.

Using discourse to legitimise working practices

Throughout this thesis, I have outlined how advertising practitioners are required to create communication strategies, in order to stay competitive (Cronin, 2004; Ewen, 2000; Leiss et al., 1997; Williamson, 1978). To develop these strategies, practitioners need to have knowledge about their target audiences, either through market research, existing resources or using their habitus. Within this opening section, I look at the ways in which different practitioners avoid these means of gaining knowledge of their audiences and, instead, use other means of justifying why their existing habitus is sufficient. I analyse the development of these strategies in three ways: a) the use of CD discourses, b) the creation of ‘appealing’ terminology for the industry, and c) claiming to be CD innovators to clients. I focus on the relationship between knowledge and power, which was a main theme that emerged in the data collected. For CD practitioners, I particularly examine how they claim to be developing CD communication strategies, when their working practices show otherwise.

Legitimacy through the use of CD terminology

As expected, there were different themes that occurred in the UK and US in relation to how practitioners developed CD communication strategies. In the UK, there was evidently a trend where CD communication was seen as the representation of skin colour, with more likelihood of negative stereotypes occurring, a trend that was evident at UKCD2.

UKCD2 is a smaller agency in the field of cultural production. Other than Rayne, the Director of Indian heritage, the three other practitioners work on a part-time basis, mainly due to the agency’s limited resources and low number of clients they usually have during the same period. My data collection took place between October and December 2013. Their office is based in an urban area of South London, located above an industrial estate. The office is condensed in a small space of six desks, with a small meeting room at the far end. Upon entering, the radio is usually playing on Kiss FM and there is generally an upbeat feeling, with the team members humming to themselves as they sip their morning hot drinks.

As the team works on an ad hoc basis, my observations took place on an average of two days over the six weeks. On my commencement in October, the team had just taken on a new ethnic entertainment client, who had asked them to create a digital campaign that would run for the following four weeks. During the first week, the team had the aim of coming up with strategies to respond to the client's request to target "*a variety of multicultural audiences*". On day three, Rayne called Lianne, a black Marketing Analyst, and Jordan, a black Strategy Advisor, to the meeting room to discuss how to "*show multiculturalism*" to the client. The three each gathered the call from the client and the relevant notes they had made and jointly entered the meeting room. Once Lianne and Jordan were seated, Rayne swiftly stood and offered everyone a coffee, to which they declined, and there was a general sense of equality and respect amongst them. Rayne led the meeting and proceeded to pick out key words in the client's brief, with the main focus being 'multiculturalism'. She muttered the word under her breath on several occasions and eventually lifted her head and lowered her glasses to discuss the term with the team:

"When a client hears the term 'multiculturalism', they instantly want to know how we understand what a multicultural audience is. For us, it's about fitting that construction around what the client wants [...] Although we use 'multiculturalism', it will mean different things to different clients [...] we need to adjust our interpretations how we see fit."

Lianne shook her head in discomfort and shuffled through her paperwork before making a response. "*I get what you mean, but what does 'multiculturalism' actually mean? It could mean anything [...] it's like water, it's just there.*"

Chapter 3 outlined some key concepts of multiculturalism in relation to policy, social and media discourse, and specifically differentiated how the media use the concept. Although the concept is now highly contested (Joppke, 2004; Saeed, 2007), it is still largely used in advertising discourse. During my data collection, 'multiculturalism' was the most used concept in relation to diversity and, as Rayne explains above, she uses the concept in different contexts. Rayne continues to explain that 'multiculturalism' means "*understanding what values are important to people of colour*" and "*cultural nuances most white people*

wouldn't get", and it was necessary to follow how these thoughts were reproduced into a cultural message.

Following the meeting, the team was working under pressure and had two working days to put together the campaign's message. The following day, Rayne and Lianne met in the same room to put together the copy of the advertisement that would appear on local radio and magazine websites:

Rayne: So, what about making it really multicultural [...] we have two days, but let's have a blank screen with a black girl with an afro slide in on one side, then a guy slide in from the other side. They're just there and then [the branded product] pops up in the middle and slowly expands to take over the screen?

Lianne: Okay, but does that really meet the brief? And why an afro? We could just have a normal black girl and a guy of a different colour slide in [...] I get that we need to be 'multicultural', whatever that means, but they need to be normal.

Rayne lightly nods her head as she ponders over Lianne's suggestion. She raises her head and agrees, but asserts "*good, let's do that then, but as long as you're sure it's still multicultural*". Throughout the observations of Rayne, it is evident that she is willing to consider and accept ideas from her team, and there is a general sense of respect amongst them. Rayne does not particularly over-power or assert her ideas onto them. This lack of assertion does give a sense of underlying chaos and, for someone who owns a CD agency, a lack of understanding of the very field in which she operates. Thus, this lack of control is a reason why the agency's operations are on a such a small scale and the problems with CD clients trusting an agency that sells themselves as 'multicultural', but with no real understanding or expertise of what it actually means.

It is evident from these scenarios that there is no specificity between Rayne, the team, or the client as to what is meant by the term 'multicultural', which adds to the fluidity of the term. This changeability of the term evidences one of the problems with multiculturalism as a

concept; its political and social relevance is so subjective (Modood, 2006), that it then has subjective implications on its interpretations in fields such as advertising.

Within different agencies, the term multiculturalism was used repetitively, but there was no differentiation as to how they spoke about diversity, cultural values or racial equality. For instance, in her interview, Rayne spoke of multiculturalism as the “*positive*” representation of “*difference*”, and racial diversity as “*positively understanding how different people come together*”. Similarly, Saeed, the CEO of UKCD1, called it “*the beauty of bringing difference together*”. In the US, Miguel, a Latin American Arts Manager, believes that multiculturalism is:

“understanding differences, respect, it’s respecting beliefs, it’s respecting different customs. It’s understanding backgrounds, cultures from a different point of view, how people think.”

From these viewpoints, there were similarities with how positive discourse was used to define multiculturalism, but no acknowledgement of how it has been used and dismissed as something negative in social and political discourse. Of course, how media practitioners talk about such topics will be completely different to how it has been spoken about in social policies (Kymlicka, 2012; Parekh, 2007). However, it was evident that the term was being used as an umbrella concept that was the same related terms; but, more importantly, did not offer anything particularly unique in the actual production of cultural messages.

The difference between the UK and US CD agencies was their approach to how they target CD audiences. In the UK, Rayne spoke about her communications targeting “*all ethnic minorities [...] Asian, black, etc*”. However, from the way that Rayne and her team spoke about developing CD communication strategies for BME audiences, it was evident that some audiences were seen as more valuable than others. From a structural perspective, the US seemed more realistic with how much knowledge on different audiences they could attain. For example, Miguel explains that the majority of his team have Latin American heritage, so they have a “*benchmark [...] the internal processes*” and “*a really good knowledge of Latina so we can really understand it*”. He also admitted that “*we’re getting there with the others like Asians [oriental], but we have to be honest if we can’t do it*”.

The difference between the UK and US approaches is that the UK agencies seem to make promises that it cannot deliver. Although there were evident distinctions in how CD communication strategies are developed in the UK and US, one similarity is the representation of CD by variations in skin colour. I outlined earlier how using skin colour is “*most instantly recognisable*” (Diane, USMC2) for different audiences. However, it also seems to be the core factor that is used. During her interview, I asked Rayne why skin colour was used to represent a CD campaign. She explains:

“The client comes to us for our multicultural expertise. Sometimes that includes religion, sometimes, like family and that sort of thing [...] for a campaign as simple as this, you just need the right types of complexion and then we explain to the client how this is a diverse campaign.”

I am not suggesting that skin colour should not be used as a recognisable frame of difference in media representations. However, CD agencies promise a unique service of a) developing CD communication strategies, and b) specifically differentiating from what GM agencies offer, and this approach is by no means unique in advertising practices. Therefore, it draws into question whose interests are being served for using the same working practices as GM agencies, and what the implications are on market opportunities.

In the UK, there were differences between how they spoke about various BME groups when developing CD communication strategies. In one instance during a creative meeting at UKGM2, Emma, a white Creative Director, was creating cartoon characters with her team to coincide with a new toy that the client had just released. The team members (Charles, Gaurav and Brandy) were in the meeting room at the end of the office. Emma had closed the blinds once the team were settled. They looked at each other uncomfortably, as if this action was a symbol that Emma was about to assert her ideas. The team was gathered around the table, and Emma had placed some sheets of paper in front of the team. They spread the 15 sheets out, which depicted different skin tones of brown. Emma explained that one of the lighter-skin-toned characters had been selected, as he presented a more “neutral” appearance to the audience. She continued:

“I know he doesn’t look completely black, but that’s the idea [...] we also need to communicate with a generic audience base. For example, we can just dress him up in some cool clothing and put some urban music in the background [...] that keeps it urban so black audiences will understand his identity, but still keeping it neutral for all of us other groups to understand.”

The team looked around at each other. Then, after around 30 seconds of uncomfortable silence, Gaurav spoke up and nodded as he said, *“Yeh, okay.”*

From this scenario, it is evident that Emma has a dominant position within the team and that they are too afraid to implement their own ideas. The agency is part of the GM field, which my adaption of field theory evidences has more limited cultural capital than one would expect in a CD agency. While they do not have a specific remit to target BME audiences, there is still a homogenised way in which the messages are being produced. This was evidenced by Emma’s further assertions of associating ‘urban music’ and ‘cool clothing’ with black cultural identity. She uses these two terms as a positive stereotype, and a recognisable frame for different audiences. During a conversation with Gaurav, Emma discusses why she has decided to use the strategy of using ‘cool clothing’ to represent black audiences:

“It’s just obvious. Like, they [black people] are becoming fashion icons, especially in places like Shoreditch, Brixton and those urbanised places [...] We don’t necessarily talk about them like that in usual work environments, but if we’re gonna do this, we’ve gotta be honest.”

From Emma’s response, she particularly talks about black people as ‘them’ and herself and Gaurav as ‘we’. Emma also makes reference to the fact that she has not necessarily had social relationships with black people, but, similarly to other white practitioners mentioned in Chapter 5, their opinions are based on how they have “*seen*” (Charles, USGM2) and “*experienced*” (Brandy, UKGM1) black people.

From these collective responses, it is necessary to consider the way their discourse is formed to take a particular stance on a topic (Billig, 2006: 3). From the white practitioners in particular, their use of discourse distances themselves from the racialised subjects which they are discussing. In Emma's dialogue above, she makes reference to being honest about how black people are now 'becoming' fashion icons. Although she does not specifically say it, it is her unspoken assumption that it was not fashionable or appropriate to include BMEs as part of their communications prior to this.

It is evident that the white practitioners above use exclusionary discourse when speaking about black people, and this discourse has an effect on how they develop CD communication strategies. However, particularly in the case of Emma, her use of language is much more complex due to her habitus. On the one hand, there are debates that would see these types of everyday, covert racisms as being linked to institutional racism (Alia and Bull, 2005; Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967: 5). To some extent, these debates are relevant, as Emma's open dialogue makes it clear that black people are the 'others' in her view of social positioning.

When considering this relationship between racism and intentionality, this is not to suggest that Emma is intentionally racist, but she feels confident about speaking about black people in this way in an organisational setting. This scenario shows that there is an organisational culture of 'othering' those that are deemed unnecessary to communicate with. Therefore, this organisational culture – but not necessarily consciously by the practitioners – circulates institutional racism. On the other hand, in a separate interview, Emma makes reference to the influence of her family:

“I wouldn't say my grandma was racist, it's just the way we used to talk about blacks [...] I mostly grew up in a black populated area, but I never had any black friends [...] so they were always around, but I never got to know anything much about them.”

Emma's response shows that there is an element of social capital that has impacted her habitus. It is clear that the influence of growing up around black people, but not directly having social relationships with them, has impacted on how she views them as the 'others'. Therefore, there is a hidden connection between how practitioners use their existing habitus

from their upbringing, and the choices they make with how to facilitate their use of discourse in organisations, adding to their habitus. This normalisation of ‘othering’ black people inevitably has an influence on other practitioners’ perceptions and an organisation’s attitude towards black people. This example evidences why CDA is useful for drawing connections between the dominant representation of some BME groups in the media and why particular social groups are excluded in media practices (Fairclough, 1989: 9).

These scenarios show the complexity of developing CD communication strategies, but also the way that discourse works in different situations. Although practitioners may use CD discourse when they are talking about BME groups, examining what they are actually implying and the implications this discourse has on working practices, shows that there are ways that particular groups are excluded. This exclusion is made possible by the control of dominant practitioners, and is accepted due to what Bourdieu (1990; 1993: 167; 1996) refers to as the “charismatic ideology” of the ‘creator’ – or, in this instance, the advertising practitioner. Rayne and Emma claim to be ‘diversity’ experts, but they do not evidence any particular types of creative practice.

Gita V. Johar et al. (2001) would describe these practices as a form of ‘mythical creativity’, believing that myths within advertising limit creative output. Johar et al. (ibid) carried out a study with five creative teams within an advertising agency. Their purpose was to analyse the relationship between the creative strategies implemented within a given campaign and the created advertisement. Focusing on a single strategy enabled the team to emphasise on an essential element that they felt the advertisement needed to include (Kover, 1997). The fifth team, however, were drawn to a diverse range of sources, personal experiences and methodologies. As the creativity of the advertisement developed, the team members altered their “creative process” (ibid: 5) as they went along. By altering the necessary components, the team was able to adjust and introduce new ideas. Upon creation of the final advertisement, some of the senior advertising professionals judged the latter team’s advertisement as the most ‘successful’. The panel concluded that their success was based on their creativity and flexibility to draw to different elements throughout the campaign.

Although creativity is subjective, the examples in this section show that CD is mostly spoken about in the different organisations, but there were not necessarily any creative approaches. Firstly, there were cases where this was linked to institutional racism; however, the practitioners themselves made reference to the external factors that influence their habitus. Secondly, the ways in which CD was spoken about intentionally excluded black people as

being irrelevant, and led some practitioners “*sticking to what works best*” (Sajna, UKCD1) and the “*same safe area*” (Guarav, UKGM2) of familiarity. There were also additional factors that encouraged this type of practice, and I now discuss how some practitioners created new CD terminology as a method of ‘good’ CD communication.

Legitimising working practices through creating appealing terminology

The ability to innovate is a crucial part of cultural production in advertising (Bourdieu, 1993; Saha, 2012). Innovation requires a particular form of creativity, one that Hesmondhalgh (2007: 4) refers to as a “manipulation of symbols”. This manipulation takes place “for the purposes of entertainment” and “information” (ibid). In the case of advertising practice, manipulating symbols is used as an informative strategy for audience communication. Practitioners aim to manipulate and interpret cultural symbols such as “stories, songs, images and so on” (ibid, 5). One’s ability to interpret the characteristics of their target audience can determine the arguable ‘success’ of communication (Tadajewski, 2012; Nixon, 1997; Burton, 2009). This ‘success’ is determined by practitioners’ ability to create innovative practices and communication strategies. A strategy that was notable from the data collection was the attempt to create new, marketing friendly concepts. I argue that the innovation of such concepts is a form of competitive power. This is partially executed through creating new “*glossy*” ideologies within advertising discourse, which I evidence through two examples in the UK and US.

One of the biggest advocates of such terminology was Saeed, a British South Asian CEO of UKCD1, and has over 25 years’ worth of CD communication experience. Saeed stresses his dedication to innovation during his interview:

“I’m always fascinated if I can find something else, ‘jazzy’. But I think we’ve moved away from ethnic to multicultural [...], it’s worthy, it’s quite big, powerful [...] BME becomes more of a council terminology. I need that positive, glossy one for marketing [...]. It’s mostly so that potential clients see who we are and that we’re willing to go the extra mile to identify with different audience groups [...]. I want a term that makes them think of us, sort of like a trademark.”

Introducing “*trademark*” worthy terminology – such as the “*Muslim pound*” (Saeed) – is exemplary of how power can be established through the use of language. Here, there are similarities to my previous discussion on the interchangeable use of CD terminology. The purpose of introducing new terminology is to “*jazz up our position in the market*” (Saeed, UKCD1) and to make it part of society’s “*mental encyclopedia*” (Wodak, 2006). This would add to Saeed’s substantial media appearances where he advocates CD communication, but is an intentional strategy to position himself as a ‘symbolic creator’ in the field. Thus, rather than making changes to his practices to improve how he develops CD communication, Saeed wants to become an “*icon*”. Through this iconic position, Saeed believes he would become a trusted professional just by using marketing and CD-friendly terminology, and I want to evidence why this is problematic.

One of the GM US agencies has a similar approach to Saeed, believing that the creation of a new team dedicated to CD communications will improve the agency’s working practices. During his interview, Miguel, an Arts Manager at USGM1, explains:

“We’re trying to do something here really cool, it’s called ‘total market’. Instead of having a dedicated team of people who only will be working on multicultural, we wanna make sure that the people who enter have this mindset of planning [...] ‘Total market’ is basically planning, understanding, not only the GM and African Americans, but the Asian and Hispanic, how everything works together.”

Creating a new in-house team would usually include the establishment of a new working remit and, particularly for CD communication, the development of alternative working practices. Whilst Miguel explains the team’s “*innovative*” objectives, there was no evidence of how its working practices would differ. This was particular evident during a Skype call with one of Miguel’s client teams:

Miguel: We’re really excited about this new campaign [...] as always, our ‘total market’ team will ensure a super-smooth running of the campaign.

Client 1: Great, we were reviewing the [previous campaign] you did for us back in 2007. We loved how you really captured the diversity of our audiences [...] and the use of different skin tones.

Client 2: Would this differ now with your new team?

Miguel: No, no and no. Don't worry, our strategies don't differ. We are the same team of staffs, but we've just created this as a 'virtual' team [...] just so new clients can see we have this expertise.

This dialogue shows that there are no alterations to working practices or the team members themselves. Rather, 'total market' has been constructed as an "appealing" (Mike, USGM2) category to attract new clients. Miguel's interview data would suggest that his team is altering and re-vamping its approach to planning and understanding BME audiences. However, the ethnographic data shows that 'total market' is used to manipulate new clients into believing they will receive an alternative service. This dialogue reinforces the power of discourse and how agencies often sell a service that they are not actually receiving (Winant, 2000). Thus, whilst it seems as though innovative practice is happening, clients are receiving the same service re-packaged as something more marketable.

This example reinforces one of the problems with Cashmore's (1997) idea of the 'black culture industry', which I outlined in Chapter 3. CD agencies do fit within this industry, as they are the black-owned media outlets that have the pressures of 'authentically' representing BME cultures (ibid; Chambers, 2008; Squires, 2009). However, the positive elements of having the black-owned media outlets that Cashmore advocates are not always evident. As exemplified in Miguel's case, his agency is replicating the same types of strategies for both GM and CD communication. Thus, both UK and US practitioners use CD-friendly terminology to make their competitors "think of us" (Saeed, UKCD1) prior to competitors, although they may not be offered a more creative service.

This use of manipulative language strengthens my argument as to why practitioners are in a more powerful position than clients. Grunig and Grunig (2006) believe it is a requirement for practitioners to advocate their professionalism within organisations. By advocating themselves, practitioners are able to exercise the amount of influence they have on clients (Grunig et al., 2009). This ability is crucial in order to manage the structural dynamics of

relationships (Edwards, 2009; Fairclough, 1989). This relationship was developed from Grunig and Grunig's (2006) study of accommodation and advocacy, between practitioners and clients. Grunig and Grunig believe that the two agents use 'two-way' communication in order to accommodate the other (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008). Both agents additionally advocate their professional expertise to strengthen communication. The agents are then able to work as a unit to cohesively create dominant messages in advertising practice.

Grunig presents a foundation for understanding how media practitioners advocate their professionalism (ibid; Edwards and Hodges, 2009: 8). However, the data collected within this study demonstrates that practitioners often have the "*upper hand*" (Brandy, UKGM1).

Brandy continues: "*clients come to us for our expertise [...] that's what they pay us for otherwise they could do it themselves*". By having this advantage, practitioners are in a more powerful position, but not only to advise on the 'best' strategies in producing CD communication. Practitioners are also able to propose appealing concepts and strategies to clients without putting them into practice. This forms part of the everyday working practice in order for practitioners to legitimise their expertise.

It is evident that the creation of new concepts does not necessarily alter working practices, but practitioners may become more powerful as their use of 'creative' discourse is accepted. As Giddens (1979: 69) explains, this forms part of structuration, which is:

the duality of structure, which relates to the fundamental recursive character of social life, and expresses the mutual dependence of structure and agency.

Giddens is suggesting that individuals may want to act differently in their organisations, but they are somewhat limited by structural practices. In the case of my argument, practitioners are using these 'creative' types of discourse that are not necessarily influencing their working practices. However, they are using these discourses because it is a normalised, institutional practice. Therefore, their habitus is somewhat dependent on institutionalised structures and what is 'accepted' as appropriate practice, but not necessarily intentionally racist.

This section has shown the relationship between how both UK and US CD agencies legitimise their working practices by developing 'appealing' CD terminology. However, it is evident that this approach is sometimes used as a replacement for developing CD

communication strategies. Before drawing my conclusions about what these different types of discursive practices mean, I now briefly outline some cases where practitioners legitimised their own expertise by claiming to be the first CD specialists.

Legitimacy by claiming to be the first

“We want to say, here is our niche, it’s called MC, we are the first to have this approach, and the best!” (Saeed, CEO, UKCD1).

There were similarities in both UK and US agencies, where they used legitimising discourse to show why they feel they are “*much better*” at developing CD communication strategies than their competitors. A similar legitimising strategy occurred whereby CD agencies claimed to be the first at CD communication. Saeed explains that he needs to promote the fact that he was the “*first*” and “*best*” at CD communication. This is important in the competitive field, as CD practitioners are competing with the dominant GM agencies. During his interview, I asked Saeed why he thinks clients approach him:

Saeed: I think that, although we are sharing lots of insights with our clients, we are targeting 40,000 marketers regularly bringing them insight and knowledge, showing them the size of the prize [...] When we started, this was the first agency that started with a mission to target MC grounds in the UK.

Nessa: What made you different to similar organisations at the time?

Saeed: The idea was we could see the diversity [...] you’ve got to have a distinction, a unique thing. We did not want to do this as Saatchi and Saatchi. We don’t want to be another agency pretending we do global communication with every audience. We want to say, here is our niche, it’s called MC, we are the first to have this approach, and the best!

Rayne, the Director of UKCD2, makes a similar claim to Saeed by explaining her agency is “*the first to identify the MC gap in the market*”. She continues:

“A lot of agencies will claim they have MC specialisms, but it’s more of a cliché. We recognise the wide scope of CD requirements and were the first to do so, in the UK at least [...] that’s what makes clients come to us, we have the resources to recognise these trends before others.”

Saeed and Rayne use a similar style of language to portray why they feel their practice is better than competitors. This was repeated in a US agency, where Miguel attempts to legitimise to a client why his agency should win a campaign slot over a GM competitor. He explains: *“it makes sense to come with us, we have over twenty years of experience in this market [...] longer than any others”*. This is demonstrable that both UK and US agencies use their duration in the industry as a strategic tool to convince clients. In addition, each claim they do not want to be another ‘cliché’ agency, pretending that they communicate with CD audiences. Downplaying the relevance of competitors is a strategy in promoting one’s expertise and knowledge. Edwards (2013: 252) explains that:

The way practitioners apply the rules of the particular PR game in which they are engaged reflects the elements of their habitus that they bring to that situation.

Edwards makes a valid point, in that practitioners use their habitus differently in social situations, but also use other elements such as status that is “gained through the possession of field-relevant [social and cultural] capital” (ibid: 253; Bourdieu, 1990). Thus, this type of capital comes from both the habitus they have acquired over time in different social contexts and have acquired in different encounters.

This section aimed to analyse how practitioners use legitimising discourse in different scenarios. I have evidenced that a) these discourses were often used as a replacement to developing different types of working practices in both the UK and US, and b) these discourses are also used in CD agencies. What these findings show is that CD agencies legitimise themselves in the same way as GM agencies, and do not always have unique

approaches. For the remainder of this chapter, I turn to focus on the actual resources practitioners use to develop CD communication strategies – formal texts and field research – and I particularly examine the hidden meanings for why these are limited.

The impact of formal texts on working practices

“A client wants to know they are in safe hands, but the danger is that some agencies claim they support diversity guidelines, but when it comes to how they operate, now that’s a different story” (Diane, USCD2).

The client-agency relationship is built upon trust and reputation (Grunig and Grunig, 2006). The sustaining of a good relationship is crucial to assuring that the client feels they are in safe hands. Being in safe hands reassures clients that an agency has the expertise to execute the given campaign. Practitioners often advocate their expertise by reassuring clients that they follow guidelines for ‘approved’ practice. This reassurance is secured as professionals within the industry have a combined level of experience to produce the guidelines.

In this thesis, I refer to formal texts as the internal policies and guidelines that are produced by the organisation. Whilst I do not examine the texts themselves, I examine the ways that practitioners use them as a reason to justify why CD communication is not always as important as GM communications, in three ways. Firstly, I examine how practitioners use formal texts to defend their working practices. Secondly, I look at the ways that these texts can sometimes limit creativity. Lastly, I analyse how some practitioners use these texts as a tool to intentionally avoid CD communication. Overall, I argue that formal texts are partially a reason why practitioners are limited when developing CD communication strategies, but it is mostly down to the practitioners themselves intentionally avoiding particular audiences.

The use of formal texts to defend practice

One of the most prominent findings in relation to formal texts was how some senior CD practitioners used formal texts as a reason for why their working practices are limited. For example, in the US, Judith details that having *“guidelines help us to shape proper practice”*

and in the UK, Saeed believes that they help to strengthen their brand identity. During his interview, Saeed outlines how he usually sets objectives for a campaign:

“How we do this depends on the client and the brand, but we must start off with our foundations [...] Our ‘brand’ if you want to put it like that, is to make sure that each campaign is making sure we portray ethnic diversity [...] A lot of what we do follows the official guidelines in documents such as [our] policy on representing at least three ethnic [groups] in each campaign [...], it just strengthens our professionalism as an organisation, and shouts to people that we are ethnic specialists.”

Saeed implies from the above statement that following his organisation’s CD guidelines will strengthen their professional practice. He makes reference to the fact that it is important to have “consistency” and ensuring sure that “everyone’s on the same page”. However, he does not acknowledge that, as the CEO, and the creator of the text, he has the power to alter it. He continues:

“I could alter it [the text], but it would go against our foundations. The text clearly states we need to develop strategies for at least three ethnic groups in campaigns, and equally represent Britain’s diversity.”

As noted in Chapter 5, Saeed stated his opinions of black people not having a culture, which is evidently conflicting with what he talks about in his policy documents. This shows that Saeed is using his symbolic power as the CEO to adjust what parts of the text he chooses to support (Edwards, 2008: 367; 2012), and clearly values other cultures (Navarro, 2006). As Edwards (ibid) states, the texts are created to sustain the dominant ideology, and to “serve their vested interests and sustain their dominant positions”. It is evident that Saeed uses his authority to select which parts of the texts he chooses to acknowledge. He chooses to use his hierarchal position “to safeguard or even enhance their position within this hierarchy”

(Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008: 11). I return to discuss this in Chapter 7, where I examine how Saeed uses his position and these exclusionary practices to fit within ‘professional advertising organisations’. However, it is important to take from this dialogue the fact that Saeed uses his position in his organisation to legitimise his working practices.

Similarly, in a US CD agency, Diane, a white Research Planner, explains during her interview that she uses the same type of language in her organisation’s policies when creating a research report. She states:

“Sometimes, I don’t just agree with what policy says, it’s hard. Like, the other day I created a handbook talking about diversity and diversity changes in the States. It was really cool, talking about how the demographics are changing and how we can potentially move into the Cuban market with the embargo stuff that’s probably gonna happen [...] my manager hated it all. He just left a note on my desk saying it needs to be changed, and sent me a link to the internal policies, like I don’t already have it.”

Diane demonstrates the “struggles for power” (Morley, 2004: 20) that some practitioners face. Fairclough (1995a) particularly stresses these struggles with language and social practices, as one is sometimes forced to accept the ‘common sense’ portrayed in formal texts. What these scenarios show is that practitioners face a struggle between developing creative communication strategies, and sticking within the hegemonic norms of the industry’s expectations (Oakley and O’Brien, 2015; Saha, 2017). In this example, there is a relationship between language, ideology and institutional racism, as this ‘common sense’ is seen as an expectation. Thus, practitioners are somewhat expected to reproduce standard industry formats, and this potentially has limitations on market opportunities for the ‘brown pound’. This ‘common sense’ is used as a “prescriptive utterance” (Williams, 1980), a type of verbal or written statement used to reinforce a particular action. In performance theory, Kurzon (1986: 1) notes that following the ‘prescribed’ action is “the most straightforward, trouble-free” action. Following this ‘prescribed’ action would be a practitioner following their organisation’s guidelines and expectations. However, this can be problematic for the

practitioners that are attempting to implement changes and, as I now develop, forces them to reproduce negative stereotypes.

Formal texts as a limitation for creativity

There were several scenarios where practitioners explained that they felt limited by formal texts, and one of the main reasons for this limitation was advertising regulations. This section gives two scenarios of how this happened in CD agencies in the UK and US, and I examine how these scenarios exemplify the encouragement of reproducing advertising ideologies.

In the UK, a scenario occurred at a campaign planning meeting at UKCD2. The team was negotiating whether to include ‘religious values’ within a campaign for a well-known Indian rice brand. During the meeting, Rhia and Rayne were negotiating over the best strategy to put in place. In the meeting room, the two were seated together and reading through the client’s brief. Although religious values were not a factor, Rhia had suggested to Rayne, the Director, that more “*intricate cultural factors*” needed to be included. Rhia suggested a strategy for involving an Indian family, dancing and celebrating once they had eaten the rice with an evening meal:

Rhia: We can have a quite normal family sitting around a dinner table, eating a meal with the Quran [...] once they’ve eaten the rice they can then transform into exciting characters dressed in saris [...] it will not only relate to Indian audiences, but show others that Indian families are also normal.

Rayne: We need to be careful with this. I wouldn’t use Indian families at all for this [...] we want to communicate with them, yes. But we don’t want this ad to be pulled [from television] for being insensitive or anything like that.

Rhia: But we’re not being insensitive, we’re showing it how it is.

Rayne: Yeh, Rhia. To us, but we’ve seen ads being pulled for much smaller issues than this.

I followed up this dialogue in my interview with Rayne, asking why she was so cautious of having such a focus on Indian families within the campaign. She explains:

“I’m all for celebrating our culture [...] After all, we are a multicultural organisation [...] our main motto is to make sure we communicate with these audiences. Unfortunately for us, there is so many regulation[s] standing in our way. We’ve had ads pulled before for being ‘offensive’ when they are too out there. When we ask the ASA [Advertising Standards Authority], they say it breaks the code for not being sensitive towards religion and culture, or something like that.”

Rayne acknowledges Rhia’s suggestions, but is hesitant of how her clients and other professionals would interpret their creative execution. The ASA have banned a wide range of advertisements with some form of religious or cultural suggestion that may be seen “as a strong influencing factor” on negative “social behaviour” (Parry et al., 2013: 114). This scenario evidences some of the problems Chapter 1 outlined about the seemingly positive elements of the creative economy. As O’Connor (2016) states, there is an assumption that diversity now comfortably sits in the media industry and is a ‘win, win’ (Hartley, 2005) for both consumers and industry in accommodating the ‘brown pound’. However, there is a hesitancy across the field about what is too much diversity and what is acceptable as appropriate reproduction of culture.

This hesitancy was also evident in a US GM agency, where Mike, a white Market Research Assistant at USGM1, feared that developing new types of communication strategies would be seen as ‘inaccurate’ by other professionals. During his interview, he explains that one of the agency’s advertisements was banned from being broadcast for being “*racially offensive*”:

“It was supposed to be quite a humorous ad where a bunch of guys in a football club were lined up. They were all holding a bag of footballs in front on them and the black guy was boasting about having the biggest bag. We didn’t even realise at the time, but on reflection, once it was pulled, we realised why. The guy appeared to be quite hunched

and was quite dark, so there were loads of complaints that he had been objectified to look like a monkey [...] of course this wasn't our intention, but the possibility of causing any offence like that again has definitely detracted us from communicating with diverse audiences."

Of course, working in a GM agency, BME audiences are not the main target audience. There are occasions where GM agencies do develop CD communication strategies, and do not necessarily intend to be racist. From Mike's example above, it is evident that the campaign intended to reproduce a 'positive', humorous stereotype of black men. One of the problems that Mike does not address is how these types of stereotypes are based on social types of different groups in society. These stereotypes may intend to be positive, but they represent a 'simple' world view that is not necessarily true (Alcoff, 1999; Borgerson and Schroeder, 2002; Dyer, 1999).

This use of simple stereotyping can relate back to discussions of habitus and intentionality. Haugeland (2013) takes a twist on Bourdieu's ideas of habitus and examines the term 'practical coping', which relates to specific working scenarios. 'Practical coping' is the "relatively smooth and unobtrusive responses to circumstances", or the everyday interactions and conversations that take place in different scenarios. Similarly to habitus, practical coping involves 'absorbed intentionality' where, rather than blaming an organisation or industry's structural inequality, for example, "we are the practices" and are responsible for our own practices (Dreyfus, 1991: 27-28). From this view, individuals are responsible for their actions and use of discourse in the organisation. Regardless of the organisation's strategies and ways of operating, it is the way that individuals facilitate their habitus through their use of discourse that determines whether a particular action or statement is intended to be racist or stereotypical (Matey, 2016).

There have been several studies that Chapter 3 addressed in relation to the problems with 'simple' media representations. For example, Wood (1999) criticised the representations that make BME groups seem "less complex and less valuable" than Euro Americans, and Borgerson and Schroeder (2002) outline how simple representations potentially damage how society views these groups. From an ideological perspective, Hall (1980) and Van Dijk (2000) argue that these simple representations can actually be ideological, as they intentionally delete key information about the cultural group, but this is not necessarily what

Mike was doing. It cannot be assumed that every white practitioner consciously reproduces negative stereotypes, and Mike explains that “*it’s just so difficult. Sometimes, it’s about finding the right balance.*” This scenario evidences why it is becoming increasingly difficult for CD communication strategies to be developed in GM agencies, as the industry makes it ‘difficult’ to do so, and highlights one of the problems with poor research resources, which I analyse shortly. However, in my final example of the impact of formal texts, I examine how some practitioners use them to intentionally avoid CD communication.

Using format texts to avoid CD communication

A theme occurred amongst GM practitioners in both the UK and US, where they felt the guidelines for CD communication were “*off putting*” (Gaurav, UKGM2). Chapter 7 will examine two networking events that advocate these guidelines; here, however, I exemplify those who believe that these guidelines are “*too complex*” (Mike, UKGM1) when all audiences have shared beliefs. Within this section, I analyse two scenarios in a UK and US agency, where racist discourse was used against some BME groups, and how these discourses relate to Barthes’ (1987) mythical system.

One of the most prominent examples of how a practitioner uses formal texts to avoid CD communication in the UK was at UKGM2, where the team was designing an outdoor advertising campaign for an international banking company. The meeting consisted of Paul, a Client Liaison Officer, and Guarav, a Market Researcher, and took place at Gaurav’s desk in the open-plan office. The other team members were not at their desks, so the two were more relaxed and slouched into their chairs in an informal manner. The advertisements were to be posted on large billboards throughout town centres in the UK, as well as 20 London Underground Stations. The team had determined that the campaign would include case studies from workers in suits, presenting their testimonies on how the company had resolved their banking solutions. The campaign aimed to target a 25-60 age group, and Guarav explained that characteristics included age, skin tone, hair and eye colour.

During the design session, Gaurav began to implement different skin tones on the mock characters, ranging from very pale white to a mid-beige shade. Following this, I queried Guarav as to why this approach had been taken:

“We want to show that we communicate with a diverse range of audiences [...] we don’t put someone of a different ethnicity in there for the sake of it [...] we’re not obliged by law or anything to focus on blacks [...] most of the guidelines just say to be aware of ‘race’ anyway.”

This homogenised attitude was also evident in a US GM agency. During a social lunch gathering, the team discuss a potential strategy for an advertisement for a new energy drink. Miguel proposes that it would be “cool” to have a flash mob turn up in a university canteen, as a student opens the lid of the promoted energy drink:

Mike: You could have a girl dancing in a bikini, a guy praying and being thankful for the drink, just a crazy mix of people celebrating the drink.

Miguel: But why a guy praying? That’s so random. What on earth does that have to do with anything? [laughs].

Mike: It’s just an idea, there’s so many things we could do.

Kay: Yeh, good thing there’s nothing in the policies that says we have to consider diversity and all that kind of stuff [...] maybe just a few ethnic faces.

In these two examples, it is evident that Barthes’ (1987) mythical system exists. Firstly, the practitioners reduce BME groups to “just a few ethnic faces” as regulations do not oblige them to communicate with these audiences. The representation of these faces in advertisements would be a normal ‘sign’ to audiences that CD communication is taking place. However, in Barthes’ system, the use of ethnic faces actually represents the ‘tick box’ approach of seeming like CD communication is taking place, when it instead ‘signifies’ the history of BME audiences not being as important. Secondly, these scenarios evidence how these strategies develop false representations of BME audiences. As outlined in Chapter 2, Van Dijk’s (1977: 59) theory of deletion shows how individuals delete information that is “not relevant for the interpretations of other propositions of the discourse”.

These scenarios have exemplified the processes of how GM practitioners utilise their habitus. There is no blatant racist intent evident, but the dismissal shows how irrelevant CD communication still is amongst GM practitioners, regardless of their ethnicity. On the one hand, some GM practitioners want to develop more creative strategies for CD communication, but there are structures in place that often limit them in doing so. These limitations are even more evident in the GM agencies that are controlled and surrounded by “white faces” in “white spaces”, which lead them to perform whiteness in both conscious and unconscious ways (Butler, 1997). Throughout this chapter, it is evident that GM agencies seem to be hegemonic institutions and “a system of alliances which allows it to mobilise” (Gramsci, cited in Mouffe, 1979: 186) how practitioners perceive BME audiences. As CD communication is made to seem too complex, the majority of GM practitioners ‘consent’ to believing that white majority audiences are the most important.

However, this chapter has also evidenced how CD agencies also reproduce these ‘simple’ representations, and why the complexity of developing CD communication strategies is something that also affects the ‘black culture industry’. In this final section, I analyse the research resources that are used across the industry for developing CD communication strategies, paying particular attention to the problems with practitioners using their existing habitus and cultural capital, instead of investing in appropriate resources.

The effect of inadequate research resources

Within this closing section, I turn my focus to analysing how practitioners negotiate between using their existing habitus or field research for developing CD communication strategies. I conduct this analysis through a) examining the research resources for BME audiences that practitioners use, and b) how lived experiences are used as ‘authentic’ means for developing CD communication strategies. I show that the practitioners do not necessarily have limited research resources, but that they often choose to rely on their habitus to develop CD communication strategies. Through this analysis, I aim to show how habitus selectively serves the interests – or transitivity function (Widdowson, 1995; Fairclough, 1995a; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997) – of white ideologies.

Field research in advertising practice

Chapter 4 outlined why ethnography is a useful method for researchers to gain an insight into the social world of other cultures (Geertz, 1973; Walsh, 2012). Ethnography is useful as it gives researchers a rich insight into how the social world operates and the actions of the persons within it (Sunderland and Denny, 2007). Although ethnography is a popular tool for academic research, a different version is used as an audience research tool in advertising practice – namely, field research (Jayasinghe and Ritson, 2013; Miller, 2002) – giving practitioners an insight into the cultures they are attempting to reproduce. This section examines occasions where field research is inadequately used as a research method to interpret cultures, and how practitioners across the agencies interpret the data to suit their objectives.

In one of the UK GM agencies, Simon, a Digital Director at UKGM1, reflects on one of his market research projects that took place abroad during his interview. He discusses an occasion where he was required to observe different European countries for a pan European campaign. Simon was sent to 12 countries for two to three days each, where he was required to adopt a strategy for “*absorbing*” the local cultures:

“My strategy was mostly sitting in the different cappuccino bars for prolonged periods of time. This let me absorb the culture, how people dressed, how they talked to each other, what they talked about.”

Simon believes that observations within cappuccino bars gave him the opportunity to absorb the culture of each country he visited. He had no active participation and recognised that a potential limitation was the language barriers of not being able to engage in conversation:

“Sometimes talking wasn’t a necessity. Sometimes what you learn from body language, foods, smells, attitudes are a better way of learning [...] but I didn’t have a clue what they were talking about.”

Simon’s strategy shows that field research can potentially gather lucrative data on a particular audience group. Gathering the data is not always dependent on language, as there are other,

visual attributes to culture that can be learnt. A similar approach was adopted in a US CD agency, but one that specialises in CD communication. Rosa, USCD1, explains that various “*field practitioners*” go on yearly retreats to different South American countries, to gain an insight into different cultural groups:

“It’s all about sitting, watching, taking in, observing, feeling, being part of that culture [...] even though you can visit four different countries in one week, it’s up to the practitioner to decide where you can gain most of an insight into that cultural group [...] if you visit Mexico during Cinco de Mayo then, hey, you visit a Cinco de Mayo festival for a day.”

The above scenarios show that short-term field research is a common strategy for collecting cultural data. This type of field research differs to the types of ethnography that I discussed in Chapter 4, where observations take place over a prolonged period of time. The prolonged observations from ethnography give researchers a ‘cultural description’ of patterns, habits, customs and laws on the culture, and I questioned the practitioners on whether they felt their short-term data collection was useful.

Across the agencies, there was a general agreement that these short-term trips allowed them to collect an “*adequate amount*” (Judith, USGM2) of data to fit the “*research purpose*” (Simon, UKGM1). The data is then used as a form of “*documentary data*” (Simon, UKGM1) and written up as internal handbooks of audience data. These types of strategies were mostly evident in GM agencies, but were also evident in the CD agencies that Rosa works at. During her interview, Rosa explained that:

“Obviously I’m an expertise in Latino culture as I’m Latina. But these trips are so, so vital if you need to quickly become an expert on Asians or something.”

Rosa believed that her example of visiting a one-day Cinco de Mayo festival would be “*enough*” for a non-Latin American practitioner to develop an “*adequate*” advertising

campaign targeting that audience. This short-term strategy would make the practitioner an “author” of the culture (Inghilleri, 2005) as they become co-creators of the media representation (Bourdieu, 1990). However, Cassandra, an African American Digital Director, explains a scenario where she was sent to a Cinco de Mayo festival for her agency, to gather cultural data on Latin American audiences to present to a client:

“I felt super anxious, like super, super anxious when I went back to the office and did my presentation. Okay, I got an insight into the music and I know what the most popular Latino artist is at the moment [...] obviously there were loads of burrito trucks [...] but I didn’t feel immersed in what was going on [...] so my presentation basically just bullet pointed that Latino’s like good music and burritos.”

Cassandra’s response evidences one of the problems with short-term field research, and how practitioners are forced to make generalisations, as opposed to detailed cultural data. Van Dijk (1972; 1977) would argue that these generalised representations of cultural data are used as a means to alter true representations. Whilst this was not intentional by Cassandra, her manager sent her on the field trip and she reproduced the same stereotypical representations already in the media. In considering the strategies used by GM agencies, it was important to see whether CD agencies used alternative methods of field research.

During my observations at USCD1, I followed Victoria, a Strategy and Client Advisor, and Lisa, a Research Planner, to Brooklyn Park, New York during an annual festival. The festival took place over two days and was attended by over 3,000 people. The team was based at the entrance to the park, which was set out in a semi-circle of ethnic food vendors, from Mexican nacho stands, to Japanese noodles, to Jamaican jerk BBQs. The festival aimed to bring together different cultures to celebrate Brooklyn’s heritage, and inside the black gates leading into the park there were several performances, cultural shows and families enjoying the day. The purpose of the team’s visit was to obtain cultural data of how different BME groups responded to freebies during a carnival, and the team was based there for a duration of two working days. The tactic was for Victoria to draw people into their stand by holding bottles of a client’s smoothie in both hands, and sending the people over to Lisa. Lisa would then get

people talking and take notes of how they responded to either receiving the smoothie for free or having to pay for it.

Throughout the day, I mostly stood with Lisa to hear what she was talking to visitors about. There were around 80 visitors to the stand over the two days, ranging between ethnicities, cultures, solo participants and families with young children. She mostly introduced them to the product by asking visitors what they thought of the packaging and if they'd like to try it. After a couple of minutes, she would usually ask, "*Sooo, if I made you pay for this, how much would you buy it for?*" Most visitors would reply something along the lines of '*No more than \$2*', '*Depends how good it tastes*', '*Nothing at all*', or some would simply walk off. At the end of the discussion, Lisa would give the visitors who stayed a free sample. Although Lisa took some brief notes of the above quotations, there was no recording of the types of visitors or any real evidence of a field visit.

The following working day, the two returned to the office and met first thing in the morning to conclude their findings. The meeting took place at Lisa's desk and before anyone else had come into the office. Throughout the meeting, Lisa had not taken out the notes she had made:

Lisa: I definitely found Latin American and African American customers were more keen on the freebie [...] They seem really family oriented and money conscious.

Victoria: Yeh, they were kinda like, hey, why not! I think the whites were definitely more reserved about it.

Lisa: Yeh, they seemed more ashamed about it.

This dialogue demonstrates that Lisa and Victoria have pre-conceptions of the cultural groups they observed. At no point did they interact with the customers or ask for their cultural background. Rather, they made assumptions based on what they could gather from their interactions at the stall. Lisa additionally made generalisations about Latin American and African American groups being more "*money conscious*". However, the majority of visitors claimed they would purchase the smoothie after they had tried a sample, so there was no evidence to suggest some groups were more money conscious than others. Lisa explains that

this “*routine*” activity enables her to “*have an idea of what I am looking for*” when developing CD communication strategies.

As a consequence, Lisa’s preconceptions of the cultures limited her willingness to accept new cultural data. Calhoun (1999: 145-146) explains that:

It is necessary that a theory of practice give a good account of the limits of awareness which are involved in lived experience, including both misrecognition and non-recognition.

It is evident that Lisa ‘misrecognised’ some elements of the cultural data, but it is ambiguous as to whether this was intentional. This is particularly why one cannot assume that a practitioner is racist, but it does show the ways in which negative stereotypes are reproduced. These scenarios evidence that there are similar ways that GM and CD agencies collect field research; however, BME practitioners often use their existing habitus. At times, this implementation is useful if a practitioner is familiar with the cultures they are attempting to strategise for. In other scenarios, practitioners seemed to develop and interpret their own ways of interpreting the data, to ‘fit’ what they were looking for. Thus, there was again not necessarily any explicit racist intent, but more cultural racisms and negative attitudes formed towards BME groups (Omi and Winant, 2014; Samman, 2012).

These approaches of interpreting data show the ways in which cultural racisms are reproduced and circulated, as practitioners do not have enough knowledge of their target audience. This is not necessarily an action by the actual agency – and, therefore, cannot always be linked to institutional racism – but does show how practitioners can circulate false information about a cultural group that they have developed throughout their lives. These examples show how ideologies are “expressed, construed and legitimated by discourse” (Van Dijk, 2000: 5), which are then culturally produced into ‘false’ representations.

In this final section, I analyse scenarios where CD practitioners do have different experiences to GM practitioners, and I close by suggesting the ways in which these can be replicated across the industry.

Lived experiences as authentic representations?

There were several occasions where practitioners justified their strategies due to life experiences. Saeed, CEO of UKCD1, was a prominent example, where he explains that he has lived amongst the cultural groups that he communicates with. During his interview, he explains that his experience was crucial to “*knowing more and being part of them and living with them*”. Saeed refers to a particular experience he had from living with a family in Manchester when he first arrived in the UK from Pakistan:

“You see them, you eat with them, you drink with them, you go out, you understand how they behave and once you get that, then you are able to create things, because you are creating something real.”

Saeed relates these experiences to how he got to know the Arab culture:

“Going out, maybe having shisha, going to some homes, having some friends [...] if you are making a genuine effort to learn, then you will be on board.”

Saeed believes that his lived experiences enable him to create “*something real*” in working practice. For Saeed, lived experiences consist of prolonged interactions with different cultural groups, as opposed to short-term stints of field research. Therefore, his existing cultural knowledge forms part of his habitus that enables him to make decisions in difficult circumstances. This example reinforces the benefits of having an extensive range of cultural capital, as practitioners have a wider range of personal resources to support their working practices (Bourdieu, 1990; Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013). However, these resources are not always exercised in positive ways.

In a UK GM agency, Brandy, a Digital Planner at UKGM1, attempts to offer a similar solution as a white practitioner:

“I work with people of very different cultures, very different backgrounds, every day. Some of them I had no understanding of at the outset and then I learn about it and get under the skin of it.”

Brandy believes that working with BME colleagues gives her the opportunity to learn different cultures. However, the type of cultural learning in an organisational setting differs to the personal setting exemplified by Saeed. It is evident that individuals facilitate their cultural identities differently in and out of work environments. For example, Vanessa, a British black Caribbean Accounts Assistant, explains that *“I can’t talk about Reggae with my work colleagues, they won’t know what I’m talking about [...] I save that for when I get home.”*

There are two main points that can be taken from these examples in relation to the utilisation of habitus. Firstly, it is evident that the lucrative types of social and cultural capital that practitioners use in their personal and social environments are not always facilitated in work spaces. In Chapter 3, I examined how ‘speech acts’ work as “socially constructed dispositions” (Bourdieu, cited in Butler, 1997: 121). In Vanessa’s case, she feels unable to talk about parts of her culture that are important to her, as it is not accepted as part of ‘normal’ organisational discourse. Vanessa’s position has been determined by how her organisation has constructed what is and is not appropriate to speak about in work spaces. As Jeffrey Alexander et al., (2006) point out, this leads to superficial presentations of visual, organisational diversity, but conversations about culture are kept to a minimum.

Secondly, Vanessa’s example reinforces why Brandy working with practitioners from different cultures does not necessarily mean she understands them. If BME practitioners such as Vanessa are hesitant about showing their cultural identity in the workplace, then Brandy does not necessarily get the “*authentic take*” that she thinks she is gaining.

This final section has shown the ways that practitioners select the part of their collected field research to make assumptions about different cultural groups, and they provide two main contributions to media debates. Firstly, although a part of qualitative field research is interpreting the data, it is evident that some practitioners used their findings to legitimise their initial stereotypes of a particular cultural group. Secondly, it is evident that some CD agencies use more personalised approaches to collecting data, by living amongst their target audiences. Although this strategy is not particularly unique, it does show that some CD agencies are willing to invest in the time to understand BME audiences, particularly those

they are unfamiliar with. However, in other cases, some practitioners conduct field trips, but do not necessarily develop any useful information.

Conclusion

One of the main contributions of this chapter is to show that CD practitioners are in a difficult position when trying to find more varied ways of developing CD communication strategies. Thus, the distance from the ‘field of power’ often restricts their practices due to limited resources.

It is evident that institutional racism exists in some GM advertising agencies. The type of institutional racism evidenced differs to Carmichael and Hamilton’s initial development in 1967, where it was seen as an “operation of antiblack attitudes and practices”, uttering that “whites are ‘better’ than blacks” (ibid: 5). Instead, institutional racism also operates in BME-owned media outlets – or ‘black spaces’ – and was equally exercised by BME practitioners. The more subtle ways of ignoring the opinions of BME colleagues or not inviting them to social events is a form of institutional racism. In particular, black people were far more likely to be viewed as less important than other BME groups.

It is clear that BME practitioners are attempting to develop CD communication strategies, but they are limited by a) their organisation’s policy documents, and b) limited research resources. These findings show that CD agencies are making developments in trying to change the industry’s attitude to CD, but there are problems with internal structures and processes of targeting BME audiences. Lastly, it is ambiguous as to whether practitioners intentionally use formal texts to not develop CD communication strategies, as there were examples where some were making general attempts to do so. However, I have highlighted occasions where CD discourse is used as an excuse to reproduce negative stereotypes, and it is occasions as such that negatively impact the industry’s development. As Bourdieu (1986: 12) explains, this is part of the uncertainty in the field of power that “underpins the ambiguity of the consciousness and political practice, hesitating between ‘participation and ‘revolt’”. Thus, it is ambiguous as to whether a practitioner consciously or unconsciously develops negative stereotypes. However, this final data chapter shows the ways that PAOs often limit the industry’s changes from happening.

Chapter 7

‘Professional advertising organisations’ and the problems with legitimising ‘good practice’

Introduction

This final data chapter moves away from analysing advertising practitioners in their agencies, and instead examines their discourses and working practices in ‘professional advertising organisations’ (PAOs). In particular, it focuses on networking organisations, arguing that they have a powerful role as the main counterpart of the field of power, with high amounts of economic capital and influence on the rest of the field. While these organisations inevitably have low levels of cultural capital, this chapter examines the intentional ways that structural racism is used to facilitate ‘good practice’.

In the introduction of this thesis, I outlined the role of these organisations for setting ‘good practice’ standards. Within this chapter, I analyse two diversity networking events that I attended in the UK and US, and I do so in two ways. Firstly, I analyse how PAOs talk about CD and examine how ‘good’ CD communication is described. I consider one of the problems with advertising being a self-regulated industry, as they are structured to disadvantage BME groups. Secondly, one of the main talking points at these events is the advocacy of more diversity quotas. However, I relate back to some of Ahmed’s (2006; 2009) and Puwar’s (2004) work to show why these quotas would not necessarily deal with the racial discrimination this thesis has addressed. To close, I reflect on the three data chapters and highlight the wider implications of my adapted framework of field theory. Throughout this chapter, I reflect on the relationship between the macro structures of PAOs, and the practitioners that develop the CD communication strategies. If PAOs have the role of influencing perceptions of ‘good practice’, then it is necessary to evaluate whose interests their practices serve and what implications they have on developing relationships with BME audiences.

Prior to commencing this examination, this opening section outlines the normative structure of the industry that has traditionally set these ‘good practice’ standards.

‘Normalising’ cultural diversity in the ‘field of power’

Chapter 1 introduced the general structure of the advertising industry and outlined how it has dramatically changed over the past 50 years, and later applied this to Bourdieu’s field theory in Chapter 2. This change has mostly been penetrated by developments in technology which have not only changed consumer habits, but also the development of cultural diversity (CD) in the West. Thus, the industry has changed its practices to accommodate and more effectively target audiences. As this chapter focuses on the ‘field of power’, it is necessary to firstly outline the general structure of PAOs to begin to identify where CD is excluded prior to developing my arguments.

PAOs operate on a semi-autonomous level to the ‘field of cultural production’ where advertisements are produced. As Figure 5 indicates, PAOs operate in the ‘field of power’ which includes regulators, awards and networking organisations. I will shortly outline why this chapter specifically focuses on networking organisations; however, first it is necessary to briefly outline the regulatory structure of the industry.

Regulation

One of the most prominent areas of PAO research in the UK focuses on regulation. The UK industry was first regulated by the Association of British Advertising Agents in 1917 to protect consumer interests following high levels of propaganda from the tobacco industry²⁸. One of the sole purposes of these early regulators was to ensure that agencies were not manipulating clients through commission. For instance, the average commission an agency would charge in the early 20th century was around 2.5%, but reached 15% by the 1950s in order to cover the extra production costs involved in creating television advertisements (1889). The IPAs’ main concern was that agencies were also increasing their commission for media such as newspapers and radio, where the increased fees were not directly related to production costs. As discussed in Chapter 1, these production costs relate to Marx and Bourdieu’s (1996) concerns with the ambiguous relationship between the value of workers and the unit costs of the work they are producing. However, this commission system began to decline following the deconstruction of full service agencies from the 1970s, as the industry began to further complexify.

²⁸ They later expanded to the now Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA) in 1932, although the IPA are no longer regulators.

At present, the UK advertising industry is self-regulated, which means that following its code of practice is not compulsory²⁹ (Sheehan, 2014). For example, the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) (Advertising Association, 2016) tracks whether advertisements are “legal, honest, decent, and truthful”. To use the latter as an example, the ASA would withdraw an advertisement if it oversold on the promises that a product delivered through their Committees of Advertising Practice (CAP). The only element the government does control is the media itself that advertisements are shown on, mainly through Ofcom. Whilst studies of UK regulation focus on standards, they do not focus on the workers whom make up the organisation. To some extent, these regulations are in place to set provisions for ‘good practice’ throughout the field, which are standardised by the networking organisations this chapter examines.

In the US context, there are similar ways in which the industry is regulated. Small-scale regulation began at the end of the 19th century, where there were calls for truthful selling of everyday, local items to be introduced (Petty, 2015). In 1914, the Federal Trade Commission was established and given authority to regulate and promote healthy competition. Although these regulations differ from the adaptations in the law in the 1980s, where more aggressive advertising commenced due to the development of full-scale agencies in Madison Avenue, New York, they laid the foundation for corporations to be standardised. Strict laws for vulnerable groups such as children have been in place since the 1970s (Aspray et al., 2014). However, there is a more complex way in which BME groups are seen as protected. In both the UK and US, it is illegal to promote racism or offence in advertisements and many have been banned for crossing this boundary (Friedman, 2017). There are now more unconscious ways that BME groups are disadvantaged and excluded from communications across the field. Overall, it is evident that UK and US regulation aims to promote a sense of ‘decency’ in the industry, but this chapter examines the ways in which topics such as ‘race’ and CD are manipulated by the networking organisations that should protect their interests.

²⁹ Although The most regulated element of the UK industry is television, through their Broadcasting CAP codes (BCAP).

Advertising awards as a form of legitimacy

There are various studies that address another type of PAO in the industry, namely awarding institutions. Pratt (2006) acknowledges the importance of peer regard and agency ranking in the UK industry through national awards such as the IPA and D&AD bodies. Figure 9 indicates the global ranking of agencies that have won such awards for reasons such as ‘creativity’, ‘innovation’ and ‘best advert of the year’ (Musnik, 2004).

Rank	Agency	Points
1	Wieden & Kennedy (USA)	165
2 =	Dentsu (Japan)	150
	Abbott Mead Vickers BBDO (United Kingdom)	150
4	BMP DDB (United Kingdom)	148
5	Lowe (USA)	116
6	Bartle Bogle Hegarty (United Kingdom)	107
7 =	Arnold Worldwide (USA)	106
	Saatchi & Saatchi (United Kingdom)	106
9	TBWA London (United Kingdom)	101
10	Fallon (USA)	100

Figure 9: Global indicator of top advertising agency awards (Musnik, 2004)

One of the problems with rewards is that they are judged by professionals themselves and there is more likelihood of them being legitimised due to industry contacts. In a recent study in the US, Arthur J. Kover et al. (1997) analysed how practitioners and audiences responded to four award-winning and eight non-award-winning advertisements. The study found that practitioners responded positively to the award-winning advertisements based on ‘professionalism’. This ‘professionalism’ was the creativity of the storyboarding, whereas audiences were more interested in how the cultural messages spoke to them. Whilst the study is useful, what is not acknowledged is the potential of the advertisements being legitimised through the practitioners being aware of the agencies creating them, and accrediting them for the quality and economic resources of their creation. Thus, the advertisements are likely to be judged on the network of professional relationships that are likely to have been built, as opposed to their actual creativity (Deuze, 2007; Pierson and Bauwens, 2015; Ursell, 2006). Thus, this judgement would limit the ability of practitioners to recognise smaller agencies such as CD agencies, that have less economic resources, but which create advertisements that potentially develop more meaningful cultural messages with audiences. This highlights what

Hesmondhalgh (2006: 216) refers to as the “struggles over positions, which often take the form of battle between established producers, institutions and styles, and heretical newcomers”, where CD agencies fit into the latter.

These awards have their own problems of promoting legitimacy and social acceptance in the industry. However, in the context of CD agencies, these types of awards are even more important, as their own forms of legitimacy and more fragile relationships with clients could be dependent on how socially accepted they are in the industry through awards. Mark Kilgour et al. (2013) begin to address how advertising awards are judged through field research in New York and Detroit GM agencies. The study was interested in how practitioners judge these awards and began to consider the prospect of appropriation between peers in the industry. However, the topic of appropriation was never explored in any depth. This was partly due to their choice of methodology. Using quantitative surveys limited the extent to which the researchers could interrogate the reasons why many practitioners answered that they found the advertisements as being “appropriate” (ibid: 170).

What can be concluded from these studies is that awards do not necessarily translate into increased consumer interest or market share. However, what is neglected across the board is that the awards serve as a more powerful role for the GM agencies closer to the ‘field of power’. Clients are more likely to use an agency’s services if they have won industry awards, which I argue happens prior to the actual development of their trusting and cooperative relationship (Duhan and Sandvik, 2015). Although I have evidenced that awards do not necessarily translate into better communication with audiences, in a client’s mind awards automatically translate into a better service, when there is actually greater potential for meritocracy and increasing inequality (Oakley and O’Brien, 2015). While these PAOs are useful to examine, networking organisations have yet to be examined as influential institutions in the field of power, as this chapter aims to do.

The cultural production of ‘good practice’

This section outlines two PAOs in the UK and US, and analyses their perceptions of ‘good practice’ for CD. In order to protect the identity of those practitioners involved, these organisations will be named the UK Cultural Diversity Forum (UKCDF) and the US Cultural Diversity Forum (USCDF).

'Good practice' in the UKCDF

The UKCDF has been established for nearly 15 years and markets itself as the UK leader for sharing 'good practice' for CD communication. The forum consists of over 2,000 senior and junior practitioners from across the industry, all with some form of dedication to developing these 'good practice' strategies. Their membership mainly consists of BME practitioners; however, there is also a small proportion of white practitioners who work within CD agencies. A landmark event that took place in 2013 was the 'Diversity Open Day', attended by 80 undergraduate students and practitioners in a contemporary function hall in Victoria, London. This event was important for two purposes. Firstly, it was one of the first in the UK that claimed to bring together the next generation of practitioners. Secondly, the senior practitioners leading the events talked about the statistics that prove CD communication is essential, but it was how they interpreted this data that was important.

The day was based on a recent research report published by the IPA, namely 'Multicultural Britain'³⁰, which consists of three main sections. Firstly, the report outlines the changing demographics of BME groups in the UK and how they will be double the size by 2045. Secondly, the report highlights the spending habits of BME groups and how they are "60 per cent more likely to buy a product or service if it were advertised in their media" (ibid). Lastly, the report dispels myths associated with BME groups, such as the assumptions that "they don't spend", "they behave the same as whites", and "they are too hard to target" (ibid). Rather than analysing the content of the report separately, it is more useful to examine how the senior practitioners integrated this into their workshops.

The day was divided into two parallel workshops which addressed a) how to perceive 'good practice' in response to the report's results, and b) how the undergraduate students could become the next leaders in the industry. The first workshop was named 'Advertising in 2020: Envisioning the Future of Diversity'. The aim of the workshop was to interpret the results of the report and discuss what 'good practice' looks like.

The workshop was attended by around 30 individuals, and was headed by Saeed, the CEO of UKCD1, who was one of the participants of this thesis. The workshop was held in one of the four break-off rooms from the main networking entrance. The room was laid out in ten rows of cushioned, red chairs, with an aisle down the middle. On the slightly raised stage, there were two chairs and a microphone for speakers, as well as facilities for a PowerPoint

³⁰ An updated version was released in 2014.

presentation. Upon entering the room, Saeed was applauded by those in the room. Rather than sitting, he chose to stand and circulate around the room as he spoke, as if to assert his authority to the crowd. Saeed opens by talking about what he believes is ‘good practice’:

“When we talk about great practice, we need to make sure that we are talking to our audiences. Making sure we listen to what is important to them. How do we do that? [...] When communicating with, let’s say, a black audience, what is important to them? [...] When they turn on BET [Black Entertainment Television], they want to see themselves in the advertisements. And not only that, they want to see positive images of themselves, with families and being happy [...] playing sports in the park, things like that.”

Saeed evidently speaks positively about black audiences in front of this crowd, speaking about family and sports being important. Throughout his 20-minute speech, he repetitively speaks about black people and the positive elements of addressing their needs. Upon looking around the room, around two thirds of the audience appear to be of black heritage and young practitioners eagerly taking notes. It is, therefore, necessary to address whether Saeed was addressing black culture in this positive manner just to satisfy the crowd.

I reflected on my interview with Saeed back at his agency, and he had a different way of speaking about black people. During the interview, Saeed and I were discussing our cultural backgrounds, following the formal questions I had in my schedule. After telling Saeed that my cultural background is Jamaican, he immediately stated that people from the Caribbean “do not have their own culture” and had sympathy for anyone who comes from a Caribbean country:

“I mean unfortunately for you, well for the Africans it’s different, but if you had, if the Caribbeans had their language. I mean, your religion is Christian, you speak English, the only thing is colour [...] I mean if you only had your own language [...] that’s the only thing that keeps the glue that binds you together...”

It is arguable as to whether Saeed is consciously being racist. Firstly, Saeed talks about Caribbean people as being part of the GM, as he believes there is no ‘glue’ that binds the Caribbean together or differentiate them in GM communications. In this sense, Saeed may not necessarily be intentionally racist, but believes that black people do not have anything unique that differentiates them from British audiences. Barthes’ (1987) mythical system is relevant here, as Saeed talks positively about black culture at the event. This discourse should be a ‘sign’ that a positive representation is taking place. However, the mythical system would suggest that Saeed’s use of discourse ‘signifies’ a hidden meaning, where, in fact, he demises black people and believes they are “*cultureless*”.

Secondly, this hidden meaning shows one of the problems with creating ‘good practice’ strategies. Saeed’s statement also reinforces how black audiences often do not have a unique space in advertising communications. In some cases, black audiences do not fit within GM communications, as they have historically been excluded from media representations (Hall, 1980). In other cases, black audiences are seen as not having enough culture to develop CD communication strategies. Therefore, although Saeed talks about black audiences and what ‘good practice’ means, instead his actual working practices exclude them from being important in CD communications.

From this scenario, it is evident that Saeed is serving his own interests of promoting South Asian cultures as being “*the diamond*” of CD communication. During his parallel session, he talks about how Londoners now speak “*300 different languages*” and his ability to “*do one campaign in 14 languages, so our ability, you can multiply by 14 times*”. Wacquant (1993) makes reference to these ‘processes of professionalisation’ discussed in Chapter 2, where the “main function [of senior management] is to reproduce a structure [...] namely the management of their internal divisions” (ibid: 19). However, his selection of discourse also reinforces the problems with the creative economy, assuming that we have moved past a post-racial society that is reflected in the industry’s diversity. However, these subliminal forms of discrimination still exist (Oakley and O’Brien, 2015; Saha, 2017; Hesmondhalgh, 2013). Therefore, although Saeed may not be consciously racist, his habitus and social capital reproduce racist ideologies.

One of the problems with Saeed talking about CD in this way is that he has been invited to speak at the event as a professional in the industry, and has a direct influence on the students

wanting to learn more about ‘good practice’. A similar scenario occurred where Priah, a British South Asian Senior Market Research Analyst, was an invited speaker of the second parallel session. Although Priah is in a more junior position than Saeed, she was brought in as a ‘rising star’ in the field to show *“us ethnics can make it, it just takes hard work and dedication to your cause”*. In the same room, Priah decided to bring her chair down from the stage and sit in the centre aisle of the audience. She sat with her legs crossed, and positioned herself so that she was still in a dominant position of authority, but in a more welcoming presence. At the end of her motivational speech, Priah opened the floor to questions. One of the students in the audience had some questions:

Student: If a client tells you to target, let’s say, ethnic people, how do you know which ones?

Priah: You just have to be flexible, knowledgeable, know what audiences brands want [...] e.g. you’re not gonna necessarily target Indians for Chanel, are you? It sounds harsh [...] but you have to know what works.

Similarly to Saeed’s case, Priah is advising the students to make use of their habitus to make decisions about which audiences are worth communicating with. In Chapter 1, I outlined some media debates that see advertising practitioners as ‘cultural intermediaries’ and part of a cultural system that “shapes and that reflects consumers’ sense of reality” (Sherry, 1987; Cronin, 2004). Bourdieu (2000) and Featherstone (1991) are well known for their work on cultural industry practitioners as ‘cultural intermediaries’, circulating ideas about the industry. Nixon (2003), Mort (1996) and Cronin (2004) go into more detail about how advertising practitioners “operationalise their informal knowledges in their commercial practice” (ibid: 351) in relation to audiences. However, these studies can be developed to examine how practitioners use their ‘informal knowledges’ – or habitus – to shape each other’s sense of reality, and circulate ideological cultural messages.

From this event, it is evident that the speakers had purposely been selected from different cultural backgrounds. During their talks, there was an evident sense of authority in the room due to their visual positions and stances, where the majority of the audience were either

students or early career practitioners. In turn, what they spoke about inevitably had an influence on the next generation of practitioners. However, the content of their speeches was somewhat problematic, as they projected their own ideas of what they saw as ‘good practice’ and strategies they have used to be ‘successful’ through the means of winning awards. Thus, this was not particularly a positive factor seeing as particular cultural stereotypes and personal projections were implicated. Although their discourse was not necessarily intentionally racist, they still had an influence on how the audience then perceived potential approaches to ‘good practice’.

‘Good practice’ in the USCDF

Similarly to the UKCDF, the USCDF has been running for over ten years and has around 350 advertising agencies signed up to their mailing list, and 25,000 practitioners from around the US with membership. The forum aims to commit to promoting CD communication strategies, as well as ways to appropriately talk about CD in the industry. In February 2013, I attended one of their ‘Networking Forums’, where four senior practitioners were delivering a half-day workshop on dealing with diversity in the 21st century. The event was attended by around 60 practitioners from different CD agencies across the US. The event took place at the head office of the networking organisation, based in Madison Avenue, New York. The day was divided into two main sessions that were run by Judith, a Senior Diversity Officer at USGM2; one session focused on ‘excellence’, while the other was on ‘standing out’ in the industry. The meeting space was on the top floor of the building; it was a glass-windowed, open space that looked over the rest of Manhattan. The room was filled with practitioners from across the US who had been invited to hear about the industry’s latest trends. The room was a more interactive space, where the audience could pick up and move their chairs as they wished. Judith stood and circulated as she commenced to speech about ‘excellence’:

“Why do ‘good’? We want excellence. We want minorities to see our campaigns and say, yes, this brand gets me [...] Excellence is about researching, always researching, finding out what is important. But we’ve got to take time, take time to show we are different from whites.”

From Judith's perspective, excellence is about understanding the demographic of BME groups before you attempt to target them. On several occasions, the audience intervened with their own ideas. For instance, while Judith was talking about a campaign she had run, she chose to include South America's historical background. An audience member intervened and stated, *"but doesn't excellence also mean contemporary representation [...] to me, it doesn't make sense that any cultural nuance means excellent, it has to be real."* Following this assertion, Judith seemed irate and snapped back with a response:

"Remember, what you think isn't always right. Look back at the best, award-winning ads over the past decade. They're powerful [...] follow what works but insert your personal touch."

Judith goes forth in reiterating the importance of cultural values being included in cultural production, but reinforces the need to also follow work that has been successful for winning awards (Grunig, 1992). While it is positive that CD is being recognised, there are subtle ways in which the audience was being reminded about the importance of winning awards to be *"accepted"* in the field. Thus, there are still limitations to sticking to what the industry expects, and this could potentially lead to occasions where some BME groups are disadvantaged.

What is interesting about both of these events in the UK and US is that they were facilitated and run by some of the senior practitioners I interviewed in this study. To some extent, the senior practitioners spoke about the positive elements, such as being included in such a 'prestige' organisation. Although not one of the participants of this study, BME practitioner, Yousaf Khalid, wrote an interesting blog report of a similar event that took place in 2014. Khalid reflects on some of the key findings from the updated version of the IPA report (2014), believing that the output of the report and networking events should "attract more people from BME backgrounds who wouldn't normally consider the industry as a career option". In the blog report, Khalid reflects on the atmosphere at the networking event he attended:

There was certainly a feeling with all the speakers and contributors that more could be done with better representation in key decision making roles like creative, planning/strategy and analytics.

Khalid advocates these events for providing access to the industry, but also having a network to openly discuss CD. However, from my data, the senior practitioners make it clear that, although these forums are for ‘open’ discussions about CD, they are still managed and run by GM organisations. In particular, Judith makes reference to the difficulties in getting “*the boss [of the PAOS] to understand*” where she is coming from when advocating CD communication. These scenarios are evident of how senior practitioners, although given a voice in a PAO, have a limited amount of power in shaping CD practices:

“These days are so essential for us, it promotes our work, our staff, our dedication [...] but it’s frustrating. These events happen annually, two times if we’re lucky, a major report has been released or something.”

Judith highlights one of the difficulties in making CD an important topic in GM spaces, but finds herself in a power battle with the PAO owners. Although Judith is a senior practitioner in her own agency, she is not as senior in the wider structure of the advertising industry. Bourdieu (1993: 184) addresses these power difficulties that cultural intermediaries face:

The power relationships between the ‘conservatives’ and ‘innovators’, the orthodox and heretical, the old and the new, are greatly dependent on the state of external struggles.

In this scenario, the ‘conservatives’ that Bourdieu refers to are the owners of the PAOs, and Judith represents the ‘new innovators’ attempting to advocate CD communication. It is worth noting one event during the closing session, where the founder of the USCDF entered the hall. The audience clapped and praised him for creating an event that encouraged the sharing of ‘good practice’. Back at her agency in her interview, Judith reflected on the day and her

relationship with the founder. She explains the difficulty she faces every year when encouraging the founder to run the event, as:

“He thinks it’s just the same old crap we run every year [...] he doesn’t quite get that demographics change. Our audiences change, their expectations change, so our practices need to change.”

It may seem that these events are a natural part of promoting ‘good’ advertising practices. However, it is evident that the practitioners working in the CD agencies themselves struggle to convince the founder. The founder displays what Soar (2000: 432) refers to as the ‘ideological smokescreens’ of media practitioners, that deter from what they actually believe, and instead focus on “the ever-attractive spectacle of charisma, showmanship and entertainment”. This type of charismatic ideology, which Bourdieu (1993) also talks about, focuses on the status of the senior practitioners themselves, instead of the behind-the-scenes conversations where they demote CD practices. Although Judith is producing the CD discourse, there are limited opportunities for these types of ‘good practice’ to be shared amongst her peers. In this case, there is a partial relationship between the way that structural racism is enforced and instrumentalised, as CD practitioners are given opportunities, but are limited and dictated to about how much is appropriate by the field of power.

Before moving on to discuss the problems with diversity quotas, it is necessary to firstly address some key studies that have addressed what ‘good practice’ looks like. In 1992, James E. Grunig developed a theory of ‘excellent communication’, to evaluate the competitive practice of PR. This ‘excellence’ refers to the ideal way of practising to produce a successful campaign, through a two-way communication model that allows clients and practitioners to work together. Grunig’s study is based on four processes for this ‘excellence’ to succeed: a) for practitioners to be involved in strategic management, b) building relationships with relevant stakeholders, c) increased internal communications to improve employee satisfaction, and d) an increase in diversity, which Grunig and Grunig (2006) specifically relate to gender. One of the main problems with Grunig’s theory is that he mostly focuses on management and client relationships. Although these internal processes are important, Grunig makes no account of the actual use of discourse and working practices that influence how practitioners produce ‘excellence’.

Edwards (2012) developed Grunig's theory, arguing that a mixed method approach is needed to accommodate both the client and the agency, and Grunig returned to the topic in an article he wrote with Jon White in 2002. Within this article, Grunig and White (ibid: 307) specifically stated that 'excellent' PR must be "symmetrical, idealistic and critical and managerial". From these four points, their use of the term 'idealistic' is higher subjective. In an earlier book, Grunig and Hunt (1984: 5) believe this idealism must teach "knowledge and technical skills", but "also social responsibility and professional ethics". One of the problems with this definition is that racial discrimination and CD fall under a sketchy area of social responsibility and ethics. For example, Ahmed (2009) outlines how racial discourse in organisations is usually autonomous to topics of ethics. Thus, if a practitioner stereotypes a BME group in one of their training workshops, there is no suggestion that this would be viewed as socially irresponsible or unethical.

Whilst these studies are useful, this chapter has so far shown a more humanist approach to evaluating the everyday discourses that shape what 'excellence' is. It is not my intention in this thesis to take on the task of outlining a theory of what this 'excellence' looks like. I have aimed to show that the 'good practice' the practitioners think they are circulating in the PAOs could potentially be damaging to the future practitioners who are being mentored. These conversations could impact the habitus of how future practitioners develop their existing racist or stereotypical discourses in working practices. However, another topic that was widely discussed at these events was diversity quotas; thus, it is necessary to discuss the problems associated with the same.

The problems with diversity quotas

Throughout this thesis, I have indicated some of the problems associated with diversity quotas. Firstly, I examined how diversity quotas sometimes come with 'happy talk' (Bell and Hartmann, 2007), where workers talk positively about improving the CD of a workforce. I particularly criticised some current media debates that call for more diverse workforces in media institutions, as there seems to be an assumption that this would automatically improve CD communication. My second problem relates to this type of 'happy talk', and I have outlined some accounts of how diversity is 'non-performative' if no changes to working practices are actually made (Ahmed, 2006; 2009). Butler's (1997: 129) work was particularly useful for showing how this discourse is a "citational practice" in working practices,

reinforcing how repeatedly talking about a topic makes it part of normal organisational discourse, as opposed to changing these ‘comfortable’ working practices.

The following two sections examine these problems in detail, in relation to PAOs, by analysing a) whose interests the quotas serve, and b) how these interests highlight one of the problems with the advertising industry being self-regulated. Overall, I argue that PAOs are another dominant factor that limits the market opportunities for the ‘brown pound’ and, instead, circulates the ideology that GM audiences are more important.

Whose interests do the diversity quotas serve?

At the UKCDF, one of the afternoon parallel sessions consisted of an open discussion with the undergraduate students. The purpose of the session was to demonstrate to students why they are the next generation of leading practitioners. One of the problems with diversity quotas that I have highlighted throughout this thesis is that there is an assumption that a more culturally diverse workforce will improve CD communication. Earlier in this chapter, I exemplified how Saeed uses the UKCDF as an opportunity to mentor the undergraduate students that had attended the event. Saeed, as well as other senior practitioners (Rosa, Simon), explains that he feels passionate about “*guiding the future for the next lot*”. However, in the relationship between practitioners and their apprentices, there needs to be a balance between mentorship and cronyism (Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013). John Downing and Charles Husband (2005: 163) conducted an interesting study that evaluates these types of relationships, where their focus was the under-representation of BME groups in film and television:

The consequence of all these vectors for those people outside such informal networks – historically and currently typically including people of color and all women – is that access to jobs and the establishment of a career is a great deal more arduous still than for the average White male professional (ibid).

There are two main points that can be taken from Downing and Husband’s view. Firstly, they indicate that BME groups – as well as women – outside of organisational networks will have less access to jobs than white people. In just over ten years since the publication of this book,

there have been few changes in the media industry, although PAOs have created more diversity networking spaces. In the case of these networking events, the BME students have the opportunity to build new contacts that are likely to give them access to the industry. However, there is still an assumption that this increase in a BME workforce will lead to changes in working practices.

Hesmondhalgh and Saha (2013: 192) make an important point that “people who do not mentor in this cronyistic way have an important part to play in nurturing real diversity”. In a similar study of British South Asian cultural producers in the UK, Saha (2012) finds that such practitioners still reproduce the stereotypical representations of their cultures. What these studies show is that diversity quotas do not necessarily solve the problems with media representations. This thesis has added to these debates by showing the way in which practitioners like Saeed talk about the “*positive apprentice*” schemes he is running at the networking events. However, by analysing his development of CD discourse, it is evident that he demonstrates exclusionary practices that omit the BME groups he thinks are not worth communicating with. In this case, Saeed is circulating cultural racisms that are ideological, as he is demonstrating the “production of ideas, of conceptions, of consciousness” (Marx, 1971: 47), and that these practices are damaging for educating the future practitioners that these practitioners are training.

At the USCDF, there were different approaches to educating and mentoring the next generation of BME practitioners. At USGM1, Miguel, a Latin American Arts Manager, and Mike, a white Market Research Assistant, were invited to run one of the sessions at the USCDF. The purpose of their session was to present a case study of how they had overcome difficulties with developing CD communication strategies for an existing campaign. One week before the USCDF, Miguel and Mike were discussing which example they would use. Miguel firstly suggested they choose a campaign that they had used in 2011, where they had to target both American and Swedish audiences:

Miguel: [This campaign] shows that we had a super challenge for making sure we visually represented both audiences [...] We can explain the problems we had in trying to represent different races that America represents, and like, still speak to the Swiss.

Mike: Yeh, true. But we didn't really have that difficulty did we? I remember you said that could be a prob [...] but in the end it wasn't really a problem.

Miguel reflected upon this conversation during his interview:

“This isn't something unusual, like, it's crazy usual. There is clearly a problem, but people are too scared to talk about it [...] I chose not to present that case in the end [...] if we're too scared to talk about it in-house as a team, then how we gonna talk about it in front of our competitors and the alumni we're supposed to mentor?”

The issue that Miguel and Mike discuss in the above dialogue is part of the ‘professional pragmatics’ of being a media practitioner (Cottle, 2000; 2006). Cottle (2000) addresses these pragmatics during his study of television producers. The producers are under pressure to increase diversity, but the pragmatics they face when dealing with colleagues and community contacts can sometimes lead to the aims of producing a multicultural programme being undermined. This type of pressure that Cottle talks about is also evident in Miguel’s dialogue, where he selected the “easiest option”. Although Cottle (2000) does not make a connection, this is one of the dilemmas with facilitating one’s habitus, as media practitioners battle between making the ‘right’ decisions – which, of course, are subjective.

These practitioners are facing difficulties dealing with the changing dynamics of the ‘brown pound’ and the ways that the industry is adjusting. In Chapter 1, I examined some debates that see media practitioners, such as advertising workers, as cultural intermediaries. In Bourdieu’s (1993: 359) definition of ‘new’ cultural intermediaries, he differentiates these ‘new’ types of practitioners as serving their own cultural interests. In one of Keith Negus’ (2002) descriptors, he develops how these ‘new’ practitioners have “specific strategies of inclusion/exclusion”, but their working practices are “by no means as fluid or open as is sometimes claimed” (ibid: 1).

Hesmondhalgh (2006) is critical of those who call these types of practitioners ‘new’, as their creative practices have always been similar when reproducing cultural messages (Cook,

1992; Jhally, 1987). Although Hesmondhalgh makes a valid point, he does not acknowledge how working practices have changed to accustom the pressure of meeting diversity quotas.

In the above scenarios, it is evident that the practitioners are not necessarily trying to reproduce racist discourse or circulate racist ideologies. It is evident that some practitioners are unsure of how to repackage their cultural knowledge, and relay their knowledge to students. There is a delicate balance between knowledge and power, as some practitioners have used these networking events as opportunities to advocate their own working practices, and circulate structural racism to the next generation of practitioners. In these scenarios, the practitioners use their social and cultural capital for their own interests. However, in the cases of Miguel and Mike, it is clear that they are genuinely unsure of whether they have enough cultural knowledge to train or mentor a potential apprentice.

The scenarios discussed in this section evidence a second problem with PAOs. From the networking events I attended, the practitioners from the advertising agencies that I collected my findings from conducted the various workshops. In Chapters 5 and 6, I evaluated some of their racist, stereotypical discourses and working practices, and these discourses are being introduced to the next generation of practitioners. One of the problems with the structure of the advertising industry, as well as others, is “that practitioners may legitimise actions of powerful companies and, in turn, become privileged as individual professional practitioners” (Heath, 2013: 679; Edwards, 2009). In these cases, practitioners face a struggle for symbolic power (ibid; Bourdieu, 1990), as the only way they can gain some form of recognition from PAOs is, sometimes, to circulate their ideological discourse and working practices.

Although Edwards’ studies have been useful throughout this chapter, to some extent, I disagree with her optimism of the “good things” that diversity brings (Edwards, 2014: 4):

From a social perspective, diversity is also pragmatic: ‘more’ diversity leads to other good things: a larger share of the national economic pie, social mobility and its attendant benefits such as better education, inherited wealth and happier and more engaged citizens.

From this statement, Edwards discusses how employers would see an increase in market opportunities with more BME staff becoming more engaged at a senior level. She continues:

At face value, the word diversity itself suggests numerical variety, and many industry and policy initiatives relating to ‘improving diversity’ tend to suggest that numerical improvements are a desired outcome. If diversity is about numbers, then improving diversity can be realised by improving access to formerly exclusive occupations: attracting more people, and making it easier for them to enter and remain in the field, will ensure ‘diversity’ is realised.

Throughout this chapter, I have addressed the problems that can occur when diversity becomes numerical. Firstly, talking about diversity quotas and introducing new members to PAOs may make it seem as though something “recognisable” (Ahmed, 2012: 21) is being done to make changes in the industry. However, there is a theme that occurs throughout all three of my data chapters, which is that there are actually no changes in working practices. As Ahmed suggests, the changes are all in the “doing” (ibid; Blackmore and Sachs, 2007).

Secondly, there are positive attempts, particularly in the US, for BME practitioners to make changes to the impact of diversity quotas. It would be extreme to suggest that Homi K. Bhabha’s (1983) work on whiteness is completely applicable here. Bhabha (ibid: 181) would suggest that BME practitioners have no choice but “to turn white or disappear”, or take the ‘last choice’ of “camouflage, mimicry, black skins/white masks” (ibid; Fanon, 1986). However, I have outlined some of the problems that CD practitioners have in general as, although they run the ‘good practice’ workshops and talk about improving diversity, there are struggles with making CD a bigger part of the diversity picture.

The problems with self-regulation

It has not been my intention in this thesis to focus on advertising regulations, as I have purposely focused on the processes of advertising practitioners themselves. There are no strict policies of how the advertising industry needs to address CD. However, there are some developing initiatives, such as ‘The Whole Picture’ (American Advertising Association, 2016), which aims to respond to the changing landscape of the UK, and the American Advertising Federation (2016), which is leading some policy propositions for diversity policies in advertising organisations.

In this final section of this thesis, I would like to highlight some of the more general, macro problems in the advertising industry and self-regulation. Here, I analyse how some recent initiatives in the UK and US attempt to tackle some diversity problems in the industry. I firstly analyse one of the initiatives in the UK television industry, and evaluate how this is informing more action to be taken in advertising. Secondly, I examine the students of CD practitioners in the US that are trying to differentiate between general diversity and CD. However, I also evaluate how these initiatives often push CD and racial discrimination behind diversity problems that affect the wider, white population. Thus, I argue that the different types of PAOs that have been analysed throughout this chapter have other agendas that encourage the circulation of dominant ideologies and lessen opportunities for CD communication.

One of the more general problems with diversity quotas is that they are presented under the window of ‘diversity’, and CD often gets ignored. An example of this underrepresentation can be seen with the Creative Diversity Network (CDN) (2016) in the UK, another networking organisation aiming to improve diversity in television and film. The CDN was not initiated by the government, but is privately funded by some of the UK’s largest media corporations³¹. One of their most recent initiatives aims to monitor diversity statistics “to track the industry’s successes and failures” (Campbell, 2014). Lisa Campbell (2014) wrote a journalistic article advocating the initiative, in response to comedian Lenny Henry criticising the decline of BME representation on UK television. Campbell makes it evident that the initiative will target “five key areas: ethnicity, disability, gender, age and sexuality” (ibid).

With five different target areas, it is evident that ethnicity – or CD, as I have used throughout this thesis – receives less attention than the others. One of the main reasons for this lessened attention is that each of the four other targets also affect the white majority population. During her interview, Sajna, a Pakistani Account Manager at UKCD1, discusses her frustration when she attends the types of events I have analysed in this chapter, that are marketed to cover “*ethnic and diversity stuff*”, but only to a minimum:

“We go to the events pumped up and ready to engage with our competitors from all parts of the industry [...] by the end of the day

³¹ BAFTA, BBC, Channel 4, Channel 5/Viacom, Creative Skillsset, PACT, ITN, ITV, Media Trust, S4C, Sky and Turner Broadcasting.

we always feel that diversity is swept under the carpet and there's that 'yeh, gender equality is such a huge issue in advertising' response [...] important issues of race, cultural values and diversity in the workplace never really get attention."

Paul, a white Client Liaison Officer at UKGM2, also mentions these events that cover the “*more pressing needs*” of gender, age and disability equality. There are some studies that address the problems with ‘clustering’ these very different, but equally important, topics together. For example, in *Managing Diversity in Organisations*, Robert T. Golembiewski (1995) outlines how clustering topics ultimately has ‘minimal impact’ on dealing with CD. In addition, CD is seen as not affecting enough staff to justify committing a large proportion of its resources to. Similarly, Van Dijk (2000) looks at the more ideological processes behind why CD is given less attention. In Chapter 1, I outlined some of his crucial studies on the relationship between discourse and ideology, where he argues that news discourse is intentionally structured to generalise important information. Van Dijk (ibid: 32) finds that this generalisation is intentional in order to delete key information about a topic, to benefit a dominant reading. Although Van Dijk is referring to news discourse, and the CDN is supporting television diversity, they inform how PAOs are taking action. Before I examine the impact on PAOs, it is worth analysing one of the organisations that is part of the CDN, as some initiatives in the advertising industry are following in its steps.

Turner, part of the Time Warner entertainment company, is one of the members of the CDN. The company’s area on the CDN homepage mentions that it is working to “improve diversity” (Creative Diversity Network, 2016). When being led to the Turner website, there is a page that is dedicated to diversity (Turner, 2015). Throughout the page, there are mentions of “embrace change”, “inclusion and equality” and mentions of how women are changing the dynamics of the company. Whilst there are images of BME groups on the page, there is no mention of the efforts the company is making to ‘improve’ CD. It is not my intention to conduct a thorough content analyses of the webpage. However, this example was worth mentioning, as there are organisations that talk about diversity, but they delete information about how they are working to improve CD, thus reinforcing one of the problems with self-regulation.

These types of problems would also be similar when such organisations begin to expand in the advertising industry. During an afternoon session at the USCDF, a topic came up regarding advertising regulations. Margaret, a Cuban-born CEO at a CD agency, was leading the workshop, discussing some of the ways to address the emergence of CD and how the industry can respond. Following the workshop, I sat in and observed a conversation between Margaret and Stacey, a Trinidadian-born Accounts Assistant at another CD agency. As a junior practitioner, Stacey was further questioning Margaret on her expertise:

Stacey: Do you have any suggestions on how we can avoid being obviously stereotypical? I know it's hard not to generalise when we're trying to interpret our audiences, but how do you not be offensive with it?

Margaret: I think I know what you mean. We've all been there [...] The thing is, there's no real such thing as being too offensive when it comes to advertising. I mean, there's being straight up racist and then there's just trying to communicate with your audiences, which is your job [...] That's why we have workshops like this so you can learn what good strategies are, but you ultimately have creative freedom to say what you want. I mean, if your market research shows that some ethnicities like sports more than others, then the guidelines say that's what you show.

The main output from this dialogue is that Margaret is suggesting that Stacey develops CD communication strategies, according to what she thinks works. Later in their conversation, Stacey makes reference to “*not wanting to stereotype*”, but also how easy it is to develop these stereotypes that are sometimes offensive:

Stacey: I mean, I've been in situations where I've developed stereotypes for my own culture [...] once it was even bad, really bad. So bad that when my ma heard the ad on the radio she freaked out [...] she wasn't angry with me, but she just wanted to

know how we get away with these things, she was just so offended.

Margaret: We've all been there, but, if I can say this, that's the beauty of this industry. You can practically do what you want.

The scenario Stacey talks about above draws similarities to some of my discussions in Chapters 5 and 6, where there is unclear guidance on what is, and what is not, acceptable. Although there have been several calls for the industry to be government regulated (Cottle, 2002), the industry continues to be privatised. My argument does not suggest that a regulated industry would be much better, as there are also 'professional pragmatics' (Cottle, 2006) that would come with it. However, my argument is aiming to show the problems that are occurring with the current structure of a self-regulated industry.

Firstly, the industry's lack of focus on the problems it is facing with developing CD communication strategies reinforces the "master narrative" of whiteness (Foster, 2003: 2). From this perspective, there is a relationship between how BME practitioners 'perform' whiteness and how they become part of the PAOs. Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984: 48) believes that good performance is judged on how one is "being seen to perform" (Blackmore and Sachs, 2007: 108). This performance has an impact on "the black subject's exposure of the constructedness of identity" and "still places it in double-bind because white culture finds a way to appropriate even that" (Langbauer, 1999: 203; Fanon 1986). As Chapter 3 outlined, these types of unregulated, unchallenged working practices will continue to limit the industry's opportunity to utilise the 'brown pound'. Again, I am not suggesting that public regulation is the answer, but there needs to be more attention paid to the "actual mechanisms that help us to understand both the historical processes and contemporary realities that shape relations" (Solomos, 2003: 3).

There was an evident difference between how the UK and US advertising industries spoke about diversity agendas. In the UK, there was a sense that the senior practitioners knew best and that self-regulation would "*just take all the fun out of creativity*" (Rhia, UKCD2). From Rhia's statement, it is evident how practitioners often "*push the boundaries to get people talking*" about a brand. This type of boundary pushing, known as 'badvertising' or 'shockvertising', aims to cause controversy that either a) gets people talking as they are

intrigued, or b) the increased awareness from the controversy increases a brand's sales. However, it would be interesting if future research addressed whether these controversial advertising strategies that aim to deal with CD have different results in terms of decreased or increased brand sales.

Conclusion

The purpose of this final data chapter was to show the role of PAOs, and the impact they have on advertising practitioners. Examining these organisations was important, as they are the final element of my adaption of field theory, which potentially impacts practitioners' working practices and how they develop CD communication strategies. Firstly, I examined how practitioners at the UKCDF and the USCDF advocated and shared their 'good practice' strategies. I analysed how practitioners in the UK used the same types of stereotypical and, sometimes, racist discourse that I evaluated in Chapters 5 and 6. However, I argued that their selection of discourse had greater implications on circulating ideologies and limiting market opportunities for the 'brown pound'.

When analysing practitioners in the US, they had similar ways of talking about 'good practice' strategies. However, the practitioners seemed more aware of the structural restraints that often limit the amount of influence they have on the industry. These restraints are part of the 'professional pragmatics' that Cottle (2002) talks about, but also reinforce why Hesmondhalgh (2006) was not completely correct in assuming that 'new' cultural intermediaries do not face contemporary challenges. From this section, it is no surprise that the US is taking more proactive approaches to 'dealing' with CD, as opposed to just talking about it at the networking events that I have evaluated, and the problems with the industry's normative structure.

Secondly, this chapter has looked at the problems with diversity quotas and self-regulation. Practitioners in both the UK and US seemed to advocate the introduction of these quotas at the events, in relation to both representation amongst their workforce and how they develop CD communication strategies. I have not suggested that regulation would improve these factors, as there would still be complex ways of making sure CD was managed in different organisations. Some practitioners also spoke about the limitations such regulations would impose on creativity. However, I have shown that there is a relationship between how structural racism is embedded within and between these macro institutions, and the negative, racist discourses that practitioners see as acceptable in working practices.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

This thesis has analysed how advertising practitioners develop cultural diversity (CD) communication strategies by examining practitioners' discourses, working practices and 'professional advertising organisations' through an adaptation of Bourdieu's field theory. This adaption was essential for evidencing the complexity of the field of advertising, where its ever-expanding and altering structure is complicating the relationship BME audiences have with capitalist society. I have argued that analysing practitioners themselves can be a more useful strategy than analysing advertising representations, showing the complexity of how racist and negative stereotypes are discursively reproduced. More importantly, the thesis has evidenced how racist ideologies are reproduced through banal, everyday working practices and institutional structures. From a theoretical perspective, the relationship between racism and intentionality has been evidenced, where existing studies would often dismiss offensive discourses as stereotypical, but are intended to dismiss or reject – particularly black audiences – as irrelevant.

In this concluding chapter, I start by summarising the key findings that have emerged from this thesis, and continue by drawing attention to the wider implications these findings have on current media debates.

Chapter summary

In Chapters 1, 2 and 3, I outlined my theoretical frameworks of this thesis, where Chapter 1 brought together the concepts of capitalism, ideology and discourse. Analysing these frameworks showed how advertising relies on ideological constructions that are reproduced in both discourse and working practices. It is evident that advertising works on a) macro levels, to examine how capitalism works on a structural level to circulate ideologies, and b) micro levels, to explore how the habitus of advertising practitioners enables them to make decisions when reproducing cultural messages. However, the structural influences of advertising practices are not enough to understand how cultural production works. I drew to some foundational accounts of how ideological processes work in capitalism (Althusser, 1971; Banks and O'Connor, 2009; Marx, 1971) and, although they are useful for applying

how ideologies are circulated across the advertising industry, they do not account for the everyday circulation of ideologies in discourses and working practices.

Chapter 2 reframed Bourdieu's (1993; 1996; Hesmondhalgh and Saha, 2013) theories of habitus, cultural production and different types of capital, in the context of my adaption to field theory. These concepts are useful starting points for analysing how ideologies are constructed and reproduced. However, as I shortly conclude, my adaption of field theory contextualises the need to understand how decisions are made in working practices. In summary, this chapter provided the foundation for Chapter 3 in order to construct how these theories are applicable for studying 'race' and CD.

Chapter 3 expanded on the conceptions outlined earlier, but I directly applied them to the reproduction of racist ideologies, negative stereotyping and CD communication. The chapter evidenced the relationship between racist ideologies and organisational practices, and I developed three main arguments. I firstly criticised studies that see stereotyping as completely ideological (Blair, 2002; Perkins, 1979), and argued that it is important to explore the habitus of individuals before making such conclusions. Secondly, I outlined the problems I had with current media debates focusing too much on diversity and stereotypes, as opposed to realising the historical complexities of racial discrimination. I also criticised the studies that assume racism and stereotyping are only carried out by white people (Hall, 1980; Van Dijk, 2000). Thirdly, I outlined more contemporary studies of 'white' and 'racial' habitus that are partially relevant to this thesis (Barlow, 2003; Bonilla-Silva et al., 2006; Chou et al., 2012; Tatli et al., 2015), but I again criticised them for focusing too much on what white people do. Instead, I showed that more attention needs to be paid to the experiences of BME practitioners, particularly those of CD agencies, and how CD communication strategies are developed in different organisational settings. These analyses evidenced that a more nuanced commentary on the relationship between racism and intentionality was needed in order to uncover the intentions of why practitioners make everyday racist statements, and the way they impact cultural production.

Chapter 4 outlined my methodological approach of this thesis, and had three main purposes. Firstly, I took a reflective approach on both my experiences as an advertising practitioner and how these experiences have informed the journey this research has taken. Secondly, I examined why I selected interviews and ethnography as data collection methods, reflecting on recent media studies that are increasingly using behind-the-scenes research methods to investigate the culture industry (Edwards, 2009; Saha, 2016; Miller, 2005; 2008). These

methods were paramount in providing insights into the processes of creating cultural messages, specifically noting which practitioners made racist statements and why.

Following a brief consideration of ethics and my capacity as a BME researcher, I closed the chapter by discussing why I had selected critical discourse analysis to interpret my data, particularly for showing the power of discourse in reinforcing, circulating and embedding ideological practices (Fairclough, 1995a; 1995b; Van Dijk, 2000).

The next three chapters of this thesis presented my data analysis, with the role of examining discourses, working practices and wider industry influences. Before focusing on how advertising practitioners develop CD communication strategies, Chapter 5 analysed their use of discourse and how they spoke about CD in general, and three key findings emerged.

Firstly, it was evident that white and non-black BME practitioners in both the UK and US dismissed black people as having a unique culture, and were instead grouped as being part of the general market. These powerful opinions reinforced the racism towards black practitioners, particularly in the UK, but were also evident in CD agencies. The increase in BME-owned media does not necessarily eradicate racist stereotyping, as many studies imply (Cashmore, 1997; Collins, 2009; Sanjek, 2005). Advertising practitioners are implicit in this process, as they internalise such ideological constructions and their everyday discourse.

Secondly, non-black BME practitioners appropriated their own cultures. In the UK, South Asian practitioners spoke about why their culture was more important than others, whilst, in the US, Latin American practitioners were favoured for being the most exotic. This finding shows that these cultures are likely to receive more attention when developing CD communication strategies. Lastly, white practitioners complained about being homogenised into one 'white' category. Although a lack of attention is paid to their diversity, white practitioners were more in favour of, unconsciously, circulating exclusionary ideologies, instead of recognising the importance of CD. There is a general sense of BME practitioners still finding their 'place' in advertising organisations, even more so in CD agencies, and that speaking about CD still seems to be a taboo subject in GM agencies.

Chapter 6 considered the use of discourses in the previous chapter, and examined how these discourses influence working practices through three main findings. Firstly, there was a general sense that practitioners legitimised their working practices and justified why a particular communication strategy was effective. This legitimacy was particularly evident in CD agencies in the UK, where their working practices seemed to be quite similar to GM practices, and either developed racist stereotypes or excluded audiences that they deemed as

being less important. Secondly, many of the practitioners in GM agencies in both the UK and US complained that formal texts limit their abilities to develop CD communication strategies, and I argued that this was used as a reason to neglect recognising BME audiences. Lastly, I analysed how practitioners conducted field research. On the one hand, GM agencies seemed to have limited resources and budgets allocated for CD field research. On the other hand, CD agencies seemed to rely on their existing habitus and lived experiences to develop these strategies. Whilst the industry is still developing ways to communicate with BME agencies, it is evident that a) CD agencies often conduct the same practices as GM agencies, and b) black audiences in particular are consistently disadvantaged, and these findings show that this is limiting market opportunities for the 'brown pound'. Thus, advertising practitioners reproduce racist ideologies in their daily working practices when designing, researching and reproducing cultural messages.

Chapter 7 was the final data chapter. It looked at how PAOs influence 'good practice' across the industry, and was particularly interested in how dominant ideologies were circulated at two 'diversity' events. Firstly, it was evident that PAOs have a substantial influence on how practitioners accept what is deemed as 'good practice', although it was evident that CD is not as important as GM communications. Secondly, there was a heavy focus on diversity quotas in terms of staffing. One of my main problems identified earlier in this thesis is that there is a general assumption that having more BME workers is the solution to more CD communication. However, this reinforces the problem with poor CD communication, as there is limited focus on a) ways in which to improve 'good practice', and b) it is a gateway for racist ideologies to be accepted as a structural normality.

A closing note on my adaption of field theory

In this closing section, I would like to highlight some of the key contributions of my adapted framework of field theory and some of the interrelated themes that have emerged from the three data chapters.

One of the most prominent themes that emerged from the three data chapters is how practitioners in the UK and US, and GM and CD agencies, legitimise their working practices, and how they develop CD communication practices. In Chapter 5, I examined how practitioners use their existing habitus to make racist and stereotypical statements about CD and their colleagues. Some of the practitioners seemed to advocate that they used these types of discourse because that is how their social circles outside of work speak about particular

BME groups and it was, therefore, seen as a legitimate way of talking about CD. These discourses then had an immense impact on how the practitioners legitimised their racist and stereotypical working practices and how they facilitated ‘good practice’ at networking events. Overall, the theme of legitimacy was often used as a replacement to conducting extensive field research or a means of making assumptions about different cultures.

The second key theme is that racism is not something that only white people carry out, but something that is also executed by BME practitioners. These discourses were evident in Chapter 5, where practitioners in both the UK and US developed negative stereotypes towards black culture, but were often erased during their working practices in Chapter 6. Throughout this thesis, I have highlighted why the assumptions that white media owners are the problems in studies such as Cashmore’s (1997), Hall’s (1980) and Van Dijk’s (2000) are problematic. These studies do not focus on the actual processes of media practitioners, but instead focus on theory development. Anne Cronin (2004) does look at discourse and working practices of advertising practitioners, but this thesis has shown why it is also important to investigate PAOs that have an impact on habitus. This is particularly why Bourdieu’s frameworks are useful, as he advocated integrating a practical methodology with theoretical developments, as this study has aimed to do.

The final key theme is that each chapter has evidenced how CD agencies’ working practices are not necessarily ‘better’ than GM agencies. Chapter 5 started by talking about how CD practitioners also used racist discourse and how they then developed this into CD communication strategies. In Chapter 5, I looked at how CD agencies in the US were taking more creative steps in differentiating themselves to GM agencies. I have argued that this differentiation is important for market opportunities, particularly as GM agencies continue to implement specialist teams dealing with CD. Overall, the emergence of these themes would not have been possible without evaluating the relationship between discourse, working practices and PAOs, and these insights are useful for informing current media debates and future research in the field.

My framework has also drawn similarities, but also differences, to Bourdieu’s (1984) original concept of habitus. One of the main similarities is that Bourdieu talks about habitus as being a continuous development and not fixed. This unfixed element of habitus draws similarities to some of Hall’s (1993; 1996: 222) foundational work of cultural identity, where identity is a “‘production’, which is never complete” and “always a process”. In addition, Bourdieu also refers to habitus being inserted in different social contexts. This type of insertion was

particularly evident when observing practitioners' working practices in their agency, in social spaces and at the PAOs. In each of these settings, the practitioners altered their use of discourse, or 'performed', to fit with what the industry expects of them. Evidently, the practitioners were generally more comfortable speaking and developing racist discourses in their own organisations. However, they were more hesitant about being too controversial in front of external peers. What this shows is that practitioners may speak wisely about CD in an unfamiliar, macro event, but this further reinforces why it was important to analyse how they act in different spaces.

One of the main differences this thesis has shown is that it is important to consider the drastic differences between the pre-20th century structures during his time of Bourdieu's writing and the current practices in the culture industry, as well as his neglect of discussing 'race'. In Chapter 2, I outlined this problem that Hesmondhalgh (2006: 219) also flags up, as Bourdieu "ignores profound transformations in the field of cultural production in the 20th century". Thus, although Bourdieu (1984; 1993; 1996) talks about the interrelationships between different 'fields', in the case of this thesis, there is no consideration of further developments such as CD agencies.

Contribution to media debates

This thesis has offered three novel contributions towards existing literature on the processes of media practices. Firstly, throughout this thesis, I have accredited some important media studies, namely from Van Dijk (2000) and Hall (1980; 1993; 1996), as their work on discourse in news and Hollywood movies is relevant for showing how racist ideologies are circulated in the media. My thesis has contributed to this work through my adapted framework of field theory, as I have shown that analysing practitioners themselves is equally important as analysing the final product of advertisements. Indeed, I have demonstrated that it is important to analyse institutional racism in advertising, and that there is a relationship between racism and intentionality. I have shown that analysing how practitioners talk about a particular topic will reveal how ideological discourse frames everyday working practices. Yet, to some extent, I have agreed with Van Dijk (2000), in that stereotyping is not always ideological and, therefore, cannot always be seen to be linked to racist ideologies. In addition, more studies need to focus on empirical investigations as, through the examination of the final product of advertisements or any other media output – it is not always possible to

conclude whether a cultural message was intentionally created to be a racist or negative stereotype, as the above studies suggest.

Secondly, in relation to actual field research by advertisers, I have shown that there are still problems with how advertising practitioners collect cultural data for ‘unfamiliar’ audiences, and that this has a direct impact on the development of CD communication strategies. What I conclude from this finding is that there are ways in which practitioners legitimise their own cultures, or ones that they find appealing, and reject others that they do not deem worthy enough to acknowledge. Van Dijk’s (2000: 5, 14) work on ideological discourse has particularly focused on how discourse changes to create “new social opinions” of particular cultures, and this study has developed his work to show how this is done by different BME groups. Most importantly, this finding stresses why cultural racism occurs between BME groups, and why a CD agency does not necessarily mean that ‘good practice’ for CD communication takes place.

Thirdly, I would like to briefly outline what the two comparative elements of this thesis have contributed to the field. The most substantial element of my comparative analysis was the relationship between GM and CD agencies. Inevitably, GM agencies had a lesser focus on CD communication and, instead, either conducted a small amount of field research on the target audience, or used their existing knowledge/resources of these audiences. In Chapter 6, I analysed how these approaches limited the depth of knowledge that was developed for these audiences, but were not particularly problematic as their main focus was for mainstream audiences. In relation to CD agencies, I was adamant that they would have distinctive ways of developing CD communication strategies, as well as a heavy investment in resources for understanding BME audiences. What was striking about the data was that BME practitioners within these agencies relied heavily on their existing knowledge of different audiences to develop CD communication strategies. Although many of them had limited resources, they did not utilise exploratory methods such as databases, interviews and ethnography, which were easily accessible. Instead, excuses were often made that they had a distant relationship with the ‘field of power’ and limited economic capital to conduct their roles efficiently. I am not suggesting that this is problematic if the practitioners do have thorough knowledge of the given culture. However, my data showed that practitioners with little knowledge of cultures that they were unfamiliar with were developing cultural racisms, as that is how the targets are generally spoken about in their different social groups.

What this comparison shows is that CD agencies are part of the 'black culture industry' that Cashmore (1997) talks about, as they are owned by BME practitioners. However, this ownership does not instantly suggest that BME-owned media institutions are 'better' at CD communication. This finding stresses why I am particularly critical of the UK media industries for calling for more diverse workers, with little agenda on how they intend to change their working remits. I reflected on my own experiences as a BME advertising practitioner in Chapter 4, where my employers assumed that my Caribbean heritage meant that I was the 'go to' person for knowledge of ethnic cultures, and this finding shows that little has changed in the seven years since I left the industry. For CD agencies to fully utilise the 'brown pound', what needs to be introduced is a comprehensive training system with adequate resources and funding.

In terms of my UK and US comparative angle, there have been both similarities and differences. It is evident that black practitioners experience similar types of racism, but in different organisational situations. Whilst existing studies show that black people in the UK and US have experienced different racial histories (Gilroy, 1993; Park, 1925; 1950; Rex, 1980; St Louis, 2005; Winant, 2000), their experiences of being undermined, excluded and deemed 'cultureless' are the same. However, there were differences between how South Asian practitioners in the UK were seen as the dominant BME culture, and favoured their own cultures over others, and how the Latin American culture was the dominant culture in the US, exoticised and appropriated by all. These findings add to the developing body of literature that examines how racialised bodies have different experiences to white workers in different organisational settings (Ahmed, 2006; 2009; Butler, 2005; Edwards, 2009; 2013; Miller, 2005; Puwar, 2004; Saha, 2012). However, it is a particular development for showing how BME groups experience prejudice differently. Future research could also look into the experiences of South Asian and Asian American practitioners, and the discourses used towards them by white and non-Asian BME practitioners, as topics surrounding Islamophobia did not emerge from this study.

Lastly, some new questions have emerged from this research. Firstly, how would the findings be different if they were carried out in other media industries such as public relations, television or magazine organisations? Whilst these industries have the same purpose of reproducing cultural messages, their structures, scale and variation in global industries differ. There have been studies that have already addressed cultural production in these industries to some extent (Edwards, 2010; 2012; Hesmondhalgh, 2006; Choudry and Williams, 2016), but

the application of my field theory adaption would show their ideological processes and the implications on working practices. Secondly, how would the findings differ if they were applied in wider organisational structures, such as education or healthcare? These industries offer a different kind of service to the media industries, but they still have the role of providing a form of service to society. Thus, their habitus also influences the output of their working practices. Lastly, this study has intentionally not focused on advertising regulations and organisational policies, as my intention was to focus on the discourses and practices of advertising practitioners themselves. However, analysing policy discourse would also add an extra dimension to an advertising practitioner's habitus and how they reproduce cultural messages, and this is something that future research needs to address on a larger scale.

As I have not intended to examine policy discourse in the form of documents and brochures in this thesis, it would be insightful if future studies were developed that do provide such content analysis. These studies would provide new insights into the role policy discourse plays in exclusionary practices in both advertising agencies and PAOs. However, I have shown the ways that a practitioner's habitus can be shaped, developed and challenged in spaces where they are influenced by what the macro industry perceives as 'good practice'.

To conclude, I would like to end this thesis with a brief reflection of its journey. When I began this thesis, I was excited about questioning how the advertising industry was responding to the development of CD agencies and CD communication strategies. However, I was unsure of how to make sense of these developments, where they were emerging from, by whom and in what ways. When I acknowledged that I would have to examine advertising practitioners themselves to answer these questions, I was quickly made aware of the challenges I would face with access, but also getting practitioners to talk about these difficult issues and how I would make sense of their responses. Through the development of my adaption to field theory, I am confident that I have given this research justice by analysing the different dimensions that affect how advertising practitioners make decisions. Yet, more theoretical research is needed in how this framework works and how it can be adjusted to analyse different industries. Thus, this thesis has shown that more empirical research is needed into BME practitioners in different media industries, and how their difficulties differ in this dynamic industry. As the opening quote to this thesis by Avi Dan³² suggests, developing CD communication strategies, understanding changing demographics and re-

³² Avi Dan is Founder of AviDan Strategies, a marketing and communications agency based in the US.

aligning working remits “is not just the right thing to do. It’s also the smart thing” to utilise the opportunities of the ‘brown pound’ in an increasingly diverse society.

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Appendix 1

Interview participants*

UKGM1

Brandy, 29, white, Canadian born and lived in UK for 7 years, Digital Planner

Simon, 38, white, UK born, Digital Director

Patrick, 25, white, Jamaican born and lived in the UK for 14 years, Creative Manager

Priah, 31, South Asian, UK born and lived in Australia for 4 years in 20s, Senior Market Research Analyst

UKGM2

Vanessa, 22, black, UK born, Accounts Assistant

Paul, 32, white, UK born, Client Liaison Officer

Guarav, 24, South Asian, UK born, Market Researcher

Emma, 39, white, UK born, Creative Director

UKCD1

Saeed, 57, South Asian, Bangladeshi born and lived in the UK for 30 years, Managing Director

Sajna, 31, South Asian, UK born, lived in Pakistan for 2 years as a child, Account Manager

Deepika, 24, South Asian, UK born, Creative Director

Lena, 20, South Asian, UK born, Trainee Accounts Assistant

UKCD2

Lianne, 24, black, UK born and lived in Grenada for 2 years during teens, Marketing Analyst

Rayne, 32, Indian, UK born, Director

Jordan, 27, black, UK born, Strategy Advisor

Rhia, 32, South Asian, UK born, Creative Assistant

USGM1

Miguel, 28, Latin American, US born, Arts Manager

Mike, 26, white, US born, Market Research Assistant

Kay, 39, white, US born, Strategy and Creative Director

Rosa, 52, Latin American, Puerto Rican born and lived in US for 20 years, Marketing Manager

USGM2

Keisha, 27, black British, Arts Director, UK born and has lived in New York, USA for 2 years

Shelley, 32, African American, US born, Research and Strategy Advisor

Judith, 48, African American, US born, Senior Vice President of Staffing, Diversity and Inclusion

Charles, 24, white, US born, Accounts Assistant

USCD1

Paolo, 53, white, US born, President

Lisa, 29, white, US born, Research Planner

Vicky, 25, white, US born, Accounts Assistant

Victoria, 28, Latin American, US born, Strategy and Client Advisor

USCD2

Cassandra, 41, black, African American, Digital Director

Diego, 24, Latin American, US born, Digital Planner

Peter, 32, white, US born, Accounts Manager

Pedro, 32, white, Cuban born, Accounts Assistant

Diane, 41, white, American born, Research Planner

USCDF

Stacey, a Trinidadian born Accounts Assistant at a US CD agency

Margaret, a Cuban born CEO at a US CD agency

*Some participants have been anonymised

Appendix 2
Interview schedule

Abbreviations

- BME Black, minority ethnic
- CD Cultural diversity

Company_____

Job title_____

Age (optional)_____

Ethnic/cultural background (optional)_____

Questions in relation to the industry

1. Do you feel more needs to be done in the industry to communicate with and understand BME audiences?
 - a. If yes, how do you feel this should be reflected? i.e. in government policy and legislation, funding, more field research
2. Do you feel an advertising agency can survive only sticking to CD communication?
3. Do you feel it is possible for global agencies to obtain communication techniques on the same scale as a specialist, CD agency?
4. In the advertising industry, could somebody of a different nationality or cultural background to the target client produce adequate communication strategies?
5. How prominent do you feel CD stands as an important issue in communication when creating a campaign?

Questions in relation to your company

1. What does CD mean to your company?
 - a. Does this reflect its personal meaning to you?
 - b. How do you identify what is perceived as a culturally diversity audience?
 - c. Do you feel CD has a solid definition?
2. Do you feel your company 'ethically' communicates with BME audiences? If so, do you feel this is something that should be implemented into legislation?
3. To what extent do you get to put your own input into a campaign?
4. To what extent do you get to put your own input into the company remit?
5. What do you feel makes your company successful?
6. Do you feel the changing scale of BME audiences in the foreseeable future will affect your company?
7. On a scale of 1-10 (1 being the lowest, 10 being the highest) to what extent does communicating with BME audiences take high priority with the campaigns?
8. What other factors other than the cultural/racial heritage of your audience takes priority?

Questions in the relation to your personal experiences and opinions

1. Do you think the term BME reflects UK/US society?
2. What are your perceptions of the concepts multiculturalism, diversity and cultural diversity?
3. What comes to mind when you hear the term 'brown pound'?
4. Do more BME workers mean more diversity in organisations?
5. In your opinion, can/are CD audiences part of the mainstream? Or do they have a specific set of needs that cannot be met by GM communications?
6. How do you see the future of CD communication?