Advertising Photography: Professional Practice as Commercial Creativity

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the concept and practice of creative photographic work within the advertising industry. It argues that while the industry is saturated by, and dependent on, photographic production, analytical work to date has focused merely on a broadly semiotic analysis of the end-product. This thesis instead asks how and why photographs are made in the ways they are? As such, it refigures the understanding of advertising photography by bringing practice and production into the centre of the analysis. Central to the analysis are the practices, processes and tacit systems of knowledge, understanding, and recognition which combine to define 'good' and even 'iconic' photography as a practice that characterizes and rewards itself on its photographic creativity. A practitioner-led definition of creativity is determined that complicates the established study of advertising creativity. This is based on a survey of photographic practitioners and interviews with industry practitioners in advertising and photography. The examination of advertising production identifies where creativity 'happens', how the agency creative and photographer collaborate and demonstrates how the photographer asserts their creative skills onto the production process. This is followed by a consideration of how photographic creativity is measured and particularly focuses on the importance of iconic images and their influence on practice over time. The thesis argues for, and analyses, an evolving visual language within advertising, driven by practitioner views of creativity, iconicity, and the macro effects of global events, economic cycles and technological development. This approach is tested through the case study of the British information and communications technology industry between 1979 and 2009, drawing on and collating the image archives of the industry. Overall the research opens new perspectives on advertising practice by both situating photography and the practices of the photographers centrally within the analysis.

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PREFACE

Completing this thesis has taken much longer than I anticipated. I arrived on the doorstep of academia with a confident sense of what I wanted to achieve in three years of research. After all, I had been practicing as a creative professional for 15 years in exactly the subject I was studying. How difficult could it be to transpose what I knew professionally into an academic study? I had not accounted for how fascinating the study of advertising photographic practice would become. Not only has it revealed the inner workings of a vibrant industry, it has reinvigorated my own passion for my practice.

All good ethnographic accounts include a history of the culture being studied. I will therefore attempt to do that in the following section. First, I offer a personal account (although I believe it is recognisable to other practitioners active at the same time) to situate my own practice within recent history. My account is dependent on participant observation but I do not consider myself an observer, I have never placed myself in a distanced relationship with other practitioners, instead I am very involved in the industry discourse, talking at trade conferences, taking interviews with mainstream media and writing articles for trade publications. I prefer Ingold's (2013:5) definition of: "knowing from the inside".

Originally, I left a full-time position as creative research director at the photo agency Getty Images to distance myself from the commercial photography industry. I instead sought other experiences while embarking on my study, teaching BA and MA Photography courses (including documentary and art photography) at University of Central Lancashire/University of the Arts London and working on a knowledge transfer partnership with University of the Arts London and Save the Children (allowing me to study photojournalistic practice and work with the Magnum photo agency). However, three years later, a newly created role at Getty Images, providing creative direction to a much larger photographic community offered me the opportunity to engage with practice once again. This time I agreed with my employers that I would continue to spend two days a week on my academic research. I was therefore able to create a balance between working within professional practice as well as reflecting on it.

Throughout my thesis, I have been aware that it is difficult to analyse that which is close. I have therefore been cognizant that I represent a wide range of photographers. This is accomplished through a survey but also through informal discussions about professional practice with people I have worked with for many years, in a way that we all found unexpected. The survey was met with interesting responses too. I received messages, emails and phone calls jokingly complaining that I had caused photographers to think carefully for the first time about their own practice and

what it meant to them. If nothing else, it opened a lively discourse that I hope will live on amongst contemporary practitioners.

When I joined the photographic industry in the early 1990s, it was a segregated community. Professional photographers were studio owners and worked ostensibly on fashion editorials and advertising. Stock photography was a by-product of that work, usually outtakes from a commission shoot or an experimental shoot that was created during a quiet period.[1] Advertising agencies had large budgets and therefore would commission photoshoots in exotic locations at high prices. But, during my professional life, there has been extraordinary change. Photographers became specialised in stock photography and as the quality improved, commissioning became more difficult to justify. The price of photography has been pushed downwards by stock and more recently, digital photography. The stock marketplace has also consolidated as large multinational photo or visual content agencies.[2] Assignment photo agencies also continue to exist, representing small numbers of high end advertising photographers while many more can be found in on-line resources or on trade association websites.[3]

At the end of the 1990s, the explosion of digital photography brought new challenges to professional practice. Initially, the move from analogue to digital was heavily debated. As the barrier to entry in photography was lowered, it allowed more photographers to practice professionally, without the need to invest in a studio or processing equipment. Concurrently, improved internet speeds permitted on-line businesses to develop, allowing instant content uploads.[4]

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1 Commercial stock agencies started out as suppliers of photography and illustration for publications. The earliest were Bettmann Archive established in 1936 and the Hulton Press Library in 1945. Advertising imagery happened much later with the founding of The Image Bank in 1974. The two major stock agencies from the 1980s until the 2010s were Getty Images (founded in 1995 by Mark Getty and Jonathan Klein) and Corbis (owned by Bill Gates, initially called Interactive Home Systems when launched in 1989). As of January 2016, both agencies are represented by Getty Images Inc. In later years, two new digital stock agencies emerged to compete with Getty Images – Shutterstock (founded in 2003 by the computer programmer, Jon Oringer) and Adobe Stock (founded as Fotolia in 2005 and acquired by Adobe in 2014).

2 The agency I started at was called Tony Stone Images (established in 1989 and sold to Getty Images in 1995). The global agency Getty Images Inc., now offers photojournalism, entertainment and celebrity photography, art prints (including photographic galleries in London and New York), archive photography dating back to the birth of photography as well as stock and assignment or commissioned photography.

3 For example Model Mayhem (www.modelmayhem.com) or The Association of Photographers (www.aop.org)

4 My photographic heritage is in analogue photography, working with a small number of clients and photographers. However, over time the number has increased to a huge community of 150,000 photographers as the on-line space has allowed more participants. The increase at Getty Images was predominantly caused by the acquisition of the Microstock community iStock in 2006. iStock had been established in 2001 as an on-line forum for designers to share content for free. It became so popular that iStock would charge a dollar per download to cover server costs. This led to what is now called Microstock. Digital images for micropayments.

More recently, photography became possible without the need to own a camera. As mobile phones improved to encompass both camera technology and the means to distribute imagery on-line, social media photography (known as "crowd-sourced" or "user-generated") started to compete with professional photography for advertising work through mobile photographic communities.[5] The influence of the recent shift is showing itself as I write in 2018, but my own study necessarily stops short of the social media explosion to contain the scope of the research (which is already ambitious). It is for future researchers to analyse the impact that social media has on professional photographic practice.[6]

My own professional role includes directing photographers to shoot better imagery, writing creative briefs and consulting with advertisers to also shoot and select better imagery. In addition, I run a research team responsible for visual research. It was the first of its kind in the photographic industry and is still the largest and most influential.[7] The team analyses imagery at scale to identify patterns in image usage. These patterns are labelled as visual trends and each year we produce presentations and white papers on the trends we have identified. The methodology for this analysis was established in the late 1990s by my team and involves the quantitative - data analysis (now search data and on-line sales data analysis), as well as the qualitative – client interviews and internal sales team surveys. It also has strong ties to semiology in that our visual analysis deconstructs the elements of advertising images to identify the workings of subject matter, model choices, colour palettes and photographic techniques. The findings are then shared with the creative team to inform future photoshoots. Importantly, the elemental analysis is not a 'recipe' for successful imagery, instead it is the starting point. The analysis is communicated through brainstorming sessions. The brainstorming sessions involve homework preparation and the presentation of ideas and work towards generating new iterations through creative thinking. This is a working model that continues to evolve at Getty Images but the responsibility for creative thinking lies with both the art director and the photographer.

From experience, I can therefore confidently state that creativity, creating creative photographs and aspiring to achieving creative excellence is at the centre of conceiving, crafting and producing commercial photography. Sweat, tears, ego, desire and passion are all imbibed in creative photography. I know that creative ideas do not appear from nowhere, they are worked on and are

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5 Visual social media has been particularly present since Instagram was introduced in 2010. (The same year that Apple introduced the iPhone 4 with the first high resolution front facing camera). Mobile photographic agencies in 2018 include: Twenty20.com, Eyeem.com or foap.com.

6 For example the Apple iPhone 6 world gallery using mobile phone images reproduced at huge scale across the world won the Grand Prix in the Outdoor category at Cannes Lions in 2015 for the advertising agency TBWA. This will undoubtedly be studied in the future as an example of an iconic mobile sourced campaign.

7 The team is responsible for the strategic direction of photographic production at Getty Images Inc.

always connected and the extension of previous ideas. The people I have worked with, and continue to work with, are artistic, imaginative and the embodiment of the archetypal creative practitioner: stylish, outspoken and with big personalities, striving to do their best possible work. The phrase: "pushing the visual language forward" has been quoted at me and repeated by me more times than I can remember and yet, I could find sparse evidence of this hive of activity in the academic study of advertising or photography. Equally, searching for photographer credits on advertisements requires persistence, even in the digital age. A conversation I had in September 2017 is an example of the lack of formal acknowledgement of the photographer's work. I spoke at length with the studio photographer Jonathan Knowles who created the O2 bubbles for Cellnet when it rebranded in April 2002 (figure 0.1).[8] The bubbles took two weeks to create in July 2001 so were shot on 5 x 4 film and were in his words "virtually unretouched". Knowles was given a concept by the creative director as to what the image might look like but it was up to him to execute it. He was left for two weeks to create the image.[9] The resulting image and rebranding won the agency creatives the IPA Grand Prix award in 2004 and enabled the team that worked on the campaign to set up their own agency called VCCP.[10] The agency does not acknowledge who shot the photograph although it is presented as key to the success of the campaign. Bringing the photographer and the photographic process to the forefront is key to ensuring that their input is represented here.

During the early years of my research (2010/2011), I sought out a school of thought with which I could associate myself. I had already established that visual trends research was not studied academically but I had assumed that there were studies conducted in response to the critical semiological approach taken by early advertising researchers such as Williamson (1978), Goffman (1979). Later research by Richards et al (2000) and Leiss et al (2005) sought alternative methods for studying advertising over long periods of time, introducing content analysis for example, but the focus is on responding to methodological weaknesses of earlier studies, not responding to the critique. The findings of both studies situate advertising messaging in time through changes in advertising format and consumer response. I quote widely from both studies because I understand the benefit of studying advertising imagery at scale, it is part of my everyday practice and it generates regular interest in the trade press.

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8 Jonathan Knowles has been an advertising photographer since 1988 and runs a studio in Hammersmith, London. He worked as an assistant for two photographers before establishing himself as a studio photographer. His best known work is for Sainsbury's and Dairy Milk chocolate (as well as the O2 work). In 2017, he won the Association of Photographers (AOP) award for his work with English National Opera. Details here: http://jknowles.co.uk.

9 Knowles worked with the creative director Rooney Carruthers from the agency Lambie Nairn. Details here: www.lambie-nairn.com. According to Knowles, the agency checked in on him once a day.

10 The IPA Grand Prix is awarded by the Institute for Practitioners in Advertising for advertising effectiveness. VCCP was established in 2002 by Rooney Carruthers and three other members of the team from Lambie-Nairn. Details here: www.vccp.com

My own research shifted on its axis as I realised that I was focusing the best part of my effort on the end-product – the advertisement. This is something that any researcher with the same motivation could achieve. I recognised that my practice, situated as it is, in the global centre of the largest number of professional photographers, places me in a unique position to not only lay bare the inner workings of the industry but to also represent the largest number of practitioners in my study. Much of my thesis therefore offers a study of practice itself with the product as a case study in the final chapter.

Finally, as with most professional practice, there is a commercial pressure to keep moving forwards with little time for introspection. This is perhaps why there is no established chronology on advertising photography and advertising photographers. My own frustration at the academic shortfall motivated me to embark on writing a thesis and in doing so I am fortunate to be able to add to the corpus by defining the advertising photography timeline. The content is necessarily narrative at times as I attempt to fill the gaps with my own and my respondent's experiences. It is now up to future researchers to engage with my narrative.

Figure 0.1. O2 branding 2002. Photograph by Jonathan Knowles. Source: J. Knowles.

1. INTRODUCTION

Every year in the UK, over 30 million press advertisements and 100 million pieces of direct marketing are produced.[11] Photography has been the dominant visual form in print advertising since the 1960s and its application has continued to grow with the rise of digital media.[12] This thesis examines the practice and practitioners that create the millions of images every year.[13]

Advertising photography is a commercial enterprise. It is created to sell or promote something and is produced by professional photographers who earn money from doing so. This contrasts with representational photography that tells a news story and is syndicated via the news wire or fine art photography produced purely as the expression of a photographer's vision.[14] Advertising photographers are commissioned by advertisers or advertising agencies to produce imagery to a specific brief and the amount paid is dependent on image size, media placement and the length of the campaign. Commissioning photography was the industry standard until the growth of pre-shot or stock photography in the 1980s but advertising imagery is now either commissioned or licenced through a stock agency. During the commissioning process, the relationship with the agency creative determines how advertising photographers work and as will become clear, more so than in any other genre, there are links and overlaps in the role of the photographer and the agency creative that influences the production of the photograph. I am therefore not situating advertising photography in broader photographic practice but instead situating it in advertising practice.

My experiences in professional practice have led me to consider the question: Why do images look the way they do at certain times? As one of the interviewees, a respected creative director, stated early in our interview: "Advertising is carbon dated like the rings of an oak tree". (Will Awdry, interview 2013). And yet, in examining this question I have found a guiding principle and a practice-held core belief that successful imagery relates to creativity, a skill used to create difference and not similarity. This thesis is therefore about a photographic practice that views itself as creative and further, believes in the importance of creativity in creating advertising imagery. In the same way that photographers create brand imagery to differentiate advertisers,

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11 Referenced from the Advertising Standards Authority website: http://www.asa.org.uk [Accessed on 10th September 2017].

12 Source: The Advertising Association/WARC expenditure report, April 2017. Available here: http://expenditurereport.warc.com. [Accessed 18th September 2017].

13 According to the most recent report from the Department for Digital, Culture, Media and Sport, this accounts for 125,000 people in advertising agencies and 59,000 people involved in photographic activities in the UK in 2016. (DCMS 2017)

14 For the purposes of this thesis, fashion advertising is included within the larger analytical model on commercial imagery because it sells fashion products. Fashion editorial is not included because it is shot to tell a story or convey a style, the product is not central to the image. In most editorial spreads, there are a number of competing brands in the same image.

they see their creativity as differentiating themselves from their competition. The study of advertising photographic practice therefore is a step towards understanding why images are created the way they are. What relationships, processes and constraints influence the way imagery 'looks'?

This thesis is about photographers and photography because while there are famous advertising photographers that have emerged and are acknowledged by the public, most advertising photography we are exposed to every day is disconnected from its creator. There is seldom a credit line for the photographer on the advertisement and rarely does the photographer receive acknowledgement if the advertisement wins awards. This was brought into sharp relief as I explored the two most established archives in the UK. Not only is there no established archive of advertising photography but the advertising archive rarely references photographers. I conducted archive research in order to bring photographic work front and centre but also as part of the process of defining the research methodology for studying advertising photography. I shall argue that these archives reflect how advertising is viewed and studied and even as research into creativity in advertising practice has grown in recent years, the creativity of photographic practice is still absent. So, while acknowledging that photographic practice is enmeshed with advertising practice, I will focus on bringing photographic practice to the surface.

Throughout, there is a strong ethnography as the research is rooted in my own practice and as a result, researching the process became part of the work. In many instances I have included an autoethnographical dimension in order to add depth to the research, but I have not used autoethnography alone. I chose this methodology because it allowed me to utilise the unique position I hold in the photographic industry, (as discussed on page 15). My own experience is based within the practice that I study and I am a practicing creative photographic professional, but I do not consider myself to be a photographer per se. Although my interaction with the photographers I work with is collaborative and intertwined, it is the specific experience of the photographer that I set out to encapsulate. This is in response to the lack of acknowledgement of the photographer in the chronology of advertising (as noted on page 14).

I observed my peers through participant observation (as outlined on page 11) and asked questions about 'what' practitioners were doing and more importantly 'why' they were doing it. Additionally, I chose photographer interviews in order to compare my findings with previous studies that have interviewed advertising practitioners about the advertising production process (discussed in section 2.2). Further I included three interviews with 'expert' advertising creatives to compare my results to those studies but also to hold the creative responses up against the photographer responses to identify synergies and differences. I particularly wanted to analyse my findings in context of the previous work of Malefyt and Morais (2012) who take a similar 'insider'

approach to an ethnographic study of the creative process but do not go as far as identifying the driving force of advertising creativity.

I recognise the narrative that the photographer interviewees provided but I would not have acknowledged those experiences without prompting if I had only taken an autoethnographic approach. In this regard I argue that the knowledge of a researcher from within a discipline should be applied to broader findings across the practice and this is where I used a methodology from the social sciences. To attain the broader view, I conducted a wider reaching survey and set open questions which produced qualitative results that I could utilise to connect the interviews to the wider practice. However, the widest view of advertising over many years and across products and brands (in the case study in chapter eight) was possible because of the interviews. I was able to create a chronology of the effects of exemplary creative images over a 30 year period because the interviews gave my research first person insight into what practice believed and strived toward at the time. It enabled me to offer a method for visual analyzing advertising photography at scale that is not distanced from the practitioners that created it.

By triangulating my methodology, it allowed me to then group the findings around four 'pillars'. The pillars hold the shape of the study but they also translate into the cohering strands of the thesis that weave their way through the thesis. The first pillar is 'creativity', which comes into focus in different intensities throughout the chapters. Creativity emerged as a central concept as I analysed the data from practitioner interviews with advertising creatives and practicing photographers. Finding a profound conviction in creativity as a personal skill and as an identifiable element in an advertising photograph, I used the survey to draw in the views about creativity from more photographic practitioners. This enabled me to determine a practice-led definition of creativity that I compared to equivalent studies on advertising practice, thus highlighting where the two practices converge but more importantly how photographic practice is distinct. The survey findings show a clear clustering of concepts on how creativity is defined. The craft or technical skill of photography is significant but creativity is also defined through a viewpoint as according to practice, creative photographers produce photos that not only bring ideas to life (a key requisite when collaborating with advertising creatives) but also demonstrate an ability to visualise in a new way, with a new angle or perspective. Although interdependent, the results of the survey show that photographers value creative skills above practical skills and yet photographers are hired for their practical skills. Understanding what motivates photographic practitioners allows me to then demonstrate how it translates into the way the image is created.

The term 'iconicity' is the second of my four pillars and was widely and famously established by Ernst Gombrich within art historical analysis. Gombrich examined the iconic as it resembles real life and iconic imagery as a "device to impart information" (1993:84). The 'iconic image' is the

subject of great canons of semiological research and as I shall discuss in the literature review (in chapter two), a study of advertising imagery must acknowledge the semiological analysis of advertising, however, instead of diving into image deconstruction, I will look at how the "iconic" is used in the minds of the practitioners in my study. Given my 'ethnographic' approach in this study, I am drawing my use of the terms here from their usage, namely an iconic image is held up above everything else as being the best of creativity. In doing so, I am aligning the 'iconic' more closely to philosopher Thomas Kuhn's (1962) "exemplar", in this case the creative advertisement is situated within practice knowledge for problem-solving and an example of what is deemed successful. This led me to examine how photographers measure creative success whilst often being confined to a technical role and it is here and through the interviews that the exemplar image emerges and the notion of iconicity arises.

Iconic photography tends to be studied, particularly in news photography, as the distillation of a specific event, replicated over and over in its original form. A comprehensive study of modern iconicity in photojournalism by Hariman and Lucaites (2007) argued that the iconic photograph is easily referenced and duplicated. But for the advertising photographic practitioner, duplication conflicts with their notion of creativity. In advertising photography, there is no obvious and immediate cluster of values around an image, instead values become clustered through the discourse in the community of practice. I therefore argue for a processual study of iconicity that subsumes image value into knowledge in professional practice. Rather than achieving immediate iconicity, an advertising image accrues iconicity and what emerges is an evolutionary model of creativity. I use the term evolution because my findings suggest that as creatives constantly seek out new experiences and perspectives, the awareness of iconic imagery affects their inspiration. Practitioners are aware of who is seen as creative and use that knowledge in the generation and presentation of ideas to advertisers. Peer regard in advertising photographic practice therefore influences how future advertising imagery *looks*. As a result, a type of visual language forms that is the representation of a concept or idea added to over time by other practitioners inadvertently creating similar imagery. It is not identical or "duplicated" as such but with enough visual clues to tie it to a time. I offer this as a response to the question that I kept returning to: "Why does advertising look the way it does at different times?" And to demonstrate my argument, I identify iconic images and then assess the impact they had on subsequent advertising photography, often over many decades.

The third pillar that emerged is that of the community of practice. The central tenet of creativity goes beyond individual practitioners, I also found that it adheres photographers together in a community of practice. I have drawn on Etienne Wenger's (2000) study of social learning systems as the basis of looking at photographic practitioners as a community of practice. Wenger describes a community of practice as a group of people with similar interests or passion for

something they do. The group learns how to improve as they continue to interact with each other. This was highlighted during the interviews, as we discussed the apprenticeship system, known as "assisting", that photographers participate in before becoming a professional. What emerged strongly and which I discuss in chapters five and seven, is that while I call the learning process "an apprenticeship" it is not a formal process as seen in other industries, creative knowledge is not institutionalized, instead it is owned by the practitioners themselves and is learned through exposure to practice. While advertising photography is highly skilled and highly orchestrated, the creative 'know how' comes about through practice-based knowledge communicated within the community of practice. Practice based knowledge includes the technical skills of 'know how' (for example, what settings to use for specific environments or how to best light a subject) but knowledge about creativity also has a tacit component that emerges through the photographer interviews and is alluded to in the responses from the survey. In practice it is referred to as "getting it" but I have used the description of tacit knowledge popularised by Polanyi (2005) and used most widely since. Polanyi's oft repeated phrase: "we can know more than we can tell" (1966:4) refers to the way that individuals process knowledge which is influenced by their values, beliefs and ideals. To apply this description to photographic practice, it is the energy and passion that a photographer applies to different aspects of their job. As I have already stated, the pursuit and appreciation of creativity forms the tacit component of a photographer's knowledge. The study of tacit knowledge has traditionally been focused on what it is and how it is created, most importantly it has been regarded as a personal knowledge that is individually created. However, research into organizational knowledge is now examining how tacit knowledge is created and identified within organisations, specifically corporations and other commercial enterprises (Baumard 2001, Smith 2001). In this body of work, the most referenced study by Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995), argues for a link between commercial success and organisations that value tacit knowledge.[15] Nonaka and Takeuchi use observational and interview methods to identify tacit knowledge, as do later researchers Leonard and Sensiper (1998) who examine a design agency as it goes through a brainstorming process. I therefore rely on the same methodology to identify individual tacit knowledge but go further and examine how there is a collective agreement about the application and meaning of creativity in the community of practice, this forms a large proportion of commercial knowledge (i.e. it allows photographers to compete in the marketplace) but importantly, being able to 'get it' is associated with professional success. I will go on to discuss how 'getting it' changes over time in chapter seven and practitioners must rely on their tacit knowledge to stay with it creatively. The professional aspiration of the photographer therefore is to be seen as an 'expert' in creativity. One who sets the standard for the rest of

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15 A study of Knowledge Management journals over a ten-year period found that Nonaka and Takeuchi were referenced 202 times whereas Polanyi was referenced 60 times (Grant 2007: 173).

practice. I found that expertise is how photographers are recognised and expertise amasses advertising creative's regard. As I traced how experts hire assistants and the assistants acquire knowledge, a genealogy of advertising photographers emerged that further helped me to understand how creative know-how is shared and how it might influence photographic imagery at certain points in time.

The fourth pillar is an examination of practice itself and here my approach is innovative in its study of changing advertising imagery. Although I draw out what I shall from iconic imagery, I am more concerned with the influence it has over practice and practitioners. As the literature review will demonstrate, I am working in the space between the study of practitioner process and the distanced reading of images. In addition, there is a large literature on methods of looking at advertising which I also draw from when relevant. As already stated, I use visual analysis but I also use the practitioner view when conducting that analysis, bringing the assessment of imagery closer to the people who created it. Here the archive research is key as I interrogate the archive to source advertisements from computer and telephone advertising (collectively known as the information and communications technology industry) over a 30-year period and create a controlled dataset, forming a case study for analysis presented in chapter eight. These images are included in volume two. Here I apply the theory of evolving creativity to the case study by examining an industry from its nascent years to a time when it is integrated into daily life. Throughout the study, I position what the visual language is saying about the ICT industry but also identify factors that influence creative ideas and therefore change which includes the effects of the iconic image. It is a case study that can, I would argue, be replicated across advertising and although the advertising field is well researched, the study of advertising through the images is a new contribution to knowledge.

In terms of my thesis structure, I begin by summarising the history of advertising photography because it is the background against which my thesis is understood. The following chapter (chapter two) is a review of the established literature to further place my research in context and to explore the relative merits of different methodological approaches. Here I examine how creativity is studied across broader creative practice, in particular, research that looks at individual characteristics and behaviour and studies that have interviewed practitioners. I also review how previous researchers have analysed the creative process as a method to identify how creativity is applied to idea generation and how creativity and creative success are measured. Two publications in particular inform my research and are the two studies that examine advertising photographic practice specifically (Rosenblum 1978/Frosh 2003). I quote from them throughout the thesis. The last section of chapter two is a review of visual analysis methodologies utilised by researchers in longitudinal studies of advertising. Although the studies focus more on advertising formats and changing audiences, the methodology informs my own.

Chapter three is therefore an outline of the methods that I used throughout. This chapter is presented as a narrative to describe the process as a researcher "knowing from the inside". It describes how the methods for gathering data from practitioners evolved out of my practice and the findings I generated in my fieldwork. In addition, chapter three is a summary of my experience of researching the British advertising archive, where I looked and what was available.

Chapter four outlines how creativity emerged as the central concept. From here, I outline where the assessment and measurement of creativity in advertising photography intersects with that of advertising practice through the results from my survey. Further, through practitioner interviews, I examine the methods that photographers use to assert their creativity and the relationship between advertising creatives, their client and the photographer during the photo production process. This leads on to chapter five which is a deeper look at processes, again it fills the void in the understanding of how advertising photographers work but also adds to the existing knowledge about advertising processes which tend to stop short of image production. The process is narrated by both the advertising creative and the photographer interviewees and I present it as a flowchart that corresponds to the format used by previous researchers. At each of the points in the process, commercial decisions are being made which affect the outcome but importantly through studying the process I am able to ascertain how ideas are generated, who is responsible for them and what influences those ideas. Additionally, this chapter looks at where the photographer asserts their creative power over their client before the image is subsumed into an advertisement and becomes the agency's creative property.

Chapter six focuses on the third pillar and is a study of advertising photography as a community of practice. To do this, I focus on the acquisition of tacit knowledge of what is deemed 'creative', following 'apprentices' as they join practice and charting the careers of the interviewees to highlight how a practitioner becomes a creative expert. In the same chapter, I also focus on the importance of peer regard and industry awards to demonstrate how practitioners and their work can achieve exemplar status driven by the industry and the trade press. Chapter seven then examines exemplar status more specifically and the iconic photograph and how they become incorporated into knowledge within the community of practice becoming a reference point for all future photo shoots.

Chapter seven returns to the second pillar by identifying how practice defines and views iconicity and what happens once an image acquires iconic status. I also look at the conditions in which practitioners believe creative imagery is created and how creativity is associated with 'risk' and in contrast, a lack of creativity is associated with 'comfort'. I find that iconic images are not common and do not occur regularly however there are incremental changes that occur in the

visual language as practice strives for creativity. From these findings, I am able to offer a model for evolutionary creativity based on the use of archetypes, derived from the practitioner.

The final chapter represents a gathering of themes around the fourth pillar through the study of creativity, creative processes, communities of practice and the established literature. It is a visual representation of the model of creativity that I have developed throughout and the advertisements are offered as visual evidence in volume two. To do this, I take a case study approach to the sample and analyse the creative evolution of imagery through the influences identified by my interviewees, namely the economy, technological development and the effect of iconic imagery. I conclude with a summary of my findings and indications for future research. However, I first offer a historical positioning to place the case study within the timeline of British advertising photography.

1.1 A Brief History of Advertising Photography

Although advertising is a global phenomenon, its photographic history centres on London, New York and Paris, where agencies were established early and photography for advertising has been refined. Influential photographers have emerged at different times throughout the history of photography and to date, all have worked in either Europe or the USA. Advertisers turned to photography in the early twentieth century because camera technology offered a more realistic representation of products and people. The first iconic photographic advertising image was the 'Kodak girl' who had been appearing as an illustration since 1893 (see figure 1.1). She became the first symbol of the consumption of photography but also a visual symbol of independence and travel, representing the aspirations of twentieth century women. (West, 2000). The Kodak girl delineated the possibilities for a photographically led advertising practice. It was the period after World War One, when the economy boomed and manufacturing of mass-consumer goods increased that necessitated the use of photography to differentiate competing branded products. At the same time, advertising agencies were becoming more professionalized, attracting the best artists and creative talent (Tungate, 2007, Fox 1984). Important professional organisations had been set up in 1917: The American Association of Advertising Agencies and The Institute of Practitioners in Advertising.[16]

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16 The American Association of Advertising Agencies (4A's) was established as a trade association for advertising agencies in 1917. Source: www.aaaa.org. The Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA) was also established in 1917 as a trade body to assist the Government of the day with their propaganda efforts during World War One. Source: www.ipa.co.uk.

Advertising had turned to photography because of "its ability to obscure its artistic construction with accurate renderings of detail and thus to present emotional appeals in a seemingly objective style" (Johnston 1997:1). As a result, a "more manipulative style emerged, which projected obvious fantasies and ideals but made them seem attainable" (Johnston, 1997:1). The first advertising photographer superstar - Edward Steichen, rose to fame in the 1920s and 1930s because, as the art historian Patricia Johnston found in a study of his work, his particular skill was in converting ideas into persuasive photography.[17] (See figure 1.2 as a typical example of his work). Anton Bruehl (figure 1.3) and Paul Outerbridge Jr (figure 8.3) were other notable advertising photographers producing the 'advertising' style.[18]
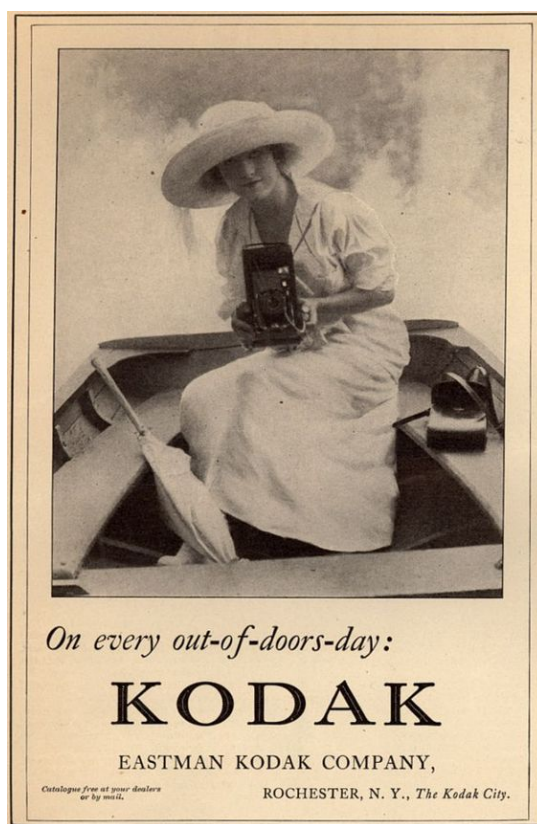
Figure 1.1 Kodak Girl advertisement circa 1910s. Source: www.vintageadbrowser.com

17 Edward J Steichen (1879-1973) was an artist and photographer best known for his fashion photography in publications such as *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*, Steichen had a long relationship with the advertising agency J.Walter Thompson.

18 Anton Bruehl (1900-1982) also ran a large studio in New York city with his brother Martin Bruehl working on advertising contracts between 1945 to 1966. Paul Outerbridge Jr (1896-1958) was an American fashion and commercial photographer who established a large photographic studio in New York..

Figure 1.2 Woodbury's facial soap advertisement. Photograph by Edward Steichen. Source: Ladies' Home Journal, July 1936.

Figure 1.3 Cannon Towels advertisement. Photograph by Anton Bruehl. Source: Ladies Home Journal, June 1936.

Despite the Great Depression, manifested especially in the USA in 1929 until the Second World War, mass media in the west burgeoned. Magazine publishing expanded and developments in colour film technology allowed the production of more realistic images than in the past. A trend for 'real life' photography emerged, influenced by the possibility of better quality colour imagery. Nickolas Muray made a name for himself through his expert use of colour technology (see figure 1.4). In this manner, he became a celebrated advertising photographer for producing social tableaus for Coca-Cola and General Foods.[19] During the Second World War, advertising was characterised by patriotism and propaganda. Governments were the most prolific advertisers, using both illustration and photography to 'sell' the war, consequently advertising photographers were redirected towards helping government projects. For example, well-known advertising photographer Lejaren à Hiller worked for the US Armed Forces during the Second World War (figure 1.5).[20]
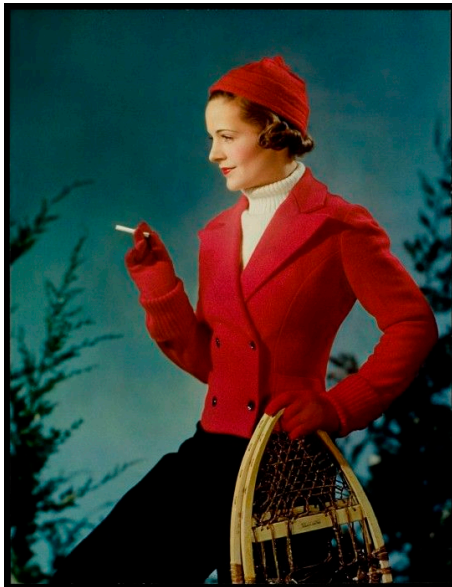
Figure 1.4 Lucky Strike advertising 1936. Photograph by Nickolas Muray. Source: www.nickolasmuray.com.

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19 Nickolas Muray (1892-1965) had been a black and white portrait photographer in America before the Depression, photographing subjects such as Franklin Roosevelt, Claude Monet and the best known portraits of Frida Kahlo. Muray later adapted to colour photography and became best known for his work for Coca-Cola (McDarrah and McDarrah 1999).

20 Lejaren à Hiller (1880-1969). Hiller was an illustrator and painter who worked on magazine covers but advocated photography as early as 1908. His photographs were the first to appear on the front cover of Cosmopolitan magazine. (Sobieszek 1988).

Figure 1.5 U.S. Army Nurse Corps advertising 1945. Photograph by Lejaren a. Hiller. Source: www.argosybooks.com.

The period of recovery after the war was a prosperous time for the magazine publishing industry. Print advertising grew faster than in any other time in history and colour photography came to be used universally so there were considerable opportunities for advertising photographers. Many photographers producing iconic advertising during this era started their careers on fashion magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar* and *Vogue*. Examples here include some of the best-known names in the field who now attract exhibitions in their own right and have art canon status: Irving Penn, Richard Avedon and Helmut Newton (see figure 1.6 and 1.8).[21]

During the 1950s, aspirational visions of middle-class lifestyles emerged in advertising photography, notably of traditional gender roles and a glamorous ideal of family life. For nations in Europe and North America, the reassertion of familiar roles after the upheaval of the war was comforting and proved itself as a successful advertising technique (Fox, 1984). Ralph Bartholomew Jr (1907-1985) was a proponent of the lifestyle imagery (see figure 1.7) that is now associated with the period.[22] In the 1950s and 1960s, creative teams in advertising agencies became in organisational terms, the industry standard. Art directors and copywriters were paired

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21 Irving Penn (1917-2009) provided photographs for Vogue covers from 1943 onwards, his work also featured in advertising campaigns for Chanel, Clinique, DeBeers, L'Oréal. Richard Avedon (1923-2004) is best known for documentary photography but in fact started out as an in-house photographer on magazines, most notably American Vogue. He subsequently took on advertising commissions. Helmut Newton(1920-2004) is best known for erotic images of women and black and white photography. Newton mainly photographed advertisements for fashion brands but also produced notable work for BMW, Kodak and Absolut vodka (McDarrah and McDarrah 1999).

22 Ralph Bartholomew Jr (1907-1985) worked in advertising under Lejaren à Hiller, establishing a studio in 1936. Clients included Du Pont, Kodak, Texaco and General Electric. (Sobieszek 1988).

up to work on client projects (El-Murad and West 2004) and art directors started working closely with photographers and attending photo shoots, something that is still practiced today. In a further articulation and development of different roles in advertising, this era also saw art directors becoming photographers. Thus, art directors like Henry Wolf brought an artistic vision to his work through his training as both an art director and as a photographer (see figure 1.9).[23]

However, as advertising photography became more creative and more artistic in outlook, it attracted criticism from media theorist Marshall McLuhan (1951/2011) and social critic Vance Packard (1957) who published popular books that served to warn consumers about the persuasive power of advertising imagery.[24] It was at this time that the manipulative power of advertising really took hold in the viewers' consciousness and as a result, the Advertising Standards Authority was established in 1961 to regulate advertising claims and reassure the consumer (see section 1.3).

Figure 1.6 Revlon advertising 1952. Photograph by Richard Avedon. Source: www.revlon.com.

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23 Henry Wolf (1925-2005) started out as an art director, working for a number advertising agencies and magazines in the USA. He then established his own production studio called Henry Wolf Productions in 1971, photographing for clients such as Carven perfumes and Geoffrey Beene. (Sobieszek 1988).

24 Marshall McLuhan's *The Mechanical Bride* analysed the message in imagery used in commercial communication such as advertising. Vance Packard's: *The Hidden Persuaders* goes further and asserts that the public is influenced to continually consume because of the persuasive power of advertising imagery.

Figure 1.7 Texaco Advertising 1957. Photograph by Ralph Bartholomew Jr. Source: Sobieszek (1988:124).

Figure 1.8 Ansco advertising 1961. Photograph by Irving Penn. Source: Irving Penn Foundation.

*Figure 1.9 Olivetti advertisement 1969. Photograph by Henry Wolf. Source:
www.commarts.com.*

During the 1960s in the USA, advertising creatives made their mark on Madison Avenue.
Photographers working in fashion and advertising became cultural heroes as a new generation of
photographers were emerging, using innovative techniques to sell products through simple
visuals.[25]

This was an era that exemplified the art of photography and it was during this time that advertising
practitioners started to publish their own books, for example, David Ogilvy (1963) and Leo
Burnett (1968) gave accounts of the process of producing advertising and the 'art' of advertising
citing famous examples such as the "man in a Hathaway shirt" by asserting the creativity and
skill of its creators.[26] Ogilvy and Burnett built on the creative director Bill Bernbach's theory
that creativity is the powerful ingredient in persuasive advertising imagery.[27]

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25 The photographer Bert Stern's (1929-2013) work is typical of this era. His work for Smirnoff vodka played on reflections and
perspectives of pyramids and camels in Egypt to denote the "dryness" of the drink. Stern owned studios between 1954 and 1971
and won awards for his photography for Smirnoff, Revlon and IBM advertising in the 1960's. He was the last photographer to
shoot Marilyn Monroe in 1962.

26 David Ogilvy (1911-1999) was an advertising executive who set up his own agency in 1949 called Ogilvy, Benson and Mather
(later Ogilvy and Mather and in recent times Ogilvy.) Ogilvy wrote seminal books on advertising (the first in 1963) and his
philosophy is still referred to in present day advertising practice. Details here: http://www.ogilvy.com. Leo Burnett established the
agency that bore his name in 1935. Details here: http://www.leoburnett.com. Hathaway Shirts is an American shirt manufacturer
founded in 1837. Hathaway advertising featured a man with an eye patch from 1951 onwards. He became known as "the man in the
Hathaway shirt".

27 Bill Bernbach (1911-1982) along with his colleagues James Doyle and Maxwell Dane established Doyle Dane Bernbach (known
as DDB) in 1949. The agency was based on the premise that creativity is the key to persuasion. The often-cited quote from

Meanwhile in London, older establishment photographers such as Norman Parkinson, who had pioneered shooting on location in the 1940s, became overshadowed by "The Black Trinity" (his own definition) of the younger, rougher and cooler Terence Donovan, Brian Duffy and David Bailey.[28] Their documentary style of photography redolent of the 'swinging sixties' used faster and more portable 35mm photography on the street (see example in figure 1.10). It was popular not just with advertisers but also with fashion companies. The 1960s saw the advertising industry seeking to understand how the consumer thought and felt, as well as behaved (this sense of manipulation drew further critique). The role of the Account Planner was established as an important part of the creative process.[29] Driven by account planning departments forming in agencies, the advertising industry sought to connect with society in new ways. Therefore, new representations of gender roles and ethnicity began to appear in advertising photography. Also, during the 1960s in the UK, the publishing industry started printing magazines in full colour. *The Sunday Times Colour Section* was launched in 1962, followed by similar publications in *The Observer* and *The Telegraph*. Later magazines also started appearing targeted at specific audiences, for example *19 Magazine* aimed at teenagers was launched in 1968. Magazines became vehicles for colour photography and advertising also fully adopted colour imagery that resonated with the look of the magazines.[30]

During the 1970s, artistic sophistication became an increasing aim of advertising photography. This was typified in the campaign poster created for the Conservative party that was regarded as the image that won the 1979 general election (figure 1.11) and marked the transition from informational to creative imagery.

Bernbach encapsulates this: "Advertising is fundamentally persuasion and persuasion happens to be not a science, but an art". (Sobieszek 1988:97) Bernbach's best-known work is the 1959 campaign for Volkswagen Beetle using the copy "Think Small".

28 Norman Parkinson (1913-1990) started out as a royal photographer, joining the RAF as a reconnaissance photographer during the second world war. He worked closely with Vogue magazine until 1963, then becoming a freelance photographer.(Roberts 2013).Terence Donovan (1936-1996), Brian Duffy (1933-2010) and David Bailey (1938-) shot studio portraiture but are best known for being part of the 'swinging sixties', visualizing the activity and energy of 1960s London.

29 The account planner analyses consumer research data for the creative department, interpreting feelings and motivations to guide the creative team. The account planner creates the creative brief in the advertising agency. The 'account planner' is attributed to Tony Stead at J Walter Thompson in 1968 but it was the British agency Boase Massimi Politt (1968 to 2004 before being renamed as DDB London) that is considered as the agency that established the planning department. (Tungate, 2007).

30 In this respect, the launch of the *Sunday Times Colour Section* in 1962 established creative colour advertising photography in the UK. While the magazine promoted high quality photography and photographers, advertisers were influenced to produce high quality images. The reputation of the *Sunday Times magazine* is still one of quality photography in 2018.

Figure 1.10 Aquascutum Advertising 1960. Photograph by Brian Duffy. Source:
www.duffyphotographer.com.

Figure 1.11 Conservative Party advertising 1979. Photograph by Bob Cramp. Source:
Advertising Archives.

The period that I have selected as a case study begins in 1979 because it marks the start of an era that creative photographers were keen to work with advertising clients as the visual became increasingly more conceptually framed. Into the 1980s, young people brought up on visual culture, characterized by fast moving and highly evocative visuals favoured by media such as the newly launched MTV channel, felt that reading text advertisements was old fashioned (Leiss, Kline, Jhally and Botterill 2005).[31] Advertising practice changed with the changing audience and has seen a continual evolution towards image-dominant advertisements with little extra explanatory text. As one of the advertising creative directors I interviewed commented: "Three hundred words of body copy used to be seen as effort, then there was a belief that photography worked" (Rory Sutherland, interview 2013). This is the point at which I will continue the timeline by describing the connection between what can be 'seen' in advertising imagery and what is currently less 'seen' i.e. what was happening in advertising photographic practice. Although this summary of nearly one hundred years of advertising photographic history can be little more than a sketch here, it is a crucial overview to demonstrate how the visual language of advertising has evolved as it has been influenced by social and technological change. This evolution is fundamental to the thesis that follows.

1.2 Advertising Photography as a Highly-Regulated form of Creativity

Before I move on to the body of the thesis, I should add a coda here, for advertising photography is the most regulated and monitored form of public photography. If creativity in advertising photography is constrained by the client brief, the photographer must also, and importantly, abide by the restrictions placed on him/her by the design of the advertisement, both legally and in terms of the industry's own codes of conduct concerning forms of representation, transparency and privacy for instance. Advertising photographers are subject to the Advertising Standards Code, which is included in employment contracts. The Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) is the governing body that administers the code in the UK, set up in 1961 to regulate the claims that advertisements make. The ASA has the power to cancel an advertisement if consumers complain about the imagery and ban the agency from buying media space or entering industry awards.[32]

31 The TV channel MTV (Music Television) was launched in 1981, focusing on music videos.

32 According to the ASA, in 2016, they received 29,000 complaints and 4,584 advertisements were removed or changed. Any consumer has the right to complain to the ASA if an advertisement is deemed offensive, harmful or misleading. Print adverts are withdrawn if complaints are received. Agencies remove advertisements as soon as the ASA becomes involved because of the power that they wield. Regulations are also being established regarding re-touching and editing in advertising photography. In other photographic genres (particularly photojournalism and documentary photography), image manipulation is an ethical issue but photo manipulation has been integral to advertising photography since its beginning. However the widespread use of Adobe Photoshop and similar programs in recent years has resulted in laws being put in place to protect the consumer. For example, in France, from

There are also legal obligations that photographers must adhere to when shooting advertising photography. For instance, unlike other photographic genres, people and places that appear in the image must be pre-authorised. Permission is sought to photograph people, whether a professional model or not and the location in which the photograph is taken must also be cleared through written permission.[33] Advertising photographers are expected to uphold the integrity and ethics of professional practice and these checks are imposed to ensure that everyone involved understands the purpose of the photo shoot. Additionally, a wide audience that includes the trade media and the mainstream media sees print advertising, so issues such as plagiarism and misrepresentation are quickly identified and vilified.[34] In summary, advertising imagery receives considerable attention from regulators, lawyers and the public.

1st October 2017, any retouched photograph of a model's body in an advertisement must have a caption that alerts the viewer to that fact. While the impact of this legislation is occurring too late for my own research, future researchers can assess how the relationship between the advertiser and the viewer will change once this is in force and more importantly, how photographic practice reacts creatively to the restriction. Full details about the Advertising Standards Authority can be found at: http://www.asa.org.uk.

33 All locations outdoors or indoors require a shoot permit from the local council to prove that the photo shoot is bone fide. The owner or representative of a location must also sign and be witnessed signing a property release prior to the shoot. Equally all adults (and parents/guardians representing minors) go through a similar process, signing a model release. In addition, working and licenced animals require property releases and all featured art work, trademarks or copyrighted design has to be pre-cleared with the rights holders.

34 For example, a 2015 campaign from Protein World was universally vilified by consumers despite being cleared by the ASA in the UK. Available here: https://www.theguardian.com. [Accessed 1st July 2015].

2. LOCATING CREATIVE PRACTICE – A LITERATURE REVIEW

Whilst the advertising photographer's process is key to my research, there is neither breadth nor depth in the study of advertising photographic practice. Nonetheless, this absence is itself situated within dominant and characteristic writing on advertising. Thus, to situate my work, I review relevant existing studies and summarise how specific publications have informed my research, despite the absence I have noted, addressing the more extensive literature that analyses advertising imagery. As Creativity is the pillar that is present throughout my thesis, it is the concept that I focus on here. I begin with a review of the broader literature on creativity, progressing to the study of creative professional processes in advertising agencies, examining the relative merits of different methodological approaches. I also examine the study of creatives and creativity to determine how the literature has approached understanding professional practitioners which informs my model. Creative measurement and success, particularly through visually analysing advertisements are assessed. I will draw in additional literature as relevant in all chapters.

2.1 The Study of Creativity

As McStay notes in the introduction to *Creativity and Advertising*:

> …from an outsider's point of view, the idea that advertising is creative might come as a surprise, particularly given that our reaction to the majority of advertising, at best, tends towards indifference. (2013:1)

However, the term is synonymous with professional advertising practice, with awards going to the most creative campaigns, the trade press (such as *Campaign* magazine) constantly discussing and industry conferences focusing on debates about creativity. Creativity is widely associated with any activity that is 'creative' and is defined through two measures: Creativity as an individual trait and creativity as an achievement through something created. (Eysenck 1994). In broad terms, creativity is discussed as a positive human attribute across all academic disciplines. There is no school of thought that argues against or views creativity as a negative attribute. Creativity is defined as the use of the imagination to create something original, however creativity in professional practice must also abide by industry regulations and norms of presentation. Creativity in professional practice is necessarily original (within the parameters of the commercial world) but also appropriate (it must be relevant to the audience it is addressing and must meet the client brief).

The definition referenced in most substantial advertising texts since 2000 originated with Amabile (1996, 2013).[35] Amabile is also cited by well-respected researchers in the field of creativity such as Csikszentmihalyi (1996), Sternberg (1999) and Runco (2014). Csikszentmihalyi's seminal work on creativity and what he terms as "flow" (the definition of optimal creative experience) are referenced widely. Runco and Sternberg have both published handbooks that cover a broad range of research in creativity. But it is Amabile's specificity about the need for the creative response to be "appropriate" that makes it significant to the definition for professional practice:

> Although the response must be new, it cannot be merely different; the nonsensical speech of a schizophrenic may be novel, but few would consider it creative. Thus, the response must also be appropriate to the task to be completed or the problem to be solved; that is, it must be valuable, correct, feasible, or somehow fitting to a particular goal. (Amabile, 2013:134).

The appropriateness factor resonates because advertising relies on a form of *applied creativity*. It serves a commercial purpose and as such has restraints put on it in the form of budgets and deadlines. As academic-practitioner Gordon White states in the first issue of the *Journal of Advertising*, advertising creativity has "…one frustrating peculiarity. It is creativity on demand, so to speak. Creativity within strict parameters. Creativity with a deadline". (White 1972:29). White named creativity the "x factor in advertising" in the same article and it has been regarded as such throughout advertising industry discourse. As a result, the study of creativity in advertising has examined how creativity is discussed publicly. For example, George Zinkhan's (1993) analysis of 15 years of the *Journal of Advertising* found only five articles on creativity between 1977 and 1992, but more recently El-Murad and West's (2004) wider-ranging study of the ABI/INFORM Global database found an increase in such articles between 1985 and 1995, a decrease in the late 1990s and renewed interest from 2001 to 2003 (the parameters of the study).[36] Zinkhan argued that the decrease in the number of articles was the result of practitioners unwillingness to submit articles about creativity because of intensifying competition in the advertising industry. The growth in research in more recent years would suggest therefore that practitioners are more open to discussing idea generation processes and the significance of creativity in client work.

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35 Psychologist Teresa Amabile (1950-) is Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business School in the USA and has published widely on creativity in individuals and in the context of organisations.

36 El Murad and West used different data points to Zinkhan, combining either "creative" or "creativity" with the keyword "marketing" when searching the database, rather than simply "advertising" as Zinkhan had done.

I would also argue here that there is a rise in the number of practitioners willing to discuss creativity when the economy is declining. The advertising industry relies on advertisers' willingness to spend on campaigns and this is naturally affected when the economy is receding and means that advertising practice must compete more fiercely. As is evidenced in the studies above, the period up until 1992 was prosperous (when there were fewer articles), as was the late 1990s. The rise in articles in 2001 to 2003 corresponds with a more difficult economic climate. However, within practice, the importance of creativity does not change. As marketing academics Ashley and Oliver's (2010) study of 120 creative leader interviews in *The Wall Street Journal* from 1977 to 2007 found, while there are trends in the way advertising is discussed (influenced by changing media and technologies), there is consistency in the belief in the importance of creativity over the 30-year period.[37] This is worth examining further so I will examine the practitioner belief in creativity as opposed to the influence on advertising of the economy and other external factors in chapter four.

2.2 Studying the Advertising Creative Process

The term 'creative process' is used widely in advertising, both applied to individuals and in a collaborative setting. An advertiser looks to the advertising agency to solve a problem for them, such as increasing sales, increasing brand awareness or introducing a new product to market. This problem forms the brief that advertising agencies work to. Once an agency is in receipt of the brief, the creative process starts. Within advertising practice, the creative process is the most important part of the larger system because it is when the ideas are generated. The practitioners responsible for the creative process are usually a partnership of art director (responsible for visuals) and copywriter (responsible for words/text). Collectively they are referred to as the creative team or simply as 'creatives'. Given the centrality of this theme in my research, I am going first to consider the literature and thus position my own work in this field.

Previous research into creative processes is largely based on interviews and observational methodologies. Historically, this research has come out of advertising, marketing and business management research, focusing mainly on social and political systems inside advertising agencies. For example, Mondroski, Reid and Russell (1983) observed an agency team (the creative team and the account handlers) conducting a decision analysis throughout the process,

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37 Ashley and Oliver's study builds on Reid, King and DeLorme's (1998) study of the creative professional's view of creativity over their own careers. Reid et al (1998) analysed questionnaires from 83 top-level advertising creatives and found that 71% believed creativity had stayed the same or increased. They admit to being surprised because many of their respondents had been working in advertising during the "creative revolution" of the 1960s when advertising was deemed to be highly creative (Fox 1984). But this could be another example of practitioners protecting a craft they are still actively involved in.

and concluded that ideas get "lost in translation" when relayed through the account handler and that creative knowledge is firmly placed within the creative team. Hirschman's (1989) study of roles in advertising creation concludes that the definition of success is a matter of opinion depending on who is interviewed within an advertising agency. [38] This suggests a division between creatives and their own agency, as well as between the agency and the client.

A later study by Kelly, Lawlor and O'Donohoe (2005) observed an Irish advertising agency over seven weeks, conducting five interviews about the idea generation process, finding that creatives must regularly deal with the conflict between aesthetics and commerce as they argue for their ideas with non-creatives in the agency and clients.[39] As Sean Nixon's (2003) study of sociological cultures in the advertising industry found, creatives also play on their role, dressing more casually and working in unorthodox ways to distinguish their artistic practice from business management in the rest of the agency.

Turnbull and Wheeler's (2015) study of British agencies used interviews as a single methodology to reveal how the whole agency works together to create advertising. By mapping the advertising process, Turnbull and Wheeler attempt to make the inner workings of the agency explicit. The findings of the study, the result of interviewing 21 agency practitioners from creative and account management departments, indicated that the whole process is made up of 24 "sequentially linked stages" from brief to final advertisement. Presented in a detailed flowchart, Turnbull and Wheeler's research brings a deeper understanding to how advertising practitioners operate and demonstrates how advertising is produced by the advertising practitioner. It is a comprehensive illustration of the process but, as they acknowledge, more examination is needed of the idea generation process. In chapter five, I employ Turnbull and Wheeler's flowchart as I extend the analysis of creativity that is central to my thesis. While in advertising history there have been art directors that were also photographers, most often, the art director collaborates with a photographer to create imagery.[40]

In the last 20 years, more studies have specifically addressed the creative process through observational methods. Although, the study of creative process tends to stop short of third party collaboration (such as photographers or film makers) I have reviewed the methodology used to

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38 There are a number of comparison studies about implicit theories in creative teams versus the rest of the agency: Hackley (2002), Vanden Bergh et al (1986) and Kover (1995).

39 There is a rich seam of research on the dynamics of the advertiser-agency relationship. Although beyond the parameters of my research, I acknowledge them here: Verbeke (1988), Wackman et al (1987), Holtz et al (1982), research on issues within the relationship (Michell et al, 1992, Buchanan and Michell, 1991, Doyle et al, 1980).

40 In contrast, whereas the copywriter is responsible for generating the idea and producing the copy. The art director-photographer relationship cannot be conflated in the same way.

study advertising processes to inform my own research. Johar, Holbrook and Stern (2001) created the creative process in a replicated scenario with five creative teams in a New York advertising agency. The process is condensed into a two-hour period and follows the creative teams from the briefing to the final advertisement for a fictitious soda brand. Despite three independent advertising experts judging the results and retrospectively analysing the processes of the successful teams, Johar et al's findings are inconclusive, merely recommending that the study be replicated on a larger scale.[41] Johar et al's conclusions highlight the limitations of observational studies of idea generation. The study of the external actions of creative practitioners cannot elucidate how internal thought processes work in the creative environment.[42]

In response to the weakness in the observational method, Malefyt and Morais (2012) building on their earlier anthropological studies (Malefyt and Moeran, 2003, Moeran, 1996) take an ethnographic approach, interviewing practitioners and drawing on personal professional experience to understand the creative process.[43] Gathering data through participant observation, Malefyt and Morais argue that a broader understanding of the practice brings more insight than a purely academic approach because understanding motivations and emotions in idea generation is more abstract and requires personal professional experience: "there remains a lacuna in the body of literature that includes insider perspectives on the advertising industry from the practitioner's point of view" (Malefyt and Morais 2012:7). This ethnographic-practitioner approach offers a more robust methodology through which to examine internal thought processes. Malefyt and Morais found that creatives do not generate ideas in fixed places such as at home or 'third places' away from the office. Instead, ideas are generated during "transitional times and places" while riding a bike, walking the dog, commuting to work etc.[44] This reflects my own practice and further represents what works within my own circumstances as I outlined in the Preface, but it is only replicable by experienced practitioners conducting academic research.[45] It is where "knowing from the inside" is most pertinent.

Most researchers however, study idea generation from an external viewpoint. This approach, although positioned as objective, has proven to create an impenetrable response. Design

41 As of 2018, this has not yet been realised.

42 As Johar et al noted, the exact same creative teams act differently and change their process for a different brief on a different day. Equally, professional factors may come into play that are not visible to the observer, such as working history, inter-team competitiveness or the desire to impress a more experienced colleague. These factors are only identifiable to a peer practitioner or through in-depth interviews.

43 Morais has been an account manager and Malefyt, an account planner. (2012:3) Moeran (1996) is an anthropologist based in an advertising agency.

44 This is the "between-ness" that creativity scholar Margaret Boden refers to, borrowing the phrase "bed, bath and bus" from the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (Boden,2004:25).

45 Malefyt and Morais state that they are not aware of any other researcher within the field who has both viewpoints.

researcher Nigel Cross (2011) interviewed designers to discuss their processes.[46] He concluded that designers tend to talk only about the outcome *of* design and not the activity of *doing* design. Cross went as far as to say that some designers are "wilfully obscure" about thought processes, using the example of Philippe Starck, who stated that ideas came to him "magically, as if from nowhere" (Cross 2011:7).[47] This evasive approach protects the craft of the professional practitioner because it does not give away the secret of creativity. The media researcher Andrew McStay (2013) argues that the illusion of a magical process also protects the creative practitioner from the client.[48] The creative process is "sold to clients as a form of magic that cannot be attained through logical means. After all, if it were a followable method, everyone would be doing it." (McStay 2013:10). Malefyt's (2017) later examination of advertising agency creatives further argues that the aura of the magical is perpetuated by the practitioners themselves. Like magicians, advertising creatives maintain the myth that idea generation is unaccountable but is where the magic happens. Magic is the opposite of the "followable method" that McStay notes.

Similarly, Arthur Kover's (1995) study of the explanations from 20 copywriters surmises that practitioners are defensive about their own ideas which then influences how they talk about their work. However, when explaining the creative process (a followable method as Turnbull and Wheeler have affirmed) or reviewing another practitioner's work, they are less defensive and talk more freely. To this end, McStay (2013) further analyses publications and compares practitioner's public statements about creativity with their informal conversations, arguing that an informal discussion is more likely to reveal true beliefs than a formal interview where "agency dogma" will pervade.[49] In this respect, the researcher is constrained by the interviewee's generosity in describing their personal work practices. Interviews are less objective and are subject to issues such as respondent performance and are more dependent on the interview-interviewee dynamic, for example, within my research, I found that interview responses were influenced by professional pride. There are advertising practitioners that have published on advertising and creativity because they have built up practice acknowledged credibility. For example, David Ogilvy and John Hegarty have both published "how to books" titled: *Ogilvy on*

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46 Design is a field of professional practice like advertising. Designers work for a client, to a deadline and are judged on creative outcome.

47 Philippe Starck (1949-) is a well-known French designer who works in architecture, furniture and homeware, amongst other industries. His best known pieces of design are the Kartell Louis Ghost chair and the Alessi Juicy Salif Citrus Squeezer.

48 Research that requested creative practitioners to describe what they felt was their tacitly learned process yielded worse results than if the practitioners were left to action upon their tacit knowledge without explanation. (Reber 1989).

49 Frustratingly McStay gives no acknowledgement to the practitioners he spoke with to put this in context. I would argue here that all published work by creative practitioners promotes their creativity by naming other practitioners that are seen as being creative equals. For example, advertising practitioners will promote creatives that have come before, such as Bernbach and Ogilvy but do not reference peers or younger creatives.

Advertising (1983) and *Hegarty on Advertising* (2011). [50] The practitioner published work is usually a first-person view on how advertising 'should be done'. The publications most quoted in professional practice are by individuals seen within practice as having a superstar reputation. As Chris Hackley (2000) found in a study of the management of advertising agencies, superstar creatives have special status within the organization. It is also true within the industry that the same names are referenced regularly.

Studies of success in advertising practice, focusing on the measures of creativity have also found that personality and personal style can affect success. Kover, Goldberg and James (1995) argue that an enduring theory of the "indefinable creative genius" remains in practice. Through interviews with seven advertising copywriters in American agencies, Hackley and Kover (2007) describe the stereotype of an advertising creative as "a genius or a maverick" who is "quirky", "insecure", "brash" and "brilliant" but they also note that there are very few accounts of the "subjective experience of being a creative professional" (2007:63). In other words, Hackley and Kover call for more insight into the daily life of creative professionals who are not superstars. To address this, although one of the advertising creatives I interviewed has published two books (Steel 2007/1998), my chosen interviewees are accomplished but not known as superstars. Equally, the photographer interviewees are highly experienced and successful but are not superstars in photographic practice. This was a conscious decision to enable me to understand how the hierarchy of creativity works, how practitioners view each other and who they respect in photography.

2.3 Creativity and the Professional Practitioner

Arriving at an unassailable definition or process for attaining creativity is the objective of both the practice itself and research that analyses it. The most compelling definitions come from a survey of 239 advertising practitioners from creative departments in the USA. Mark Stuhlfaut and Chan Yun Yoo (2013) pose a single question, asking practitioners for a situated opinion: "What everyone in your agency thinks is the one quality necessary for creativity in advertising" The results, although by no means categorical (at 13.4% and 13% of responses respectively), show that practitioners view "original" *and* "attention-getting" as the qualities most associated with creativity. This demonstrates the way in which practitioners are preoccupied with their own responsibility of having creativity. Professional interest had been highlighted as paramount in West, Kover and Caruana's (2008) comparison of practitioner and public views in the assessment

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50 David Ogilvy (1911-1999) founder of the advertising agency Ogilvy, Benson and Mather in 1949, later becoming The Ogilvy Group owned by the WPP group since 1989. Sir John Hegarty (1944-) founder of the advertising agency Bartle Bogle Hegarty in 1982.

of television advertising. West et al found that practitioner definitions of creativity are more concerned with appropriateness and relevance than the public's view (although both groups defined creativity based on its originality).[51] Koslow, Sasser and Riordan (2003) found that "appropriateness" can be defined further within practice itself. Through interviews and focus groups with different agency departments, Koslow et al find that job roles affect the perception of creativity. Where the account managers' perception of creativity relates appropriateness to strategy, creatives relate appropriateness to artistry.

As discussed, appropriateness is a central element of creative idea generation and the depiction of creativity in advertising creation. It is a practitioner-held notion and relates to how he/she or peer creatives respond to a brief. It is important to draw out here because creative practice often requires that creatives generate ideas from very similar creative briefs (especially if the agency has worked with a client over several years. There is repetition in creating annual campaigns).[52] Appropriateness is especially important when considering advertising imagery, depicting the briefed scenario whilst also displaying high creativity is a characteristic that I will discuss in detail in chapters four and five. There are also influences beyond the external that affect the outcome. These are internal to the creative process and have a social aspect. As Amabile (1996) determines, there is no constant of creativity within one domain or even within one individual practitioner. To put it another way, creativity is not a skill that always produces the same level of results because it is influenced by the social environment of an individual or within wider practice. Creativity occurs when all components align. This componential theory of creativity also takes into consideration internal influences such as expertise, motivation and the enjoyment of the task that might influence the level of creativity imbued in the final advertisement. In more recent years, researchers have been focusing more intently on defining practitioners' mental modes of creativity to understand how outcomes are affected. A study that particularly informs my own research and that I will discuss in more detail in chapter four, is by advertising researchers Nyilasy, Canniford and Kreshel (2013). Their findings from 30 in-depth interviews with high level advertising executives in the USA suggests that creativity is viewed as "conceptual innovativeness" or "artistic craft" but importantly there is a negative counterpoint which is represented in formulaic or clichéd ideas.

Nyilasy et al (2013) found that interviewees believe the formulaic ideas were created, not because of a failing in the agency's creativity or a lack of craft on their part but because of the client's unwillingness to take a risk, the client is fearful of creativity. Nyilasy et al's interviewees believe

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51 75% of practitioners attributed appropriateness to creativity whereas only 52% of the public did.

52 For example, most retail advertisers run seasonal campaigns at Christmas, fashion advertisers run a spring/summer campaign and an autumn/winter campaign every year. It is also known in practice that travel advertisers run campaigns in January every year.

that the "worst attribute of a client is fear" (Nyilasy et al, 2013:1700). Conversely therefore, "conceptually innovative" advertising is the result of a client who is willing to take a risk. Risk is something I will discuss in chapter seven as it is also linked to the perception that photographers have of agency art directors.[53]

2.4 Creative Practitioners – Measuring Themselves and Others

The creative practitioner may have internal measures to assess ideas. However, there is an understanding across advertising practice that the indication of a practitioner's creativity is evident in the work they produce. Creatives view their work as a communication vehicle for promoting their own talents and personal career goals (Hirschman, 1989). Therefore, if peer practitioners deem the work to be creative, the practitioner is also seen as creatively successful.

The final advertisement is judged on how well it fits the overall client brief (which could be attributed to the work of several people in the agency), but the creative receives personal credibility, as Hackley and Kover summarise:

> Creatives need the approval of clients and account executives, but this kind of approval is merely necessary to keep their jobs. The approval they seek is from peers in advertising who share their aesthetic sense. Industry awards are a powerful source of peer approval, as well as professional networking. A creative award confirms that the winner works to a set of values that are more valued than those of the advertising business alone. And, unlike everyday work, creative awards are permanent. (Hackley and Kover 2007:68).

Cultural economist Andy Pratt's (2006) interviews with eight UK based advertising agencies found that peer regard was a measure of success because practitioners know each other (owing to the high levels of mobility between agencies in the advertising industry). Additionally, trade publications such as *Campaign* promote creative success such as promotions and creative awards. (Pratt likens the publication to a celebrity gossip magazine.) Because of the "competitive, tight-knit" nature of the advertising industry (Mcleod, O'Donohoe and Townley, 2011), practitioners are aware of who works on which account and who has won awards for their work. Pratt and McLeod et al both touch on the community aspect of creative practice, aligning it closer to craft and Etienne Wenger's (2000) "social learning", i.e. learning through belonging to the practice. I will examine the community of practice in detail in chapter six. This is an important aspect of why practitioners join advertising practice as well as advertising photographic practice. It also partly explains the preponderance of awards for creativity that the advertising industry awards

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53 On the surface, it appears that one practitioner is blaming failings on another but as I will show, the perception goes deeper and is rooted with the client.

itself. In the absence of reliable data to measure advertising effectiveness, the creative skills of agencies are instead measured through the number of creative awards they have received. As cultural researcher Anne Cronin critically states, research into the effects of advertising is given more weight in academia than in practice:

> …the industry operates on a more contingent basis, not so much driving cultural change as responding or reacting to it; not so much actively generating a culture of consumption as defensively promoting agencies' own skills in a crowded, competitive marketplace." (Cronin 2004a:57)[54]

To summarise Cronin's view therefore, it could be argued that advertising production is like the production of any other product in a competitive environment. Practitioners creating advertising seek employment or clients who allow them to create work that wins awards and praise from the wider industry. Tippins and Kunkel (2006) liken winning awards in advertising as having a similar effect to a film winning an Oscar - there is an increase in subsequent interest. Winning awards brings attention to an advertising agency. It is an indicator in the absence of other indicators of success, so an award is often used as the basis for agency self-promotion (El-Murad and West 2003). Awards benefit the agency because they attract new business and boosts the career prospects of the creative team who created the idea. (There are critics in practice who claim that awards are self-congratulatory and advertisements are manufactured specifically to win awards).[55] The pursuit of awards does consume considerable agency resources and the awards system is an industry in itself. The journalist Rupal Parekh (2009) discovered the expense of submitting entries to awards shows as equating to approximately $358 (£231) per submission. There were 9,795 entries to a single awards show (the One Show) in 2009, costing advertising agencies and creating revenue for the awards organisation, of a total of $3.5million (£2.25m).

Cronin's (2004b) interviews with practitioners found that the pursuit of awards, despite the cost, comes from a point of insecurity. [56] The nature of the advertising industry is such that a client can move their account to a competitor at any time, resulting in loss of earnings and redundancies in

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54 On a similar note, Cronin also argues that the academic 'default position' for analysis of advertising texts is that they have commercial and ideological power. However, as she has found, within the industry, the effects of advertising on sales was 'impossible to gauge'. (2004b:342).

55 *Huffington Post* published an article from the founder of a creative agency called Strawberry Frog on 19th February 2016 (Available here: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/scott-goodson/what-is-the-role-of-award_b_9252520.html) calling for a change in the award system that rewards advertisements that have been created to win awards rather than be effective for the client. The article followed on from a similar article in the trade magazine *Campaign* on 13th January 2016 authored by the chief creative officer from the advertising agency DDB Worldwide – a highly awarded agency that will no longer enter awards shows. (Available here: http://www.campaignlive.co.uk/article/end-false-recognitions/1379124).

56 Cronin's theory is based on interviews conducted with account managers, account planners and creatives at five major advertising agencies in London.

the creative team working on that account. Therefore, agencies according to Cronin, cannot base their reputation on previously successful campaigns, they must continually sell the skills of their employees to existing clients, potential clients and to peers within the advertising industry. This creates a perpetual desire for creative awards.[57] The awards system in advertising has therefore received attention from researchers studying creativity measurement.[58]

Several researchers have used award-winning advertisements to compare the practitioner and consumer views of creative advertising. For example: Kover, Goldberg and James (1995) found that consumers did not show a strong preference for award winning campaigns, but responded to advertisements that were personally relevant, indicating how little bearing awards have outside advertising practice.[59] Advertising researchers White and Smith (2001) investigated the differences between consumers and practitioners further, surveying advertising professionals, advertising students and the public to determine how creativity is judged. They found that all groups agreed on how to judge originality but differences emerged as practitioners also judged creativity based on execution. (White and Smith categorised this as the "well-crafted" scale (2001:31)). In other words, the practitioner is interested in the craft of making advertising far more than their audience. I note the importance of awards to advertising practice because it is here that the absence of the photographer is most felt. Credibility and a higher creative status is usually only given to the agency creative team while practices of image making remain invisible.[60]

The measurement of creativity in advertising practice is centred on the "domain expert". This conforms to the theory of creativity that Csikszentmihalyi (1990) asserts, namely that creativity is a social phenomenon where nothing is creative unless it is accepted within the domain of experts. Novices or new creatives look to the practice experts to understand how success is measured and thus will look to emulate their individual success. The measure of an individual

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57 Cronin (2004b) found that the IPA (Institute for Practitioners in Advertising) introduced the Effectiveness Awards in a bid to promote successful advertising campaigns that had increased sales to provide a measurement beyond creativity. (Other industry awards reward creativity, design and art direction.) However, Cronin's respondents stated that the criterion is so rigid that very few advertisements are entered into the awards. The awards therefore have further promoted the difficulty of measuring success in advertising.

58 I will not examine advertising measurement in detail but acknowledge the work that has been conducted: Tippins and Kunkel (2006), Till and Baack (2005), Moriarty (1996), Schweitzer and Hester (1992), Hirschman (1989).

59 In a later study, Kover, James and Sonner (1997) argue it is the consumers' preference that is important in judging creativity ultimately.

60 For example, in 2015, the trade publication *Advertising Age* ranked the top 15 advertising campaigns of the 21st century to date, based on the impact and awards they had won. The Dove "Campaign for Real Beauty" campaign from 2003 was ranked highest. Despite the campaign relying heavily on the images of "real" women, the creative team is acknowledged but the photographer is not. Details here: http://adage.com/lp/top15.

practitioner's success is whether they are deemed to be an expert or not. Sean Nixon's (2006) critique of advertising, attributes the worship of experts or 'superstars' to the nature of the practice. Because creativity is the objective that every creative is hoping to achieve and because it is difficult to measure, the superstar is the epitome of success. Amongst individual practitioners, it could be argued that personal pride and occupational achievement are both tied up in the pursuit of credibility through creativity. Nixon terms this the "cult of creativity", bound in "a narcissism of minor differences" in which creatives try to differentiate themselves from others (Nixon 2006:89).

The superstar creatives, the domain experts are the "gold standard" (Kaufman, Baer and Cole, 2008), know the subject or "domain" and are very familiar with the creative product being produced. The domain experts in advertising are both the practitioners who win awards but are also the practitioners who sit on award juries resulting in a perpetuation of a small number of practitioner views on the definition of creativity. This phenomenon is represented in the results of studies such as Goldenberg, Mazursky and Solomon (1999) who found 90% agreement between expert creatives when asked to rank the top 200 of 500 award winning advertisements in order of creativity.

Reviewing the established literature on creative processes and creativity has revealed that previous studies find a community of practice that reveres creativity above other professional achievements. As a result, the history of advertising is dominated by award winning campaigns. I will therefore examine whether this culture is reflected in advertising photographic practice too and how photographers assert their own creativity in an industry that only rewards the agency creative. This discussion resonated throughout my research and my thesis.

2.5 The Study of Advertising Photography

As shown, there exists a rich seam of research into advertising processes and advertising creativity. However, there is a gap in knowledge about how photographic and advertising practice are held together. It is important to acknowledge the collaboration between the two groups of practitioners, something that I will address throughout.

There are two central studies that are pertinent to my research. Firstly, cultural studies scholar Paul Frosh's (2003) in-depth study of the commercial photographic industry, focusing on the

stock photography industry.[61] Frosh, and photo historian Estelle Blaschke (2016) through a later study of a photo archive, argue that photo agencies have commodified photography through the pursuit of collecting as much as possible and then generating revenue from the collection. I approach stock photography as an intrinsic part of advertising photographic practice because the stock agencies in Frosh and Blaschke's studies have evolved in recent years.[62] There is an ever-growing archive of both news and advertising imagery but equally, the agencies are working on client commissions that include the mainstream media, sporting organisations, fashion companies, commercial brands and advertising agencies.

Frosh introduces his work, identifying the lack of study into commercial photographic production:

> Much of the stimulus for my interpretation of the visual content industry was the surprising absence of research on commercial and advertising photography, whether within historical studies on the medium or among theoretical accounts of its status and impact (Frosh, 2003:3)

Frosh's research is based on primary data gathered from interviews with professional practitioners whilst attending a trade event, (1998 Photo Expo East in New York) and secondary research is gathered through analysis of articles in trade publications such as *Photo District News*, *Communication Arts* or *Creative Review*, among others. Frosh argues that terms such as "creativity" are relevant to the production process but in addition:

> They articulate the continuity between moments by conferring cultural and professional legitimacy and by providing producers, cultural intermediaries and end-users with an authorized vocabulary for the aesthetic and commercial evaluation of images. (2003:16)

In other words, the way in which photography is discussed in commercial practice is also the way it is "governed". Frosh analyses practice from a cultural studies/cultural production viewpoint and argues, similarly to business management scholars, that the understanding of creativity in advertising photography underlies professional practice. This is the insider knowledge I will

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61 As outlined in the Introduction, stock photography is integral to advertising practice and represents a proportion of the advertising photography industry in the 21st century. (The exact percentage is not known because royalty free stock images are disseminated and altered).

62 Frosh and Blaschke study stock photo agencies as archives. The agency that Blaschke studied no longer exists and has been subsumed into Getty Images as an archive. Photo agencies such as Getty Images and Shutterstock offer a number of services in 2018 which includes stock photography but also corporate assignment photography, high end advertising photography and crowd sourced photography.

examine as I trace the career of practitioners in chapter six. Frosh draws heavily from Barbara Rosenblum's 1978 publication: *Photographers at Work*, which is the second study of photographic practitioners that informs my research. It is dated but still a relevant insider account of advertising photography conducted through an ethnographic participant observation study.[63] Rosenblum's approach to studying practice and practitioners is closest to my own and is unique. As Frosh surmises, it is a single piece of research in "the scholarly void" (Frosh 2003:51) in its analysis of the social relations involved in the production of advertising imagery. Rosenblum interviews and observes advertising photographers while they work, noting the collaboration between agency creative and photographer but also studying how that relationship works during the photoshoot. I will return to Rosenblum's study in section 4.6 as I define creativity in professional photographic practice.

2.6 Established Methodologies for Analysing Advertising Imagery

In this section, I will briefly address the emphasis on reading the advertising image, defined as the "text". The issue that the study of the advertising texts raises for contemporary scholars is, as I have noted, that the tradition is rooted in academia with little regard for practice and practitioners. This is reflected in Cronin's (2004b) study of advertising agencies that also found that the power of analysing advertising 'texts' is deemed to be much stronger in academia than amongst practitioners. As a result, the study of advertising imagery is conducted from a distance, often from a critical viewpoint, separated from the practice that creates it.

Semiology is the method typically used when analysing advertising. While a detailed technical discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis, its techniques resonate through my account. Semiology (or semiotics) is a broad field of study that entire theses are written about. It offers a compelling methodology for studying advertising imagery because it focuses on close reading. Rooted in the work of Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce from the late 19th and early 20th centuries, it is a theoretical framework for assessing symbolism. Put simply, semiology is the study of signs and is concerned with how signs and symbols are used in communication. In advertising, semiologists study how signs are used to sell products. The study of advertising came to prominence in the 1978 publication titled *Decoding Advertisements* by the cultural historian Judith Williamson. [64] Williamson used semiological analysis to reveal how the

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63 Rosenblum compares news, fine art and advertising photography, analysing how the work is organized and how the photographer perceives their own work. Rosenblum immersed herself in the world of photography for four years observing 17 photographers.

64 Later semiological studies on advertising include: Hall (1980), Dyer (1982), Hodge and Kress (1988), Ball and Smith (1992), Goldman (1992), Bal (1996) and Bal and Bryson (2001). Also of note, although I will not discuss in detail, is the use of visual rhetoric analysis in the study of advertising imagery. Visual rhetoric analysis also decodes images but is concerned with the

advertising viewer creates meaning by associating imagery with emotions and experience. She disagreed with the way advertising imagery influences the viewer to question his/her own social world and to look for ways to differentiate themselves as brands do. (The implication is that differentiation comes about through the consumption of products). Williamson's publication is the most referenced work on signs in advertising because it was the first to analyse advertising images closely and provide many visual examples. The strength of the study is in the number of advertising examples provided (130) and while the terminology is difficult, the advertisements provide an interesting visual account. However, the selection of sample images is the biggest criticism levelled at both Williamson and semiology as a methodology. Prominence is given to certain images but no account is given as to how or from where the images were selected. There is no explicit method which implies that sampling is based on self-selection rather than rigorous procedure.[65] So, while the decoding (and indeed encoding) of an image is relevant to my own study, self-selecting advertisements to represent an argument is contrary to my own belief that theory should come *out* of the advertising sample. Matthew Soar (2006) also calls for more study into encoding; understanding the process from within cultural production rather than relying on analysis through semiology.[66] Soar challenges Williamson's lack of acknowledgement of "authorship" and, as Williamson herself states:

> Obviously, people invent and produce adverts, but apart from the fact that they are unknown and faceless, the ad in any case does not claim to speak from them, it is not their speech. (Williamson, 1978:14)

This dismissal of advertising practice is something I will address with my own methodology.

In more recent years, theorists analysing advertising photography have disregarded semiology as over-determined. Researchers have used several methodological approaches such as content analysis, discourse analysis and art criticism.[67] However, the three studies that have influenced

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effecton the audience: Scott (1994), Forceville (1996), Toncar and Munch (2001), Phillips and McQuarrie (2002), McQuarrie and Phillips (2005).

65 Studies that follow Williamson's semiological method also lack a clear methodology. For example, in Goldman's (1992) study of television advertisements, there is also no indication as to how examples were chosen for analysis. Goldman simply states that he had been watching television advertisements for a decade.

66 Soar is a cultural studies researcher but had a short career in advertising practice

67 Content analysis: Manstead and McCullogh (1981), Moriarty (1987), Gross and Sheth (1989), Kolber and Albanese (1996). Discourse analysis: Cook (2001), McAllister (1996). Art or literary analysis: Stern (1993), Stern and Schroeder (1994), Bergstrom (2008).

my own research methods, use a hybrid approach. The first by communication theorists Leiss, Kline, Jhally and Botterill (2005) combine semiology with content analysis to provide an unparalleled account of advertising practice in North America over more than 100 years (from 1890-2000).

Leiss et al's focus is on social communication in advertising, analysing changes in advertising formats and broader advertising techniques. While the research focuses on media technology, consumer culture and the agency system, Leiss et al discuss the practitioner only briefly. There is no connection made to the practitioner other than quotes from other research studies. Despite a large and dense publication, there is no primary interview data with advertising practitioners. However, Leiss et al's study does offer a methodology for analysing advertising on a large scale. Leiss et al initially adopted content analysis to analyse the large number of advertisements in the study. In total 15,000 magazine advertisements are assessed from two Canadian general interest magazines: *Macleans* and *Chatelaine* from 1908 to 1984. The authors and a team of analysts worked on the sample. The process of interpretation is described at every stage (Leiss et al note that their protocol took five years to devise). The magazines were chosen to ensure a good coverage of the general population and because they remained popular throughout the 76-year period. The final sample was limited to: smoking, automobile, clothing, food, personal care, alcoholic products and corporate advertisements. All were deemed to be evident across the whole sample. Leiss et al then adopted a semiological methodology to identify the use of person, product, setting and text. Advertisements analysed in depth are those that are chosen because they are, in Leiss et al's terms, 'representative' of the whole for an era. This is a more rigorous selection criterion than Williamson's 1978 study for example but the researchers give little visual representation of the 15,000 advertisements analysed and do not date examples that are shown, making it difficult to analyse the historical shifts in photography.

As Leiss et al argue, there is a middle ground between semiotics and content analysis that uses the advantages of each methodology. Content analysis can only 'unpack' the surface meaning of the advertisement because the sample size is much larger. However, the information obtained from semiotic analysis then applied to the whole sample, offers a more rigorous method for identifying similarities in 'codes'. This method allows the analyst to ascertain different elements of the code that are not necessarily visually identical but have the same conceptual meaning. This accords with my own research and provides a foundation for studying advertising imagery on a large scale that I have built upon, (as will be discussed in the following chapter).

The second study is Jib Fowles' (1996) cultural studies theory of advertising. Fowles calls for a study of advertising that does not come from a critical standpoint, instead looking at how advertising uses symbols in the *encoding* process, therefore acknowledging that advertising

photography is the most intentionally 'encoded' of all photographic genres. Fowles criticises the semiotic tradition for its concern with decoding symbols whereas he studies symbols in advertising through an acknowledgement of the practitioners that create them:

> The typical advertisement or commercial is the professional product of highly skilled and exacting craftspeople and, as such, presents a perfectly polished, opaque surface to the reader or viewer. Yet such perfection is only an illusion, a camouflage so well wrought that it deflects scrutiny of the churning dynamics lying below and beyond. (Fowles 1996:77)

Fowles offers a methodology for deciphering advertisements using a 23-step process. The methodology is semiotic in that it decodes symbolic meaning but brings discussion about the intentions of the practitioner into the analysis. Fowles recognises the producer as the maker of meaning where other researchers have not. The first three steps require the definition of context (where the advertisement is placed and who is the intended audience). While the other 20 steps are very intricate, they do offer a methodology for encoding and decoding advertising imagery.[68] So, although not cited within practice, Fowles practice-considerate approach offers a method for analysing advertising imagery similar to the methods I use within my own practice. For this reason, I will draw on Fowles' approach in my own methodology.

The third study is Richards, MacRury and Botterill's (2000) social sciences study of advertising. Like Leiss et al (2005), they plot the changes in advertisement content over a 50-year period. The sample is from car and personal banking advertising.[69] Richards et al also develop a hybrid methodology to studying a large sample of 1249 advertisements using content analysis and a case study approach (which involved a more detailed analysis of selected advertisements). The coding work is very detailed, with 48 codes applied to the content of the advertisement and analysis of finer details such as the number plate in car advertising. Richards et al provide a detailed summary of their content analysis that provides a template for future researchers to build upon.

I note Richards et al here because it is the only substantial historical study of British advertising and because their findings are closely aligned with my own. Richards et al examine trends in visual codes across decades that relate to the practical (rational values and utility), social (which includes social and cultural values such as family or concern for the environment) and sensual

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68 Fowles' analytical framework asks questions such as: "Considering the aesthetics of the composition, is there any reason why the ad is structured the way it is? What is the overall mood of the ad?"

69 Richards et al originally chose milk advertising as the second sample but were unable to find enough examples to produce a dataset. The rationale was to study two different industries. Personal banking was selected instead.

(physical and aesthetic experiences). Leiss et al contain their advertising trends in neat categories – for example, the rational/utility code is confined to 1890-1910, personification 1950-1960 and lifestyle from 1970 to 1980. Richards et al study the dominant codes and find that they vary depending on the product category and increase and decrease depending on macroeconomics. For example, Richards found in banking advertising that there had been a rise in practical values since the 1950s (due to the rise in products and the introduction of new technologies), social values peaked in the 1950s and sensual values were constant across all years, with a slight rise during the "unmoderated hedonistic ethos of the 1980s" (Richards et al, 2000:213). Both studies are wide ranging but neither recognises the practitioner in their large-scale studies.[70] I reference Richards et al and Leiss et al at length but acknowledge the weakness in their studies.

2.7 Summarising the Literature

Finding a methodology for my research practice was integral to the research itself. The account of the literature is laid out because it shaped my final processes. The study of advertising production considers the practitioner. This is evident in the number of studies into creativity in professional practice that have been conducted in more recent years (especially since the year 2000). However, existing accounts of advertising imagery production mostly fail to recognise the role of the photographic professional. My research fills a gap in the literature by bringing the photographic process into the advertising production process. Additionally, while there is a wide body of research that visually analyses advertising imagery, it is detached from the practice that creates it. While analytical methods have evolved to encompass a hybrid approach, combining close and distant reading of advertising, more work is needed to associate practitioner encoding with decoding methodology. The resulting investigation is discussed in the methods chapter.

Currently there is no research that analyses the photographer view of creativity, how it is integrated into creative processes and then analyses how it influences advertising photography.[71] The next chapter describes the methods used to accomplish this.

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70 Leiss et al's 2005 publication is 636 pages long. The creative team is discussed in a ten page section (p413-423) and focuses on agency inter-departmental conflict.

71 While Frosh assigns a chapter to analysing images of romance, using 599 images from stock photography catalogues from 1987-1999 but fails to include the voice of producer (opting to exclude any data from his interviews) in favour of a textual analysis. Rather than reveal the motivations of the photographic practitioner in the production of romantic images, Frosh instead aligns his findings of gender role depiction to Goffman's Gender Advertisements (1979.) This is a disappointing conclusion to a publication that sets out to bring the voice of the producer to the fore. However, it does acknowledge that the canon of work on advertising imagery is one of textual analysis.

3. METHODS FOR STUDYING ADVERTISING PHOTOGRAPHIC PRACTICE

This chapter outlines the methods that I followed during my examination of advertising photographic practice. The chapter describes how the methods evolved out of my own practice, as well as the findings I generated in my fieldwork. The aim is to provide a clear description of the steps that I followed as my methodology and research practice was integral to the research itself. Any problems I encountered are laid out here critically because the account is shaped inevitably by my processes.

The initial motivation for embarking on the research was to test approaches to analysing advertising imagery. Having studied visual trends in advertising photography since 1996, I viewed this as an opportunity to bring a historical perspective to my professional practice but also to interrogate the methods for analysing commercial images. I had initially intended to analyse advertising over a 30-year period and offer a timeline of visual trends with the aspiration of producing a pictorial history of advertising photography.

Consequently, during the first stage of the research, I examined visual research methods to determine what would generate insights. I have developed a commercial methodology for visually analysing large samples but have not named it. It is a method based on an understanding of how photographic practitioners work and how advertising photography is created. My professional method analyses advertising photography by the subject matter depicted within it. At other times, the analysis is by country or industry (for example travel, finance or auto) to identify how images are used. In my experience, academic research methods such as content analysis or semiology are rarely taken into consideration during professional research. Methods are developed to meet a business objective and are carefully protected to maintain a competitive advantage so, while a business might internally assess and test a method, the process is not shared publicly for other businesses to build upon. For this reason, knowledge remains proprietary unless practitioners move from business to business.[72] Proprietary commercial research focuses solely on professional production while the academic study of advertising imagery does not consider the image producer. This influenced my thinking and changed the emphasis of my thesis during the research process. What I set out to test became more focused on photographic practice to offer an insight into how advertising images are created. As I gathered advertisements and interviewed practitioners, themes became apparent. Here, in what follows, I will first summarise how I approached studying practitioners as it became pivotal to my research, even though it did come later chronologically. I will then detail how the advertisements were selected as throughout I

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72 Headhunting skilled staff is common in professional practice.

argue that previous research has not always been explicit about where advertisements came from or why they were selected before they were visually analysed. I therefore give context to the advertisements that I examine.

3.1 Analysing the Tool for Practitioner Research

In this section I will describe how I first approached studying advertising practitioners. My original objective was to interview well-known advertising creative directors who had been active practitioners for at least 20 years each. The aim was to establish how they worked on ideas by focusing on well-known campaigns. However, I discovered once completing three creative practitioner interviews that the data generated, while adding to the body of research on advertising practice, reached theoretical saturation with a unity of views very early on. The responses from the three interviews, and from informal discussions with other practitioners, seemed merely to confirm without expanding into the areas of my research. By selecting advertising creatives, the data was simply reinforcing knowledge about agencies (as well as how agency practitioners talk about their practice, as suggested in the literature review) and not doing enough to acknowledge the photographer. While the interviews were revealing in highlighting the relationship between agency and photographer, it was clear that more attention was needed on the photographer in the process. Subsequently, instead of concentrating on agency practitioners, I used my contacts to select the sample of photographers.

During the research period, Malefyt and Morais (2012) published work that argued that personal experience brings more insight to the study of professional practice than academic study alone. Unspoken dynamics and creative idea generation are revealed more through experience than through surveying or interview methods alone. In their study, Malefyt and Morais drew on personal experience working in an advertising agency and further peer practitioner interviews to develop a theory of agency cultures. This resonated with my own research. This use of ethnography and personal experience is encapsulated in the autoethnographical approach to research (Ellis, Adams and Bochner, 2011). This research adopts a narrative ethnographic approach, defined by Ellis et al (2011) as that which incorporates one's own experiences while observing others. As I have already noted, the anthropologist Tim Ingold describes autoethnography as "knowing from the inside" (2013:5). This is particularly pertinent to advertising photographic research where practitioners are typically guarded about commercial knowledge and industry secrecy.

3.2 Collecting Data Through Interviews

My initial approach to conducting practitioner research was qualitative. I employed participant observation techniques to make field notes on the practice. While I had recollections from my time in practice from 1993 to 2009, I consciously collected data from 2012 to 2016. During this period, my colleagues at Getty Images and the photographer community were aware that I was gathering data for my research. This was communicated via email or through face-to-face group discussions about specific questions relating to my research.

Guided by discussions on qualitative research (Bauer and Gaskell 2000, Silverman 2005, Belk 2006) I also selected interviews as a method for data collection. This enabled me to ask the key questions that had emerged through the literature review:

1. How do advertising photographers work?
2. How do photographers and agency creative teams work together?
3. What processes do advertising photographers use to generate ideas?

I took a theoretical sampling approach in addressing the lack of previous research, collecting data until I could generate an analytical perspective.[73] The method allowed me to review each interview as I conducted it to identify patterns and viewpoints. I followed standard academic requirements, obtaining informed consent and contacting interviewees originally via email with a statement describing the research project.[74]

I chose to interview six advertising photographers who have worked in the advertising industry for at least 20 years each (Rob Daly, Martin Barraud, Matt Hind, Chris Ryan, Chris Newton and Justin Pumfrey) to ensure a clear view on advertising photography production. In addition, I interviewed the head of a global photography agency who has been producing advertising images for over 25 years (Andy Saunders). This is in addition to the three advertising creatives who have

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73 Theoretical sampling is associated with grounded theory as developed by sociologists Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967). Glaser and Strauss' method counters the traditional sociological approach that tests theory through data collection, instead it "discovers" theory from the data.

74 All practitioners chose where and when the interview occurred and all gave permission to use their name in my research.

worked in the industry for over 20 years each too (Rory Sutherland, Jon Steel and Will Awdry).[75] The interview questions and interviewee biographies are included in Appendix One.

The interviews were semi-structured and informal. The priority was to keep the interviews as close to a natural conversation as possible. This was necessary to ensure I received reliable responses and not the sound bites that are often given to journalists and researchers. My interviewees have been quoted in publications about advertising or photographic practice in the past. Steel has written two successful books on advertising practice (1998, 2007) and Saunders is quoted in publications such as Frosh (2003) and DeFillippi and Wikstrom's (2014) research into creative industries. All my subjects speak regularly at industry conferences about their practice and the industry media comment on their work (e.g. *Campaign, Marketing, British Journal of Photography*.) We are peers in terms of the length of time we have been involved in advertising photography practice; this also helped to elicit a straightforward response. The seniority and length of service of the interviewees also meant they had worked through the period of my study. This gave a good perspective on changes that have happened and how processes have evolved. Most importantly, they are well-placed to comment on creative practice because they are managing teams and are guiding younger, less experienced creatives in the skills of generating ideas or being creative. As already suggested and will be discussed in detail in chapter six, the interviewees are passing on knowledge that is seen as expertise within practice. This is key to my study. Equally, knowledge and experience are sought for awards judging and all my interviewees have experience of judging other practitioners' creativity. The interviewees were sought because of the amount of experience that they have. They could offer a retrospective view on the way changes have affected practice, which suited my research framework.

3.3 Analysing the Interview Data

As I transcribed and then analysed the interview data, themes started to solidify. To test these themes, I conducted additional research informally questioning photographic practitioners I encountered in my daily professional practice. Although not all the responses are quoted, the

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75 I am aware that the practitioners I interviewed are all male. Photography is a male dominated industry. The traditional focus on the technical skills and the science of photography has typically attracted more men than women to the industry. The higher ranking advertising creatives tend to be men too. This is discussed but has yet to be addressed fully. In 2016, a study of the advertising industry in London found that only 11% of creative directors are women, which is an increase from 3.6% in 2008. (Source: https://www.theguardian.com/women-in-leadership/2016/feb/03/how-advertising-industry-fails-women.) There are no comprehensive statistics on the gender mix of commercial photographers in the UK and I base my opinion on personal experience. I will not enter into the debate on gender roles in advertising practice, but will instead focus on 'the advertising practitioner' and 'the photographic practitioner' to better understand that relationship.

study yielded a clear base that defined the themes identified in my data set and are representative of the wider practice.

One major finding greatly influenced the direction of my research. Throughout the study, I was conscious of a driving force within advertising photography which is evident in the collaboration between the photographer and the creative. This became apparent as the key theme that surfaced from the practitioner interviews. On both sides of the photographer/creative relationship, creativity was identified as the "formula" for good advertising photography. The significance of creativity became clear as a defined condition of practice as I reviewed the interviews. For example, when discussing what practitioners aim to do in their daily work, Andy Saunders stated that everyone wants to produce: "Images that stand out because they are creative" (Saunders interview 2013). So, while the paucity of research reveals how little is understood about advertising photographers' work and their motivations, there is a link between advertising practitioners and their photographer counterparts through concepts of creativity. The link is the pursuit of creativity and it could be argued that creativity moves from one practitioner to the other during the creative process. It could also be argued that idea creation demonstrates creativity and that commercial (advertising) creativity is in the execution rather than the idea. I will return to this in detail in section 4.3.

The focus of my study therefore shifted to the key dynamic of creativity. About the same time, two studies were published. Firstly, Nyilasy, Canniford and Kreshel (2013) findings from 30 interviews with American advertising executives in the *European Journal of Marketing.*[76] Secondly, Stuhlfaut and Yoo's (2013) study in J*ournal of Marketing Communications*. Both these cohered and substantiated the analytical dynamic of my own research. Firstly, Nyilasy et al, bridge the gap in knowledge between academia and professional practice through developing a theory of creativity based on practitioners' "mental models". While arguing for in-depth interview methods, Nyilasy et al discuss using surveys to poll opinions on predefined questions. Stuhlfaut and Yoo take this approach to polling advertising practitioners' opinions on creativity. Building on previous work, as discussed in the literature review, Stuhlfaut and Yoo survey 239 American advertising creatives to produce larger scale findings about how creativity is defined. Indeed, it was the lack of scale in previous research utilising interviews that resulted in Stuhlfaut and Yoo's decision to use a survey method.

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76 At this time, I was already aware of Nyilasy's 2009 and 2011 work with Reid and Whitehall on practitioner theories of advertising.

The results of the survey include 'meaningfulness' as a factor of creativity (or as they reframe it: utility). This led me to the question of creativity measurement.[77] I therefore elected to conduct a survey to compare my results with Stuhlfaut and Yoo.

3.4 Collecting Data from a Broader Photographic Survey

The approach taken towards the survey was exploratory. It is important that the survey be technologically easy to access because advertising photographers tend to work away a lot, that respondents determine how much time they wish to spend on responding and that the answers remain anonymous. I took this approach because I found during the photographer interviews that responses were competitive, even amongst photographers who had worked together for over a decade. In advertising practice, as is the case in many creative professions, practitioners are competitive about their ideas and thoughts. This works well in a brainstorming context when practitioners are pitching ideas to one another, but is less useful, as a researcher, when attempting to assess the deeper levels of industry values, understandings and opinions.

To stimulate a more credible and valid response from the creatively competitive community, I created a survey that was confidential so that respondents could not access the rest of the survey results and compare answers. To safeguard against my own bias and to create a distance between the respondents and myself as the researcher, there was no requirement to include personal details.[78] Access to the photographic community was straightforward to establish, but I did not want that familiarity to affect responses. To add to the discourse on creativity, it was important to have analytical distance.

The sample was drawn from the Getty Images database of commercial photographers. There are approximately 1,000 who are active and work within the commercial sector. It is not possible to determine who works uniquely within the UK because most British companies photograph their advertising campaigns in other countries.[79] The community of photographers at Getty Images

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77 Stuhlfaut and Yoo (2013) attempt to study creativity measurement by asking respondents to grade creativity of alcohol advertisements. The results show there is consistency amongst practitioners with 'novelty' scoring highest as a measure of high creativity.

78 Respondent 24 added a personal website link and respondent 228 added an email address but otherwise the responses were anonymous.

79 The instability of the British weather means that many advertising photographic productions happen in places such as the Canary Islands, Miami, Argentina and Cape Town, South Africa. British advertising photographers will situate themselves abroad permanently or for part of the year to work with British brands. This is not something that is discussed outside practice. Unlike photojournalism or documentary photography, the origin of the image is not published.

consists of professional commercial practitioners who have applied for representation by the agency and have proven skills articulated through a competent portfolio.[80]

A link to the survey was sent through a monthly photographer newsletter.[81] The newsletter is sent via email directly to photographers and the Contributor Relations department based in Seattle, USA, maintains the database. The survey was included in the April 2015 newsletter and included a brief outline of my PhD research, a link to the survey and a request for a response to two questions. There was no incentive given to answer the survey.[82] Titled "What is Creativity?" it asked two broad questions:

1. How would you define "creativity"?
2. How do you measure creativity in your own and other people's work? [83]

In total 271 photographers responded. Of these, eight responses to question one were unintelligible, giving a sample of 263 responses. Sixteen respondents ignored question two and five answers to question two were unintelligible, giving a sample of 250 responses. The responses to the survey were written in free form, so the language was not consistent or directly comparable. To be sure that themes were identified, I considered it necessary to analyse and pull out an impression from each response. To do this, the responses were grouped together by identifying key words and phrases and attributing them to the characteristics established by Stuhlfaut and Yoo (2013:87). The full results from the Stulhfaut and Yoo study of advertising practitioners are given in figure 4.2.

The three coders working on the Stuhlfaut and Yoo data reduced each response to a single *construct*. If more than one characteristic was given; the first is the only one chosen. This differs from my own analysis; the first construct is not necessarily representative of the response that is being given. In some instances, (6%) in my research, respondents listed several characteristics but concluded at the end of their response, not at the beginning. An example: "It is the ability to make something original, beautiful and/or arresting, which conveys an idea or creates an emotional response in the beholder". (Respondent 263)

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80 Getty Images broadly represents a wide range of photographers.

81 The survey was cleared for distribution by the Contributor Relations Department in April 2015.

82 The survey was accessible through the Survey Monkey platform for eight weeks (24th April to 17th June 2015). Survey Monkey available at https://www.surveymonkey.com. It is an on-line survey service that is available through subscription. (In 2017 it costs £372 per year). The survey is managed and collated by the website.

83 The introductory text is included in Appendix One.

Stuhlfaut and Yoo characterize this response as "original" but in my own analysis this response is attributed to the "emotionally engaging" category. To test my methodology, I coded the results twice following Stuhlfaut and Yoo's method, listing out the key characteristics in each answer. In the first coding exercise, each characteristic was listed out separately for every response. This returned 435 characteristics (i.e. more than one characteristic per response), which I then grouped into 48 categories. (See Appendix One for the full list). The second coding exercise attributed a single overriding characteristic to each response. The 263 characteristics were then grouped according to Stuhlfaut and Yoo's method and categorisation. The results were weighted in the same way through both exercises with the same characteristics dominating the responses. I chose to present the data in the same format as the earlier study by Stuhlfaut and Yoo because of the similarity in dataset and to illustrate the comparative results. I will discuss the results of the survey in chapter four but now will turn to the process of reviewing the archive that again shaped my analytical perspective.

3.5 Advertisement Sampling

While the survey and interviews created in-depth "insider" knowledge, it was important to test the hypothesis that emerged out of that research. The final chapter of this thesis tests the theory of creative evolution that is asserted in the proceeding chapters. To visually analyse advertising over a long enough period to create a chronology based on evolving creativity, I sought out the archive. The starting point for my archive research was to address the need for more knowledge about the history of advertising photography in the UK. As discussed in the literature review, sampling has been approached in several ways in previous studies. While early work such as by Williamson (1978) used convenience sampling by advertisements that are 'to hand', I kept coming back to the bias in this method because convenience sampling does not offer a perspective on the proportion of advertising it purports to represent. I therefore decided to apply a systematic approach to selecting the sample. The first parameters were the dates of study. To do this, the advertising industry was analysed broadly to determine how to contain the sample. As noted in the Preface, there were immense changes that occurred in recent photographic history. Professional practice changed dramatically during the introduction of digital camera technology (in the late 1990s to early 2000s) and whilst personally experiencing the fast and comprehensive changes that happened, there is no academic study of the effects on advertising photographic practice at that time. In addition, the development of camera technology in mobile phones impacted professional practice.[84] I therefore chose to study the period from the 1990s to 2009

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84 Although introduced into the European market in 2002, camera phones started to compete with compact cameras with the introduction of the Apple iPhone (two Megapixel camera) and the Nokia N95 (five Megapixel camera) in 2007.

(which took the chronology to the early years of the rise of user generated content (or UGC) as social media became more visual.

The Information and Communications Technology industry (ICT) encompasses technology relating mainly to mobile phones, networks and computers.[85] It was selected because in a period of less than ten years, mobile phones became the technology that produces photography but also the technology on which images are viewed and shared. Pertinent to this thesis, technology has also changed the media landscape, offering digital alternatives to print and television advertising and computer technology has developed in parallel with changing visual technology, with computer programs such as Adobe Photoshop becoming as important to photographic production as camera hardware.[86] The ICT industry has both helped the professional photographer in their practice but has also lowered the cost of production (and therefore the advertisers' perception that photography is cheaper), allowing more photographers to advertise themselves as professionals, thus making practice more competitive.

In the telecommunications industry in 1979, British Telecommunications (BT) was a monopoly, held since it was established in 1846.[87] The 1977 Carter Committee report led to the separation of British Telecom from the Post Office and was formalised in the 1981 British Telecommunications Act. This led to the introduction of competition in the telecommunications industry, both in providing networks but also in requiring British Telecom to connect third party "apparatus" to their system (until this time, British Telecom also provided all handsets and devices).[88] Mercury Communications was the first to be offered a licence to run a telecoms network in 1982.[89] The industry has grown inexorably since. Although there is little data on the value of the telecommunications industry in 1979, an account given to the House of Lords in 1977 valued the Post Office (which included British Telecom) as having a £3.8 billion annual turnover.[90] In 2016, Telecommunications is a £54.9 billion per year industry shared by providers of landline voice, broadband, television and mobile telephony. The industry has expanded,

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85 Categorization taken from Office for National Statistics ICT report: *Focus on the Digital Age* (2007).

86 Adobe Photoshop is a software program for editing photographs. Originally launched by Adobe in 1990 (Photoshop 1.0) the program has become synonymous with image retouching. Details here: http://www.computerhistory.org/ [Accessed 1st July 2016]. Photoshop became part of photography practice from 2003 onwards when Adobe launched their Creative Suite (CS) product. I became aware of the widespread use of Photoshop from 2005 onwards when the second version of Creative Suite (CS2) included tools for fixing skin blemishes and cloning tools allowing elements in an image to be moved around seamlessly. I will return to the impact of retouching technology in more detail in section 5.4.

87 First as the Electric Telegraph Company then as Post Office Telecommunications before becoming British Telecom in 1980.

88 The history of BT is available on the company website: https://www.btplc.com/ [Accessed 22nd August 2016]

89 A subsidiary of Cable & Wireless PLC, a privately-owned cable and telegraph company that dates to the 1860s.

90 Data from House of Lords on 16th November 1977, Series 5 Vol.387. Available here: http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1977/nov/16/the-post-office [Accessed 22nd August 2016]

accommodating many network providers and handset manufacturers such as Nokia, Samsung and Apple.[91]

The computer industry in the UK was much less significant in 1979, going through massive expansion to become a mature market by 2009, worth £359 million in 1979 growing to over £100 billion in 2009.[92] At every stage of the growth in the industry, new products have been introduced and advertised heavily, while advertising for superseded technology products such as typewriters, calculators and fax machines commensurately declined. I therefore determined that a thirty-year period from 1979 to 2009 would generate a meaningful timeline of ICT technology.

3.6 Sources: Finding a Print Advertising Archive

The next step was to establish how print advertising mapped over the history of ICT. (I did not set out to study other advertising media such as television, cinema and radio or later, the Internet). According to the World Advertising Research Centre (WARC) print advertising was the dominant advertising medium between 1979 and 2009.[93] Print advertising spend in the UK rose every year from 1979 until 2001 when the first effects of internet advertising were felt (the amount spent on print advertising from 2000 to 2001 dropped from £7.7 billion to £6.8 billion). Although there was a slight recovery in print advertising after 2001, the amount spent continued to decline as internet advertising subsequently grew. However, despite the rise of internet advertising from £8.1 million in 1997 to £3.5 billion in 2009, print remained the dominant overall advertising media in the UK.[94]

Considering this, the problem of determining a representative sample arose once again. There is no definitive number that represents all print advertising produced in a single year. Anecdotally, practitioners quote the number "25 million" as the scale of print advertisements per year. However, Winston Fletcher in a study of British advertising argues that two million press advertisements were being taxed in 1853 so 25 million is a "gross under estimate" for the 2000s

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91 The telecommunications sector by provider (Q4 2015) 29% EE (acquired by BT Group in January 2016, also includes Orange and T-Mobile), 27% O2, 19% Vodafone (including Talkmobile), 11% Three and 15% others (Tesco Mobile, Virgin Mobile, Lycamobile and Lebara). Source: *The Communications Report* 2017 by Ofcom

92 1979 data source: European Computing Services Association (1980). 2009 data source: Robinson (2010).

93 WARC, established in 1985, is an online research service accessed by advertising and media agencies. WARC publishes the *Journal of Advertising Research* and the *International Journal of Market Research*. Available here: http://www.warc.com/ [Accessed on 22nd September 2016].

94 All advertising spend data is sourced from WARC: http://www.warc.com/NotesOnAdspendData [Accessed on 12th June 2015]

(2008:54).[95] There is no physical way of accessing all print advertising, even if researching a sample by industry and date. Award winning advertisements are available (either in book form or on-line) in the awards databases but most advertisements are not.[96] To offer a wider view of advertising imagery, I worked in the two most comprehensive archives in the UK, The Advertising Archives (AA) and The History of Advertising Trust (HAT).[97] While the Advertising Archives has been built up by scanning advertisements from magazine collections, HAT houses collections from British advertising agencies and personal collections or portfolios from advertising practitioners.[98] While there was crossover in the two archives, they were largely complementary.[99]

Initially, I researched ICT advertising at HAT and attempted to build a timeline of campaigns from 1979 to 2009 through well-known brand names such as Apple, BT, IBM and Microsoft. It soon became clear that there were two issues. Firstly, the filing system is incomplete. While some well-known campaigns are accessible through both the brand name and the agency that originated the campaign, this is not consistent. The archive offered many examples from the 1970s and 1980s but, as I researched campaigns from 1990 onwards, the number of examples reduced considerably. This is a known problem that the HAT acknowledged.[100] Especially pertinent to my

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95 In 1712, the British government introduced a one-shilling tax on every published print advertisement. The aim was to slow the growth of advertising in the press. The tax was discontinued in 1853. As quoted in Fletcher (2008:12).

96 For example, the *One Show annual* is available at Central St Martins library, while D&AD publish award winners on their website: www.dandad.org.uk.

97 The Advertising Archives were established in 1990 by Larry and Suzanne Viner in their home. According to their website, it is "the largest and most comprehensive resource of its kind in Europe". It is run as a commercial enterprise and does not receive funding or donations from advertising agencies (whereas the History of Advertising Trust does). The archive has been built by purchasing advertising for and from collectors. Additionally, the Archives licence historical advertisements to media and loan magazines and advertisements as props for television and film production. The History of Advertising Trust was founded in 1976, it relocated from London to Raveningham in Norfolk in 1992. Advertising practitioners established the trust to preserve the heritage and encourage the study of British advertising. While the Advertising Archives relies on commercial sales, the History of Advertising Trust is a registered charity and relies on support from the advertising industry and associated organisations. For example, according to the Trust's 2015 annual report, the development of the website for the archive in 2015 was sponsored by ITV and British Arrows (previously called London Television Advertising Awards).

98 Agency collections include: Collett Dickenson Pearce, DDB UK Ltd, Foote Cone and Belding, J Walter Thompson, Ogilvy & Mather, Saatchi and Saatchi and Young and Rubicam. It also holds archives from the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA), the Advertising Association, Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA) and award bodies such as Design and Art Direction (D&AD). As quoted on the Trust website: "Most of the materials at HAT have been deposited by clients into our care. These are complemented by rescued and donated archives in the permanent collection".

99 My first visit to the History of Advertising Trust was on 14th June 2011 and the final visit was on 18th February 2013. Within the timeframe, I had many email exchanges with the Archive Collections Manager Alistair Moir, Research Manager David Thomas and Digital Assistant Adam Loynes.

100 Acknowledged via email from Adam Loynes 10th August 2011. This is because the nature of the relationship between the archive and agencies is that of a repository for documents, therefore the later years have not yet been archived. The Advertising Archives also has fewer examples from the 1980s and 1990s than previous years (e.g. 2955 sample from 1980s compared to 4000+

research is the lack of photographer names in the indexing, indeed this 'absence' constitutes evidence for my overall thesis. Unless the original documentation for the advertisement is available (this is incredibly rare), there is also no available information about how photographers are selected or who was shortlisted. This vital detail is absent from the archive.

I cross-referenced the advertisements indexed by publication. Each advertisement at the archive is stamped with the date of publication and the publication it appeared in. Figure 3.1 is an example from HAT that shows the indexing. (But the indexing is only available up to the early 1990s). I also searched the agency archives at HAT. This enabled me to analyse the art work and the documentation relating to well-known ICT brands. For example, there is an extensive collection of work for IBM in the Ogilvy and Mather archive at HAT.[101]

Figure 3.1 IBM advertisement from The Daily Telegraph dated 5th May 1979.

sample from 1960s or 1970s) but is also working on digitizing magazine adverts from that era. However, the Advertising Archives does have a large collection from the 2000s, while HAT does not.

101 IBM have a long relationship with the agency. They moved the global advertising account to Ogilvy and Mather in 1994.

However, this also proved to be problematic, as many of the advertisements in the archive are finished to a high standard and there is little documentation that differentiates mock-ups (for approval by the client) from final advertisements. I have therefore treated advertisements from the agency archives as mock-ups (an industry term for a rough layout to show the client how the advert might look) unless a cross reference of the printed advert in a magazine was found. Figure 3.2 is an example of one of these mock-ups.

Figure 3.2 1995 IBM. Example of advertisements from the Ogilvy and Mather file at HAT.

At the Advertising Archives, the problem is that many examples are catalogued by decade only. I therefore cross-referenced advertisements with HAT and on-line sources (such as the trade press and news media) to pinpoint the year that the advertising campaign was launched. Of the 422 advertisements I analysed at AA, 226 are identified by year while 196 are still categorised by decade only.

Further, I also contacted British Telecom directly to test the corporate archive for further samples, communicating briefly with the BT Archives Manager: Mr. Dave Shawyer.[102] He directed me towards customer communications such as leaflets and letters but does not hold print

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102 Details of the archive available here: http://www.btplc.com/Thegroup/BTsHistory/

advertisements. Print advertisements remain at the advertising agencies representing BT. However, over the years, agencies have been subsumed into bigger groups or are no longer in existence.[103] This highlights how the understanding of the known history of advertising is shaped by its archiving. The archive is predominantly held by advertising practice and agencies will only promote their best (and most creative) work on their websites. Rarely is everything produced represented. There are two explanations for this, firstly, the advertising agency does not want to promote work that is deemed less creative because it will affect new business. Secondly, the advertising industry is highly dynamic with practitioners moving jobs regularly. A high turnover of staff means that creatives responsible for certain campaigns may no longer be at the agency and the agency will not promote their work if they are at a rival business. (In many instances, the client will also move with the creative to another agency.) The question then is who owns the creativity of a well-known advertisement? Is it the agency or the creative director or the client that commissioned it? Further complicating the matter, is the changing ownership of agencies. As noted above, agencies change their names as they are bought and sold by larger agencies or agency networks and archives are lost in the reshuffle. Creative practitioners archive their own creativity keeping advertisements as a portfolio of their creative achievements. For example, my respondent Will Awdry and I spent time looking through hard copies of the work that he had created.[104]

There are several factors at play that therefore cause problems when trying to discern the scope of an advertising archive: The ever-changing landscape of agency ownership, the fluidity of positions within agencies and the constant need to present a high level of creativity in all public-facing communication. The result is that, without knowledge from inside practice, there is not a huge institutional memory. The public knowledge about the archive of advertising is structured around award-winning, iconic and widespread campaigns. These campaigns are well referenced and indexed within the actual archives (HAT and AA) because they are deemed of interest by practice. A deeper knowledge is of less interest, evidenced in the lack of data on the practitioners responsible for creating the campaign such as the photographer. The fact that the Advertising Archives (AA) index advertisements by decade instead of specific year further demonstrates that the interest is not exacting. The "not written" (Stoler 2009:3) of the advertising archive is the less celebrated advertising that, while not lauded, represents advertising and culture of its time. For this reason, my own dataset is categorised differently to the available archives.[105]

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103 For example, Simons Palmer responsible for the 1992 "Get Through to Someone" campaign is now part of TBWA while Abbott Mead Vickers, responsible for the "It's Good to Talk" campaign between 1994 and 1999 is now part of the BBDO Group which in turn is part of the multinational network: The Omnicom Group.

104 I could not ascertain what percentage of his entire portfolio the work represented.

105 I have attempted to capture photographer data wherever possible.

3.7 Building an Advertisement Dataset

As already noted, it was important to take a systematic approach to collecting and analysing advertising imagery. I therefore ensured that there is a visual record of every advertisement examined. This served two purposes: It adds weight to the theoretical position that evolved out of the analysis and offers a chronological archive of advertising that subsequent researchers can build upon. The archive research generated 422 examples from the Advertising Archives and 328 examples from the History of Advertising Trust. Throughout the data gathering process, I also collected together examples from ICT research conducted during my professional practice. In addition, I searched on-line advertising resources such as *Visit4info* and *Coloribus* which equated to 659 advertisements.[106]

Finally, while refining the research and to ensure the dataset came from a wider sample, I also collected advertising examples across all industries and all types of publication (magazines, tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, as well as posters and leaflets). These examples came from both the archives and the on-line resources and number 885 in total. Figure 3.3 shows the total number of advertisements collected: 2098.[107] It is apparent when looking at figure 3.3 that there is not an even spread across the period from 1979 to 2009.[108] The sample is more uneven when looking at ICT advertisements only. Between 1979 and 1989 there are a total of 406 advertisements, 1990 to 1999, 73 advertisements and 2000 to 2009, 734 advertisements. I then set about interrogating the dataset to ensure the spread across all years is indicative of how ICT is promoted in the UK.

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106 Coloribus is available here: www.coloribus.com. It is a subscription service that promotes itself as the largest on-line archive of global advertising with over two million advertisements. The archive is stronger in recent campaigns (2014+) and has many more television and cinema advertisements than print. Visit4info used to be available here: www.visit4info.com [Last accessed 12th May 2011] The URL has been inactive since the end of 2011.

107 I have not included the 196 advertisements collected from the AA that are categorised by decade only. (10 from the 1970s, 54 from the 1980s, 45 from the 1990s and 87 from the 2000s).

108 The first eleven years of the study (to 1989) is the time-period that HAT is strongest with 540 examples, whereas the AA and on-line resources have the best representation of the 2000s. Thus, there are 1361 examples. This leaves a gap in the sample in the 1990s with only 395 available examples.

Source	HAT	AA	ICT Other	Other
1979	4	0	0	0
1980	4	0	1	0
1981	7	2	4	39
1982	18	4	3	1
1983	33	4	0	0
1984	28	6	2	0
1985	1	45	0	1
1986	35	3	0	0
1987	75	1	0	0
1988	34	2	0	26
1989	89	1	0	0
1990	0	1	1	0
1991	0	3	0	0
1992	0	1	0	21
1993	0	2	3	33
1994	0	2	1	28
1995	0	0	4	12
1996	0	4	0	36
1997	0	2	3	16
1998	0	3	24	38
1999	0	6	13	94
2000	0	3	25	0
2001	0	5	22	46
2002	0	19	54	44
2003	0	17	41	4
2004	0	16	46	62
2005	0	13	34	56
2006	0	8	132	55
2007	0	20	72	68
2008	0	22	133	104
2009	0	11	41	101
	328	226	659	885

Figure 3.3 The advertising sample by year and source.

Other methods were consequently reviewed. I considered studying well-known technology brands over the 30-year period. To determine what brands to study, I analysed the sample already generated, noting which brands produced advertising campaigns by year. The analysis includes brands that have two or more advertisements in each year in the sample.[109] Appendix Two presents the brands advertised over the thirty-year period. IBM and Apple both advertised consistently, whereas in the telecommunications industry, BT is the only brand to have existed during the full period. Using the three brands, I gathered together the sample (317 Apple, 221 BT and 102 IBM advertisements) and sought out further examples. However, I soon established that all three brands have survived over thirty years because of strong branding. For example, Apple's imagery is recognisable through its use of graphic composition and highly produced still life. Similarly, IBM has a clear visual language through consistently using full bleed large-scale images in print advertising and on poster sites. IBM sold its consumer PC business to Lenovo in 2005 becoming a Business to Business supplier. Examples of IBM advertising are available from 2005 onwards but are targeted towards business users.

While photographic trends might be represented in a sample of images from just three brands, I kept coming back to the narrow range of styles this would represent. To understand how photographic practice has changed over time, comparable samples are required from year to year. Simply increasing the number of advertisements in the sample is not the solution and using a small subset became a source of uncertainty. Once again, I considered my approach. While the history of Apple products such as the iMac and the iPod is interesting, analysing those advertisements alone does not reveal any new insights into photographic practice. Technological advances heavily influenced advertising during the period of study so I determined that a more effective method for increasing knowledge is through analysing the effect that a campaign such as the 2004 iPod advertising (using silhouettes against brightly coloured backgrounds) had on the visual language in advertising photography. I then returned to the larger sample and reviewed my findings again to devise a method that analyses a cross section of brands over a cross section of years.

3.8 Defining the Advertisement Sample

When reviewing the dataset from the archive, I found clusters within the years when a higher number of ICT companies were advertising. The clusters are around 1989, 2000 and 2008 in computer advertising and 2000 and 2008 in telephone advertising. Similarly, the literature review suggested that there was a decrease in interest in creativity in the late 1990s and a renewed interest

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109 Advertisements include multiple examples of the same advertisement or campaigns using different advertisements.

in 2001 to 2003 (El-Murad and West 2004). The rise in advertiser numbers seems to accord with the period directly after an economic boom and trade press interest in creativity also seems to correspond with the economy (with more interest in creativity in a downturn and less in a boom). I therefore set out to test this theoretical assumption and the belief that British advertising expenditure follows the general trend of the economy.[110] Historian Roland Marchand's (1986) study of advertising in the USA during the Great Depression of the 1930s found that the biggest shift was evident in the way that advertising "looked". Marchand observed that the style of advertisements post-1930 look very different to those pre-1930 with the advertising trade press of the time and practitioners themselves reacting to the need to move away from the "sleek and opulent" advertising of the boom years to imagery that represented success through hard work and toil. This moved my research on to a study of the UK economy to better understand how the economy grows and declines. By understanding when the economy was propitious for advertising, allowed me to focus the analysis on periods of change. By focusing on change, I could then observe the effect it has on how imagery in advertising "looks".

To investigate the UK economy, I studied the indicators that the British Government, British financial institutions and the Bank of England use to measure economic performance.[111] Drawing on the Office for National Statistics for accurate data, I evaluated Gross Domestic Product (GDP).[112] Since measurement began, GDP has increased every year *except* during the recent financial crisis (2008-2009). In fact, between 1951 and 1997, GDP increased two and a half fold (Jamieson 1998:22) despite recessions and booms occurring during that period. However, it is possible to detect short-term fluctuations around the trend, known as 'cycles'. Economists have not categorically determined why cycles occur and what the causes are:

> Major influences include fixed investment and inventory cycles, external shocks and well-meaning or perhaps self-interested government policies. It is not unknown for the government of the day to engineer an economic boom just before an election, thus setting the cycle in motion. (Lane 2000:53)

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110 A report by Deloitte in 2017 states that advertising expenditure is "an indicator of wider business and consumer confidence, with investment in advertising positively linked to GDP growth. The report shows that advertising contributed £120.4 billion to GDP in 2015 and the industry employs 550,000 people (Deloitte, 2017).

111 Economic indicators measure the economy, economic growth, population, employment, government fiscal policies, consumer spending, investment and savings, industry and commerce, external flows, exchange rates, money and interest rates, prices and wages

112 GDP, as per *The Economist Guide of Economic Factors* (Lane, 2000) is the sum of all economic activity by country. The Office of National Statistics (ONS) was previously called the Central Statistical Office (CSO) and was set up at the request of the Prime Minister, Winston Churchill after World War Two to measure the performance of the UK economy. Accurate data on GDP from the ONS is available from 1948 onwards.

To analyse the turning point in the economic cycle, I have determined the points where the economy has grown the greatest within the general trend (peak) before it starts to contract and where it has grown the least (trough) within the trend before it starts to increase. Appendix Two shows GDP data from 1979 to 2009 detailing growth by £millions per year. The key years when a peak or a trough occurred are: 1981 (trough), 1988 (peak), 1992 (trough), 1999 (peak), 2001 (trough), 2007 (peak) and 2009 (trough).

My research cohered around the seven key years listed but there was still an issue with the disproportionate sample. For example, I had generated 19 advertisements for the peak year 1999 but 92 advertisements for the peak year 2007. I could not confidently assume that the balance of advertisements was representative of the number of campaigns running during each year. I returned to the archive but changed the research focus to concentrate on the print media that advertisements appear in.

3.9 Focusing on The Sunday Times Magazine

Reviewing my research diary, recorded during the initial data collection phase, I noted how most ICT campaigns appeared in the Sunday newspaper colour supplements, often appearing on the same date in *The Sunday Times*, *The Sunday Telegraph*, the *Observer*, the *Sunday Express* magazine or *You* magazine (the *Mail on Sunday* colour supplement). Analysis of the history and readership of the Sunday newspapers ascertained that *The Sunday Times Magazine* had been published throughout 1979 to 2009. Introduced in 1962, it was the first colour supplement in a British Sunday newspaper and thus is synonymous with colour photography. Other than a slight increase in size on 29th April 1984, the magazine has been published weekly in the same format over the thirty-year period.[113] The readership of *The Sunday Times* has also remained relatively steady over the 30-year period.[114] This is against the backdrop of a general decline in the readership of printed newspapers as television and later the internet become more prominent.

I eventually chose the *The Sunday Times Magazine* sample because the magazine has maintained a majority 35-65 years old ABC1 readership throughout the study. I located a document in the

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113 *The Sunday Times* archive consists of the magazines bound into volumes by year. The volumes are consistent until 1984 when the magazine size changed becoming longer and thinner. It has also remained the same since 1984. The only dates that the magazine was not produced in the timeline is between November 1978 and November 1979 due to disputes with print unions regarding new layout technology.

114 There is no readership data for 1979 but the average circulation in 1980 was 1.42million and according to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, the readership was approximately 1.16 million each week in 2009.

HAT archive that the advertising agency Geers Gross had produced in 1985.[115] Relating to a brief for Inphone (BT) handset products, the document notes that the target audience for the Sunday magazines is: "Businessmen with an influence on the communications resources of their companies". I therefore determined that a study of technology advertising in *The Sunday Times Magazine* would generate a valid sample and that every ICT advertisement should be gathered to create a complete archive. This builds on the two previous studies that informed my research. Leiss et al (2005) selected *Macleans* and *Chatelaine* magazines because readership remained constant through the study period, then choosing issues at random from each year for analysis. Whereas Richards et al's (2000) study of car advertisements in the *Daily Mirror, Daily Express, The Observer, The Times, Autocar Magazine* and *Motor Magazine* concentrated on five-year intervals from 1950 to 1995. Richards et al do not qualify how issues were selected, instead gathering up to 100 advertisements from each five-year interval wherever possible (they admit to taking advertisements from adjacent years when the archive could not offer enough examples) but the experience of gathering a sample is similarly felt, noting that systematic sampling is difficult because of the "fragmentary" nature of advertising archives (2000:180).

Sourcing copies of the magazine from the HAT archive, Central St Martin's College library, The British Library and finally *The Sunday Times* archive held within the News UK archive in London, I generated a complete set of ICT advertisements from the key years of my study. These advertisements are reproduced in the second volume of my thesis. The second volume is provided as a visual reference for future researchers.[116] In chapter eight, I examine the advertisements in detail and compare my findings with the broader set of advertisements generated from the archive. *The Sunday Times Magazine* total is 297 advertisements. (Volume two of the thesis also includes an additional 236 advertisements). Figure 3.4 details the number of ICT campaigns in each year. By concentrating the analysis on one seminal publication and one industry, I felt confident that I could track the evolution of photographic trends over a long period.

	1981	1988	1992	1999	2001	2007	2009
ICT advertisements	28	121	36	49	24	25	14

Figure 3.4 The number of campaigns per year as published in The Sunday Times Magazine.

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115 Geers Gross merged with Eurocom S.A. the same year (1985) and then merged with Euro RSCG and is now known as Havas Worldwide.

116 Here I was influenced by Erving Goffman's 1979 publication: *Gender Advertisements*. Goffman presents the advertisements he analysed on double page spreads, allowing the reader to also examine the sample. I decided to present my findings in a similar way.

3.10 Determining the Tool for Visual Analysis

Determining a visual analysis method for commercial photography was necessary throughout the research. While deconstructing imagery in my professional practice, I had taken a semiological approach, interpreting how images utilise connections to objects, themes and concepts to convey a marketing/advertising message. Through experience of the production process alongside photographers and advertisers, I am aware of the intentions to bring meaning to the image but overemphasising the analysis of imagery without consideration of how it has been constructed is also open to misinterpreting the significance of certain visual elements. As already discussed, the later analysis by Leiss et al (2005) is through a hybrid approach of the close analysis offered by semiology alongside the wide view of content analysis. The hybrid approach allowed deconstruction of the image on a large scale, allowing elements that produce meaning to be identified and grouped together by their meaning to highlight patterns of content.

The analysis of the advertisements in the sample applied Richards, MacRury and Botterill's (2000) method outlined in the previous chapter. The coding structure can be divided into ten sections. The first six sections categorise the advertisement by product type, medium, date and publication as well as the claims made in the copy. The final four sections relate to the advertising image and are categorised similarly to Leiss et al's "product, place and setting". While Leiss et al's (2005) quantitative approach determines the proportion of the page that each element represents, Richards et al (2000) analyses *what* is being depicted in each element. Based on Richards et al's structure and utilising their final four sections, I determined my own coding as follows:

1. Setting – What is the setting? Outdoors, holiday, home, sport etc.
2. Persons – What roles are the people in the image playing? Boss and subordinate, partner, parent, teacher etc.
3. Product – What is the "sphere of use" of the product? (Richards et al 2000:268). Is the advertised product shown in a personal or business environment?

I also added a fourth code that was missing from the two studies:[117]

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117 Richards et al (2000) use a 'sensual/libidinal' code that, while focused on the senses does touch on conceptual codes. (For example, power, excitement or freedom). I decided on a broader categorization to include conceptual codes that do not relate to senses. (For example "teamwork" or "connectivity").

4.   Concept – What is the meaning of the image beyond what is depicted? Is there a concept that can be applied to the image that is meaningful to a wider audience?

The concept code is important in the production of advertising imagery. While the person, setting and product could be prescriptive and predetermined by the client, the conceptual value of the image is an invention of the creative team and the photographer. This is an important aspect of the image when considering the producer and production of imagery. Finally, I have also categorised 'production codes'. As discussed in the literature review, Fowles' (1996) visual analysis is the closest to a practitioner-led approach and for that reason, I have combined Fowles' fourth and fifth codes:[118]

5. Photographic technique – What techniques have been used to create the conceptual value of the image? Composition, lighting, colour palette etc.

Figure 3.5 is an example of the coding system and the results that I generated from the 1988 Phone advertising study.

In addition to image content, I also wanted to examine the proportion of image to text. Even though this is influenced by individual practitioner decisions, key to this study is determining changes in the importance of visuals in advertising over time. The dominance of imagery on the printed page is an indicator of how advertising practice is using visuals at the time. I have therefore analysed the proportions of image to text for each of the key years. The results are in Appendix Three and I will refer to them throughout.

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118 "4. Considering the aesthetics of the composition, is there any reason why the ad is structured the way it is? What is the overall mood of the ad? 5. Is the artwork drawn or photographed? What lighting is used and why? Why the focus or the angle? Any retouching?" Fowles (1996:172)
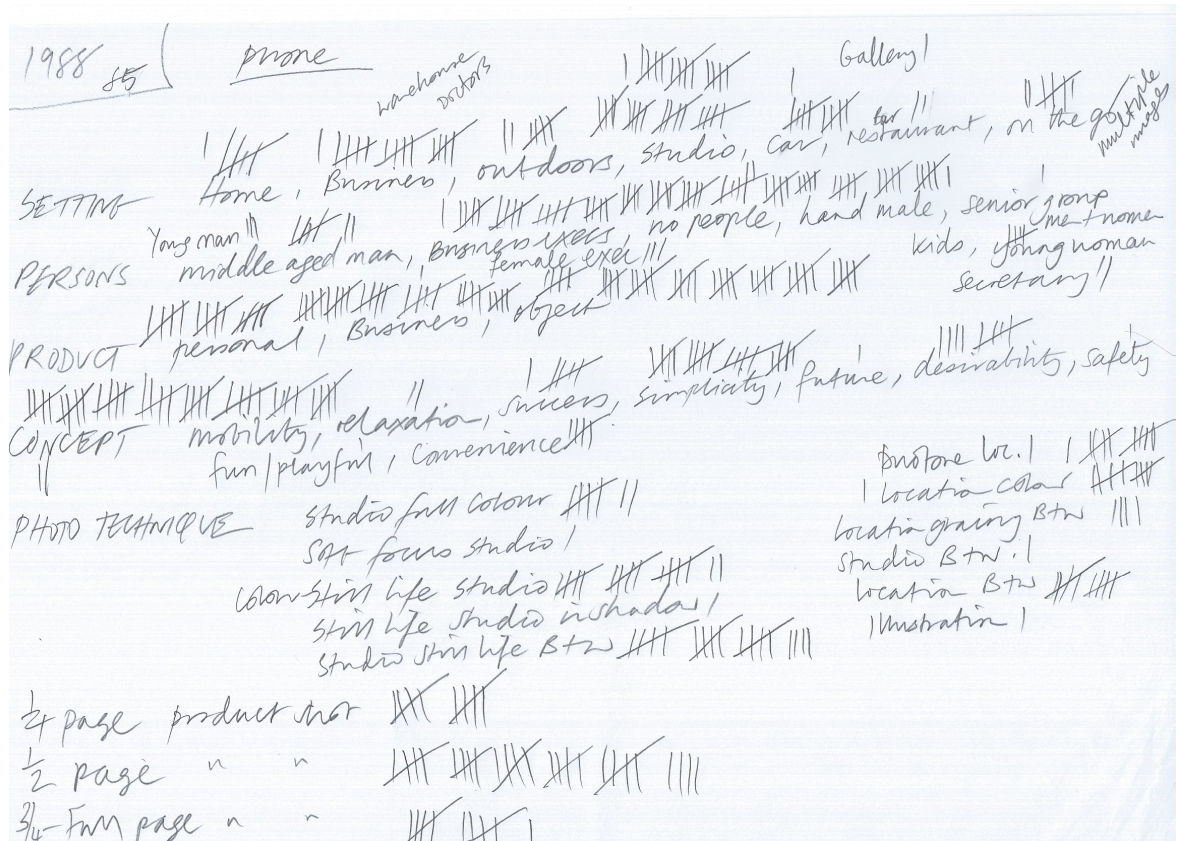
Figure 3.5 Example of coding sheet from the 1988 phone advertising analysis of The Sunday Times Magazine sample.

3.11 Establishing Methodologies for Studying Advertising Photography

I have presented a discursive methodology rather than list out methods (as is more typical) because the process of accessing advertisements and advertising photographers was entirely embedded and integrated in my research. As noted, selecting a representative archive is a step in every researcher's methodology, however the largest issue with advertising photography is *finding* the archive. While critical studies of advertisements rely on convenient or 'to hand' samples, I have ensured that the approach I developed is more systematic. Having said that, despite dedicating a large portion of the study to accessing the archive and reproducing advertisements, the visual analysis aspect of this thesis has become background evidence to a broader view of advertising photography. It became clear that to discuss changing creativity in advertising photography, it was crucial to first understand how creativity is perceived within professional practice. This knowledge needed to come from the practitioners themselves. The following chapter therefore explores notions of creativity specifically within advertising photographic practice.

4. CREATIVITY – A DEFINING FACTOR IN ADVERTISING PHOTOGRAPHIC PRACTICE

Barbara Rosenblum's examination of the working practices of photographers found that the assessment of creativity is how a "good picture" (1978:82) is defined across photographic genres. But, as reported in chapter three, I found little study on the meaning or process of creativity in advertising photographic practice. Despite the lack of definition, creativity is important because it is an expected characteristic of an advertising photographer that manifests itself in the resultant photograph. In response, I build on Rosenblum's work by studying both the micro and macro aspects of creativity in this chapter; how it is defined, how it is discussed, how it is applied and the perception that creativity wins awards and creates iconic advertising images. I consider the current literature because this establishes the tone of the debate relating to creativity and advertising practice and enables me to identify patterns of similarity and difference with my own research, thus, potentially expanding and complicating the debate. It is the primary pillar of my thesis. The first part of this chapter frames the definition from within advertising agency practice by looking at how creativity is defined broadly. I do this through a survey, comparing the findings with my interview data. The second part extends the examination of the concept of creativity to considering how collaborating creative practitioners convey or implement their creative know how within the key performative event – the photoshoot and the final part looks at how practitioners measure their own and others creative performance and success.

4.1 Creativity in Advertising Practice

"Creativity" is a term associated with the disciplines of, amongst other things, art, design, architecture, fashion, literature, music and dance. Importantly for this research, it is a term that advertising practitioners use when commissioning photographic practitioners because the meaning of the term is mutually understood within this community of practice. Respect and appreciation is given to the 'creativity' of another practitioner. Whilst images deemed to be extraordinary, clever or novel are acknowledged as *demonstrating* creativity. It could be argued that creativity is understood as part of the common language in advertising practice.

However, a distinction can be drawn between creativity more generally and the usage of this term within advertising. As I noted in chapter two, the issue to which the research keeps coming back is that advertising uses an *applied* creativity. It serves a commercial purpose and as such is also restrained in the form of budgets and deadlines. Because advertising serves a commercial purpose, true originality and newness generally associated with creativity are less applicable. As Amabile (1996) defined it, creativity must be *appropriate*. Turnbull and Wheeler's later summary of the

literature on advertising creativity in a 2015 article concludes that studies to date have defined advertising creativity as requiring "appropriateness". They go on to call for more understanding of what appropriateness constitutes. This term will weave its way through my analysis here.

Creativity emerged as a central concept as I pursued both observation and participation to expand my findings from inside practice. It became a common thread despite my original questions not addressing creativity directly. As I have stated on page 19, the original objective of the interviews was to gather primary evidence from practitioners who experienced producing advertising visuals over at least 20 years. The interviews also had a further objective - to generate a first-person narrative that ran parallel with the visual analysis to root the visual findings in the first-person account of producing photography at the time. However, as my work progressed, I found that the importance of creativity as a key concept within daily professional practice became increasingly apparent and indeed strident. The term *creativity* was consistently used to describe the best advertising photography and photographers. In fact, the term is so embedded that I, as a practitioner, did not understand the significance of further studying creativity until reviewing the practitioner interviews I had conducted. Discussions during the interviews were very much based on common understandings of who and what is deemed *creative*. Exploring a definition within advertising practice by practitioners themselves continues to be a discussion point at large advertising conferences. This suggests that creativity is of profound concern inside practice. For example, at the 2014 Cannes Lions Festival, leading creative practitioners were asked on camera: "What is creativity?" Cannes Lions is organised and run by Lions Festivals (the event has been running since 1954 but has been managed by Lions Festivals since 1987). Over 10,000 advertising practitioners from around the world attend for a week in June every year. The responses are varied but seem to coalesce around:

> "Creativity is an expression of self"
> "Embracing risk"
> "To think differently from what you learnt"
> "See what other people see but to put information and ideas together in a way that no one has seen before"
> "Creativity is something we as humans simply react to and have an emotional response" (Cannes Lions 2014b).

The lack of a clearly agreed definition but the certainty of the existence of creativity suggests that practitioner agree on the scope of its' meaning within advertising practice. Creativity's meaningfulness is "the currency with which ad agencies operate; without, there are no agencies" (Arden 2003:15). In this chapter I explore the reliance on creativity as it applies across the

advertising photographic industry. Although separate 'realms' of practice (advertising agencies and photographer/photographic agencies), each has its own values and beliefs, but when combined as a community (when the two practices work together to produce advertising photography) there is an understanding of the part that creativity plays in the finished product. It is the most valuable personal knowledge that advertising practitioners and photographers use in their interactions and is used as a positive attribute of an individual practitioner as well as to advertising photographs. This knowledge is as much part of the culture of advertising photographic work as formal technical knowledge about composition, copy space and lighting etc. Personal knowledge was defined as having a tacit dimension by the scientist Michael Polanyi (1966). He argues that while technical craft skills (those that professionals learn to do without thinking) are important, the practitioner's perception of the world (or in this case the industry) is shaped by tacit knowledge formed from values, beliefs and ideals. In this respect, knowledge about the meaningfulness of creativity is ingrained in practitioners as well as being shared within practice. Throughout this chapter I will define how creativity is meaningful to individuals which will be followed with a practice led definition. In chapter six, I will then examine how collective meaning is established through practice-centric views of creativity.

4.2 The Advertising Photographic Practitioners' Definition of Creativity

I have found that the study of the definition of creativity in advertising practice is growing as a research area which offered an opportunity within which to situate my study. I therefore set out to offer a definition determined by practicing creative photographers. As outlined in chapter three, I sought a definition of creativity through a survey of 263 active photographic practitioners. Just as Stuhlfaut and Yoo (2013) had asked advertising practitioners to define creativity, I too asked the simple question: "How do you define 'creativity'?" The results of the survey are shown in figure 4.1 and are displayed in the same format as Stuhlfaut and Yoo's results in figure 4.2 to offer a comparison. The findings do have similarities in that both advertising practitioners and photographic practitioners define creativity as something original, unique and new. This accords with the standard dictionary definition of creativity. However, my findings diverge from the standard definition and highlight the commercial concerns of the professional photographer.

My findings are dominated (56.2%) by four main responses. Firstly "new angle/new perspective" (20.1%), secondly, "turning ideas into something tangible" (17.5%) and thirdly, "making connections" (11.0%). The fourth response, I have collated under "newness" (7.6%) which correlates with Stuhlfaut and Yoo's findings (at 7.5% of respondents). The photographic practitioners particularly centred on themes of that which had not been seen before. For example:

New own ideas. (Respondent 26)

New ideals, new combinations with the spirit of the time. (Respondent 107)

The ability to tell a story in a refreshing new way. (Respondent 207)

The ability to make new things and think of new ideas. (Respondent 216)

Creativity is process of bringing something new into the world. (Respondent 219)

Characteristic	Mentions	Percent
New angle / New perspective	53	20.1
Ideas into something tangible	46	17.5
Making connections	29	11.0
Newness	20	7.6
Imagination	17	6.5
Ideas	14	5.3
Uniqueness	14	5.3
Personal	14	5.3
Not standard / Beyond the norm	12	4.6
Passion / Emotional	12	4.5
Knowledge / Skills	8	3.0
Originality	7	2.6
Difference	5	1.9
Undefinable/ Complicated	5	1.9
Letting go/ Freedom	3	1.1
Simplicity	2	0.6
Universal	2	0.6
Magical/ Holy	1	0.3
Beauty	1	0.3
Total	263	100.0

Figure 4.1 Photographic practitioners' definition of creativity (2015).

Characteristic	Mentions	Percent
Attention-getting	32	13.4
Original	31	13.0
Uniqueness	29	12.1
Meaningful	21	8.8
New	18	7.5
Strategic	18	7.5
Surprising	17	7.1
Persuasive	11	4.6
Clever	10	4.2
Relevant	9	3.8
Emotionally engaging	8	3.3
Memorability	8	3.3
Imaginative	7	2.9
Innovative	6	2.5
Simple	5	2.1
Rewarding	5	2.1
Humourous	4	1.7
Total	239	100.0

Figure 4.2 Advertising practice's definition. Stuhlfaut & Yoo (2013).

Significantly, more than simple "newness, the characteristic of creativity deemed most important by photographic practitioners, is having a "new angle" or "new perspective":

> Coming up with a new way of looking at and thinking about something that has been looked at and thought about 'to death'. A way to wake up the senses. A new twist, if you will. (Respondent 5)

> The ability to come up with novel ideas and solutions to problems (Respondent 200)

> Taking the typical and presenting it from a new point of view. (Respondent 41)

> Having many more than one angle to look at things (Respondent 83)

> Seeing things differently to everyone else. (Respondent 108)

> Looking at and seeing things differently than the norm. An energy within that pushes us beyond. (Respondent 153)

"New perspectives" are much more prominent amongst photographic practitioners because photographers are often commissioned to shoot subject matter that has been visualised many times before. As Jon Steel (interview 2013) put it – there is always a need to photograph "the burger smile" for burger advertising and "dog enjoyment" for dog food advertising. The ability to apply something new is therefore valued within practice:

> Not standard way of thinking and doing, beyond stereotype. (Respondent 11)

> As in something that has not been done before. It can also mean a new twist or take on something that has been done before. The new angle or perspective on an old standard is difficult to achieve. (Respondent 16)

> If we talk about creativity in photography - every photo is using a subject to transmit a message - creativity is for me trying to go beyond the basic message, creating a new interpretation for already-known patterns. (Respondent 67)

> Something that no one else has thought of projecting as an idea or concept in a "non-usual" way. (Respondent 80)

> Mainly innovation and invention but also detection of previously unseen items in the world – show a new perspective or angle. (Respondent 137)

> To see the unusual in common things. (Respondent 163)

The ability to see ordinary things in a new life. (Respondent 177)

The second largest category with 17.5% of responses also illustrates how the practice of photography is important to advertising photographers themselves. Turning "ideas into something tangible" acknowledges the concern for practitioners hired to convert an idea or illustration into something real. Example responses include:

Creativity is imagination come to life, having an idea and making it something real (Respondent 54)

The ability to think and then do (Respondent 63)

Inspiration put into practice (Respondent 136)

The ability to create something tangible from an image that exists in your head. (Respondent 152)

The ability to imagine something in your mind and then make it real. (Respondent 179)

Putting an idea in the material world (Respondent 225)

Using imagination to turn ideas into reality (Respondent 233)

Producing something that you saw in your mind (Respondent 248)

Creativity comes from the Greek word "kreas" and means "flesh or meat". The idea in my head becomes real and gets an incarnation. It is creativity when my idea becomes a body and enters the world (Respondent 256)

Doing (Respondent 270)

One respondent compared photographic creativity with creativity in other forms:

Something I am not good at via the arts. I cannot draw or paint. I can see imagery in my mind but cannot transfer it to paper or thru Photoshop. Photography allows me to transfer what I and the camera see onto a visual medium (Respondent 19)

This would suggest that for this respondent at least, creativity as the skill of producing something tangible is not transferable to another medium in professional practice. Professional creativity is therefore defined through skill within a particular practice. I would thus argue that professional concerns also influenced the responses in Stuhlfaut and Yoo's 2013 survey. The highest percentage of advertising practitioners (13.4%) defined creativity as "attention-getting". This is an indication that the respondents had the measurable aspects of advertising in mind when considering the question. It is a professional concern that advertising must get attention to be effective.

Thirdly, "making connections". Although only equating to 11% of the total number of responses, it is still significant because it is a response that is not represented in Stuhlfaut and Yoo's findings. There is an element of newness that could be interpreted from the responses but using the term "connecting" is significant enough to warrant a separate category. Within the theory of creativity, creativity is defined as the ability to associate unrelated things (Csikszentmihalyi 1999, Reid and Rotfeld 1976, Mendelsohn and Griswold 1964, Haefele, 1962). In psychology, associative theorists created a method called "synectics", defining creativity as "the joining of apparently unrelated elements which evoke new viewpoints directed toward problem solving." (Gordon, 1961:3) [119] In other words, studying how connections are made between ideas even when the connections are not immediately obvious. The synectics method of creativity analysis involves a strong brainstorming tradition with deeper investigation into why certain ideas came to mind. William J.J. Gordon (and his colleague George M. Prince) advocate videoing idea generation sessions to review how connections are made. Similarly, the social psychologist G.A. Mendelsohn (cited in Sternberg, 1999) defines the "combinatorial leap" as the ability to not only make connections between seemingly unrelated elements but to make a connection where most people would not notice that a connection is possible to be made. As the psychologist, Sarnoff Mednick (1962) argues, creative individuals have "flat" associative hierarchies that enable them to look beyond the obvious and make original associations, thus allowing them to have creative ideas.[120] This would suggest that the study of associative ability is also a study of creative ability. This is an argument echoed by Margaret Boden (2004) who, through studies of a wide range of

119 Synectics is attributed to George Prince and William Gordon and the work they conducted in Cambridge at Arthur D. Little (ADL) from 1958. Available from: http://www.adlittle.co.uk/about-us_uk.html [Accessed on 23rd March 2015] and http://synecticsworld.com/our-story/ [Accessed on 23rd March 2015]

120 Mednick found that people with steep associative hierarchies could only make known and common connections between words. For example, table and chairs, whereas people with flat associative hierarchies could make more lateral connections such as table and leg or food. Reid and Rotfeld (1976) study the role of the associative process within advertising creativity (the sample consists of students from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign who, although studying creative strategy are not experienced in professional practice.) Supplying three vaguely related words, they tested what respondents offered as a fourth word. They too found that the more creative individuals are those that make broader associations.

creative practice, found that creativity benefits from "mental mutations" from random phenomena. In other words, creative people can connect the knowledge that they hold with unrelated thoughts and ideas. Boden acknowledges that creative practitioners have associative abilities but she also reaffirms the theory that creativity comes from a confluence of factors, making it difficult to argue for the moment that creativity *happens*. The researcher cannot discern what the creative practitioner already knows. However, the photographic practitioner view of creativity also places having associative skills as central to creativity. Example responses from the survey:

> The ability to make something happen or come together by using various elements to assemble something that is more than a some [sic]of the parts. (Respondent 57)

> Associating ideas and unrelated things and concepts using your own experience, personality and influences and technique. (Respondent 59)

> Combining familiar elements in a completely new way. (Respondent 81)

> Creativity is ability to see nontrivial connections between objects… (Respondent 104)

> Creating new/unexpected connection between known/old things. (Respondent 156)

> Ability to create a new item by merging two already existing items. (Respondent 164)

> The combining of common elements to make an uncommon element. (Respondent 174)

> The ability to put together some elements to create a nice looking, useful and/or original things. (Respondent 211)

> The ability to create new concepts and objects by rearranging existing elements in new combinations. (Respondent 242)

Defining creativity through "making connections" again relates to an applied creativity. The brief received by a photographer determines what must be photographed, but the skill of the photographer is in taking the brief and producing an image that connects to the idea whilst being new. This is how appropriateness is manifest in advertising photography and how a successful professional outcome is determined by the practitioner themselves. Most importantly though, the connection is made to the old or the established. It is not simply, as Mednick describes it, a connection of "unrelated facts" that create a "previously unrealized relationship". This is

particularly apparent when analysing how 'originality' is viewed. The term "original" features prominently in the Stuhlfaut and Yoo survey with the second largest percentage of respondents equating creativity with originality. However, within my data, originality is only mentioned seven times or 2.6%. Only one respondent (Respondent 40) mentioned "originality" as a single characteristic of creativity. Originality instead is connected in the minds of photographers with something from "before":

> Something original. As in something that has not been done before. It can also mean a new twist or take on something that has been done before. The new angle or perspective on an old standard is difficult to achieve. (Respondent 16)

Context also emerges from my interview data as a deeply rooted value within the definition of creativity. The past and present are used as markers when considering the definition of creativity, with one compared with the other. For example, Respondent 16 above starts with a bold response but then goes on to state that creativity is a new "twist" on past ideas and themes. Rosenblum (1978) summarized that photographers are expected to create a "standard scenario" such as a family breakfast or friends enjoying a beer together but are also expected to "add an original twist": as Rosenblum describes it, the advertiser expects an "original standard picture" (1978:81). To be creative, one must create something that is new but new within context. It needs to be a "new perspective" of 'before' as perceived by the largest percentage of respondents. Indeed, there is a school of thought in advertising practice that also contextualises originality as the key to creativity. Creative director John Hegarty's theoretical standpoint is that the term original is "one of the most meaningless words in the creative lexicon. By definition, nothing can be truly original." He goes on to surmise:

> And the truth is that everything we create is based on something that's gone before. It has to be. Nothing happens in a vacuum, least of all creativity and ideas. (Hegarty 2014:20).

The creative director Paul Arden has also published broadly on the meaning of creativity in advertising.[121] Discussing advertisers, he states:

> To one it may mean: "I want the same as my competitors but different". To another it may be as simple as wanting a new jingle. To another it means: "give me the same as

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121 Paul Arden (1940-2008) is best known for his work as creative director at Saatchi & Saatchi advertising during the 1980s and early 1990s creating the well-known purple silk print advertisements for Silk Cut cigarettes and the tagline for British Airways: "The World's Favourite Airline".

we've had for the last twenty years, but not quite". 99% will want something that they recognize from experience…Only one in ten thousand will really mean, "Give me something I haven't seen before". (2003:105)

The way photographic practitioners define creativity has similarities to agency practitioners and yet there is also a specificity that is connected to photographic craft skills. Photographers are concerned that their own ideas and creativity is evident in the imagery they create. While the more expected responses relating to originality and newness reflected in Stuhlfaut & Yoo's findings are far fewer in my results, creativity is linked to the ability to connect ideas to a creative brief to find a new perspective on a well-known theme. Consequently, creativity as described by photographic practitioners is applied but it is also contextual.

4.3 The Creativity Hierarchy During the Photographic Process

In this section I unpack how creativity is defined and is manifest as the practitioners interact during the image creation process. Here, there is a drawing together of a mutual understanding of creativity as they work together but there is also a professional competitiveness to 'display' creativity.

According to my survey findings, there appears to be an anxiety amongst photographic practitioners about being consistent in their professional performance. Not only do photographers believe they must have a new perspective but they must also produce something tangible that represents that new perspective. As Amabile (1996) states, there is no constant in creativity, even within individual practitioners, as other factors influence performance, affecting the result. In photographic practice, it could be the environment in which the photographer must work or the people that he/she must collaborate with on the project. This was a recurring theme during the photographer interviews, it is believed that the most creative images are created when everything is aligned: the team, the conditions and the ability to externalize what is internal (i.e. create a photograph from an idea). For example, one photographer described a shoot where this occurred:

> I wanted to do a girl holding a wooden globe over the plains of Africa. And we drove for a day, with a full crew. I did seven frames on a Hasselblad film and I knew I had got it and it looked absolutely right, it was just with a reflector. And to me it looked iconic enough as I went home that night. Happiest man on the planet. Same with the boy at the aquarium, I had seen that image in my mind. The light came out, he was good and again it was early, we had shot it by half past seven in the morning and it was done. (Martin Barraud, interview 2014)

In other instances, there is a sense of the unpredictability as to how a photo shoot will turn out:

> We will talk about it and there will be a certain approach. But what comes out of the day, I can never predict. (Justin Pumfrey, interview 2014)

While there is a sense of anxiety evident in the survey responses, the interviewees elaborated more on how they would control a photoshoot to contain the unpredictable aspects of the shoot. The most unpredictable element, according to my findings, seems to be the agency creative (usually the art director) and/or the client. I found that photographers would mainly blame agency creatives for impeding their creativity whereas agency creatives would blame their client. This is again related to professional pride. The photographer is concerned with delivering an image that the agency deems creative, whilst also producing something that the photographer themselves believes conveys creativity. The interesting aspect here is that the client is relying on the advertising agency and the photographer to visualize their company and brand in the most creative way possible. The client is also funding the project. The art director, in many cases, feels that the client is restricting their creativity through lack of knowledge of creative work. The creative director Jon Steel discussed this, recounting his experiences working in San Francisco:

> We would produce what looked like finished ads at the sketch stage. We would represent the picture we wanted on there. There was no area for imagination or to contribute to the construction. In the past, that stage would have given ideas to take back to the art director. The client became so engaged with the picture, they wanted their image to look identical. (Steel, interview 2013)

Steel explained that the strategy employed by the advertising agency (Goodby, Silverstein & Partners) was to influence the client's decision by ensuring that the client "engaged" with the image the art director wanted them to. This is a belief developed by one of the co-founders of the agency, Rich Silverstein, to "cut down the areas of experimentation". Although this does mean that the brief for a photographer becomes "do the exact shot", in Steel's words, Silverstein's theory was that: "Clients don't have the imagination to see beautiful pictures". (Steel, interview 2013). This strategy is the agency's attempt to retain creativity and to ensure that the final advertisement does not deviate from the art director's idea. However, in managing the client, the agency is in turn restricting the photographer's ability to demonstrate their own creativity. During our interview, the photographer Martin Barraud showed me an example of a recent advertisement he had worked on to demonstrate how little room for creativity there is in some projects:[122]

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122 The advertisement for an industrial company was still confidential at the time of the interview so it is not reproduced here.

That is the visual and that is the finished ad. Directed to within an inch of its life. They left me to it, in that I lit it but you can see how unbelievably tight the visual is and that's because of the client. They have done everything, we had an hour. (Barraud, interview 2014)

Barraud's creativity is reduced to lighting skills. The image has been predetermined by the art director and the client. There is no flexibility in which the photographer can assert creativity on the image. Flexibility in this case, was further reduced by the lack of time attributed to photography. Situations such as Barraud describes give rise to a question about image provenance and who should be rewarded if the visual is successful or becomes iconic? Although Barraud photographed the idea exactly, it was the art director who determined how the image should look. So, while it could be argued that the ability to perfectly create an image from a sketch or mock-up is a skill, is it a skill in creativity? I will return to this discussion in section 7.3 about the advertising award system.

Because photographers convey a combination of creative and technical skill and defining one without the other is difficult, the photographer's creativity is more easily attributed when the provenance of an image is directly related to the skills of the photographer. Photographers regard any meddling with their creativity as an annoyance. Evidence from the interview data shows that in the minds of the photographer, the best photography happens when they are "left to get on with it":

How I am briefed really depends on the agency, the art director or the client. All art directors have different ways of working with the photographer. The better art directors will say "I have chosen you to do my picture and that is the end of my art direction." And then you have got the middle of the road ones which are saying "well we actually need you do this and it needs a bit of this". Then there are the ones who want you to take the picture that they say, "take this picture". And that in my mind is very bad use of art direction. Generally advertising art directors are interested in the big picture so they should be thinking about what this picture needs to convey in general and not the detail. Designers and the ones that are really scared of their clients will be saying "do you think the fork should be there or do you think it should there?" There is only one fork on the table, it is not going to make much difference but they are obsessed with the detail. (Ryan, interview 2014)

Some AD I worked with, for example at Saatchi's used to draw a box and it said, "good picture goes here". The client would ask about the good picture and the AD would say "I can't possibly tell you". (Ryan, interview 2014)

The beauty of the relationship of this particular client of mine is that he never tells me what to do. But if I get anything even 1% wrong then he is on me like a ton of bricks even though I have known him for 25 years. (Barraud, interview 2014)

Here Barraud touches upon something that perhaps explains why an art director might leave a photographer to get on with it. It is to do with having confidence in the skills of the photographer to illustrate the art director's ideas creatively.[123] The client that Barraud has been working with for 25 years knows that he is able to deliver the image they are looking for. The photographer Rob Daly also describes this through his own experience:

I am, as a photographer, translating the drawing that has been approved by the client, and bringing my style of shooting to the final images. If the shot is technically difficult to achieve then the technique will need to be worked out prior to the shoot. (Daly, interview 2014)

Photographers are hired for their perceived skills and creativity. The creative at an advertising agency always needs a photographer to visualize their idea:

Client's agencies may have an idea, but they need the specialist skills of photographers, hair and make-up artists, stylist, location finders etc. to realise those ideas. (Matt Hind, interview 2016)

The art director delivers a written brief which the photographer then translates into a visual language. There is trust between the two creative practitioners that they speak the same language in this regard. As Barraud notes, art directors prefer to work with photographers who visually depict their ideas in the best way possible (even improving on their idea).

Before the shoot occurs, the creative abilities and skills of a photographer have therefore already been determined by the art director. Specialisms might include shooting in a studio, on location, at high speed, aerial or being able to work well with models. Through my own professional

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123 Photographer Annie Leibovitz states in her 2008 publication *Annie Leibovitz at Work*, that once she was established in advertising, she could insert a clause into her contract that precluded anyone from the advertising agency or the client except a trusted Art Director (Parry Merkley from Ogilvy and Mather) from attending the photo shoot.

practice, I was in discussion with an account director from the advertising agency Saatchi and Saatchi. At the time of the discussion (2013) she was working on a campaign to launch public access to The Shard building in London. To photograph the building, she needed an aerial photographer and knew to call Jason Hawkes.[124] Because of his established portfolio, Hawkes was the obvious choice for the project. Photo agency head, Andy Saunders, describes it more broadly:

> Photographers live and die by their portfolio. The craft of the photographer and the ability to trust them is key to the relationship. (Saunders, interview 2013)

Saunders' opinion is reiterated by the creative director Will Awdry:

> We were working on a Levi's campaign in 1990 that was concept driven. It was based on the 'simple truth' that the jeans are double stitched, shrunk to fit and worn and torn. As part of the idea generation process we used source books including *Readers Digest* and Richard Avedon's book: *In the American West*. We decided to use Avedon to photograph "real people" to show how good the jeans look on real people. (Awdry, interview 2013)

In this example (figure 4.3), the source book (a book used for inspiration), as part of the creative process, provided ideas and a style of photography eventually used in the final advertisement image.[125] Awdry already knew Avedon's "craft" and wanted the same style of photography in his advertising campaign. (Awdry explained that it is his handwriting that forms the copy in the advertisement). The images were created through street-cast models and photographing them in a studio in New York.[126]

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124 Jason Hawkes is a well-known aerial photographer based in London. More information available at: www.jasonhawkes.com.
125 Richard Avedon (1923-2004) was a well-known American fashion and portrait photographer: *In the American West* (1985) is regarded in the photography industry as a seminal work featuring black and white portraits of working class subjects.
126 Street–casting is a technique that is used by advertising agencies and photographers to find models. It is literally asking people on the street to attend a photoshoot. This contrasts with a casting call where model agencies are contacted to provide models. Street casting has become more prevalent in the industry as a wider range of models is needed in advertising imagery.
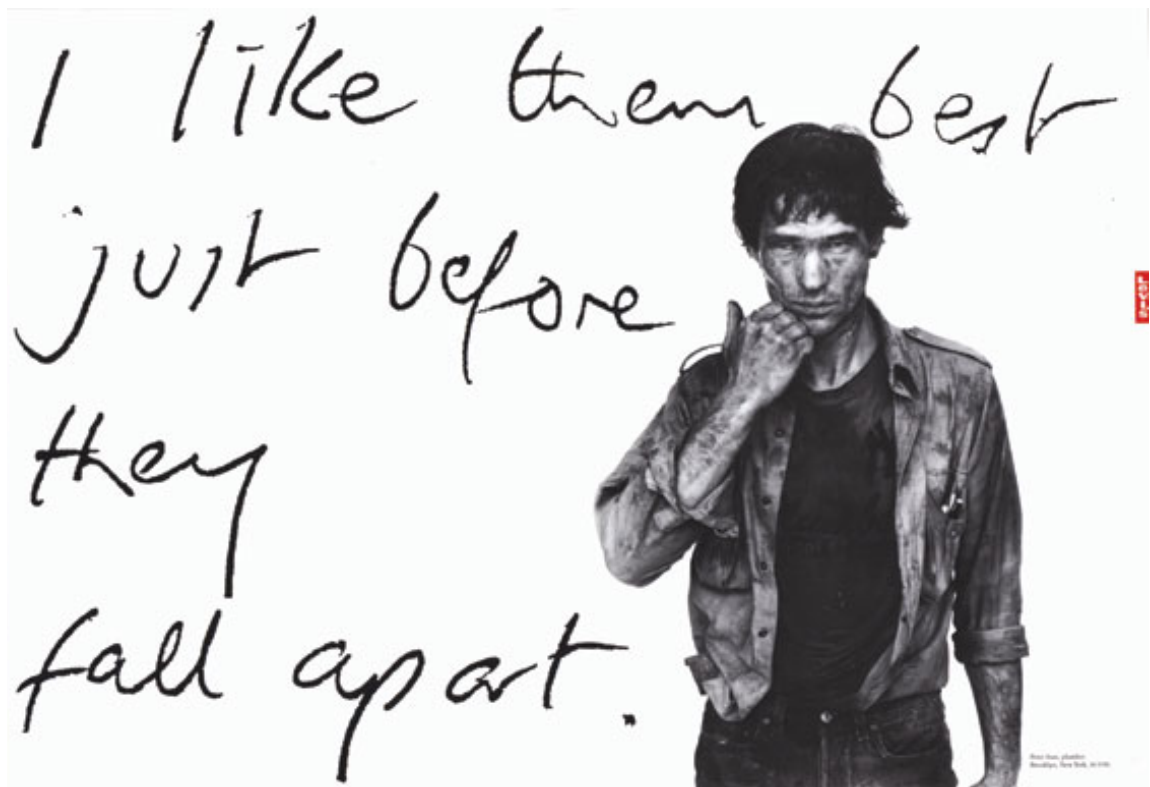
Figure 4.3 Levi's jeans advertisement, 1990. Photographed by Richard Avedon.

Again, the question arises, does the creativity belong to Avedon or Awdry or both in those advertising images? Awdry had seen similar photographs, imagined and created by Avedon and reproduced them alongside his own handwriting to produce the full advertisement. Awdry acknowledges Avedon's original idea and then adapted it for his own purposes. It could be argued that this is a demonstration of a "new angle" or "new perspective", the most mentioned characteristic of creativity by photographic practitioners. I would argue further that there is a degree of creativity being demonstrated by both practitioners. Avedon had the "original idea" and Awdry built on the idea to bring a "new perspective" to advertising photography for a jeans manufacturer.

Furthermore, as I have suggested, in most instances where the art director feels that the client does not understand creativity, in turn, the photographer feels that the art director needs better photographic technical knowledge. The interview data confirms this, but more revealing, experienced practitioners develop working practices to reassert creativity. As Barraud explains:

> My Art Director would always reject the first Polaroid even though it was perfect. I remember we did this shoot in Iceland and I suddenly got this trick of giving two Polaroids, so she could choose one of them. I have used that trick on every advertising shoot since. Click click, which one do you think is better? It is giving them a little bit of

empowerment and choice and it worked every single time and it came about by accident. (Barraud, Interview 2014)

Rob Daly explained in interview, how the working practice is to offer different options during the shoot process:

You shoot the shot they have asked for to the letter, then you shoot a version that you think is better, more creative, whatever. In many instances the client will say "I hadn't thought of that" or "actually I like that version better". Whether you get credit for that is dependent on the client. This is how a photographer can be creative. To change the small things within the parameters of what the client is trying to achieve. Using his/her knowledge and experience to add another dimension to what they are doing. (Daly, email 2016)

The way Daly describes it, the photographer, although hired to do a specific job, i.e. produce a photograph, will also be driven to impose their own creativity on the final image.

Problems arise for the photographer when the "client" is on set (the art director or the end client) usually because of a lack of understanding of the process or over-excitement at being present at the shoot which leads to indecision and last minute creative inspiration. The shoot can become distracted by the interaction of the client.[127] All the photographers I interviewed stated that having a client attend the photoshoot is the most difficult situation in which to work. Rosenblum (1978), studying advertising photographers in the 1970s likened the photographer's behaviour on set as akin to a performance. The agency team and the client are invited to the shoot to observe the performance of the photographer's technical prowess. As noted earlier, the interviewees were also very much performing their roles for me during the interview process. Of the advertising practitioners, Awdry started our interview by stating that it was "self-indulgent" to talk about himself whereas Sutherland had a narrative that he wanted to convey to me that is very much part of his professional identity.[128] I also interviewed four of the six photographers together on one occasion to discuss iconic imagery in more depth.[129] Despite knowing them professionally for many years and acknowledging their individual achievements, there was a performative aspect

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127 Through my own professional practice, I have experienced late finishes to a finely tuned schedule because a client has added in last minute images. (The issue is further exacerbated if additional members of the advertising agency and/or client team are also present).

128 Sutherland's role encompasses both professional practice and academia through which he positions himself as an expert. He regularly gives talks at conferences such as TED about the "bigger picture" of the advertising industry.

129 I interviewed Chris Ryan, Martin Barraud, Justin Pumfrey and Chris Newton together at their offices on the 8th July 2014. This was followed up with further discussions individually.

to the discussion. The photographers were projecting their carefully managed identities as creative practitioners to me and each other. It manifested itself through talking about famous photographs and photographers as well as through asserting the work each had done in the past. Giving responses was almost competitive in a bid to prove their creative knowhow.

Throughout the interactive and creatively collaborative process that an agency creative and a photographer go through, the agency creative is defining and constraining the photographer's creative input. However, during the photo shoot, the power shifts to the photographer as the agency creative is confined to the side-line unless there is an established and trusted working relationship between the two practitioners. Although the agency creative might view themselves as the one at the top of hierarchy, making the key creative decisions, the photographer has control on the shoot day. It is at this point in the process that the photographer succeeds or fails at turning the idea into something tangible. Both practitioners also agree that the client is the lowest in the creative hierarchy which is evidenced by neither encouraging the client to attend the photo shoot at all. This is mainly because the client is viewed as lacking both the craft knowledge about photography and the tacit knowledge about creativity. However, this is changing and has created a practitioner perception that there was a golden past in advertising photography.

4.4 The Golden Past Versus the Present

My findings suggest that, in the minds of the practitioner, there is a present where the client *thinks* they understand technical skills and a past when photographic skills were more mysterious to the client. This is perhaps why Rosenblum's findings from the 1970s might diverge from my own. During that period, there was a mystique about photography because photographic skills were unknown outside of practice, the client was then excited to be invited on to the set to see how it was done. This became an opportunity for the photographer to assert their creativity as part of their performance on set. Nowadays, there is a ubiquity of photographic practice that has made photographic skills accessible to the client. Their belief that they 'know' means they want more input into the process and this is viewed as a nuisance by the photographer.[130]

Rosenblum studied practitioners during a period when there was excitement about the skill in advertising photography. Writing ten years later, Robert Sobieszek's publication titled *The Art of Persuasion* depicted advertising photography as works of art. Sobieszek noted that the

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130 As camera phones and semi-professional DSLR cameras have become more accessible, general societal knowledge about photography has increased. Most people who work in modern business understand photographic terminology. In my professional experience, there has been a big shift in understanding over the last 20 years.

photographer's contribution to the advertising process was gaining recognition within professional practice:

> Greater artistic autonomy, recognition of artist's rights, changes in copyright laws and younger, more visually literate art directors and establishment of professional societies have helped elevate the photographer to a status once held only by the art director. (1988:127)

This period in advertising history was also the time that my interviewees were starting their careers. For example, the photographer Chris Ryan started as a photographer's assistant in 1972 and had his own studio in Fulham by 1988. Andrew Saunders started as a photographer's assistant in 1987. Creative Director's Awdry, Steel and Sutherland begun their careers as advertising account handlers in 1983, 1984 and 1990 respectively.

Awdry worked with Richard Avedon, Ellen Von Unwerth and Rankin.[131] All commercial photographers, highly regarded for the work they produced during the 1980s and 1990s. Awdry noted that "the photographers I worked with in the early days, their work is now considered as art photography". Awdry explains the phenomenon:

> In the 70s and 80s British films were not so great, so super talented people went to Hollywood or into advertising. Art was allowed to rear its head. *Today* newspaper would run a double page spread commentary on advertising and all the broadsheets had arts correspondents and writers dedicated to talking about creativity. (Awdry, interview 2013)

He talked more specifically about the "art" of advertising being the belief and reverence of visuals. Awdry moved to Bartle Bogle Hegarty (known as BBH) in 1986 because it was "a cathedral of visual art". Jon Steel also discussed the period between 1989 and 1999 when he was working for the creative director Rick Silverstein (of Goodby, Berlin and Silverstein) who had a passion for photography that permeated through the agency. Steel recounted how they were always surrounded by the photography from their work. There was a gallery on the walls of the agency featuring advertising photographs, so everyone had an appreciation of photography.

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131 John Waddell Rankin, known as Rankin (1966-) is a British portrait photographer who works mainly in fashion and advertising.

During our first interview, Ryan discussed his career in advertising photographic practice. It was an era that saw global expansion of well-known brands bringing huge investment in the photographic image meaning more large-scale shoots. In Ryan's words, it was a time when "there was a lot of money floating around", "there were big budgets and no-one really cared about cost". Looking back:

> It didn't seem glamorous at the time but I suppose it was. People would literally just turn up at the studio. Friends would think it was so creative. (Ryan, interview 2013)

I questioned some of my interviewees directly on when they believed advertising photography was at its best during their career. The responses I received were very similar and encompassed the period between approximately 1988 and late 1990s/early 2000s. Around this time, direct marketing was emerging as a popular advertising trend because it produced a measurable response. Mailers and coupons became more visual and needed photography to attract attention. This development saw corresponding growth in the stock image industry. As Ryan describes that time, photo libraries (as stock agencies were known) "were looked down upon and scorned by the whole photo industry" and yet there was a lot of money available at that time:

> An art director from VCG came along and took some images away and then I received a cheque in the post for £500. So, he came along and took some more away. I did a shoot for them and got paid £1500 a day for two weeks.[132] (Ryan, interview 2013)

All the advertising creatives I interviewed talked about the early 2000s as a time when creativity changed for them. Until that point, the world of advertising was enigmatic but as advertising agencies were forced to open-up about their work, clients could see how things worked:

> The 2000s saw a ripping open of the secret world of advertising agencies as clients insisted on more transparency of the work that was done and costs incurred for their campaigns. This had a huge impact on the cost of photography universally. (Sutherland, interview 2013)

Conversely, while Saunders recognized that stock photography grew in the 1990s, he believes the most creative images in the industry were produced between 1998 and 2004. In his opinion, it was a time when more risks were being taken in image choice as the internet allowed a new

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132 VCG (Visual Communications Group) which owned companies including FPG (USA), Telegraph Colour Library (UK), Bavaria Bildagentur (Germany) and Pix (France) was acquired by Getty Images Inc. in 2000.

visual language for advertising and marketing. Saunders saw a growth in creativity in the stock industry even though it was producing more images at cheaper prices at the time.[133]

The issue that the advertising agencies faced in the 2000s was that the on-line availability of imagery made pricing more transparent. Previously the cost of photography was determined through negotiation with a photographer or photo agency/stock library and the traditional 25% mark-up was added on top.[134] Complicating the matter further, photography is typically seen as part of total media spend for a campaign. Sutherland explained the impact that changes in media placement also affected photography:

> The cost of media placement is lower in the digital world, advertising banners on websites are cheaper than print advertisements and 48 sheet posters, therefore the cost for photography has also reduced although the percentage of the total spend has remained pretty constant. (Interview 2013)

Sutherland also attributed the changes in photographic use to the changes in advertising agency portfolios:

> In the 1990s, two thirds of advertising spend was in the packaged goods industry (soap, washing powder, beer, grocery products etc.) and those brands would run large campaigns several times a year. The packaged goods industry now only equates for a third of advertising spend, the two thirds is now made up of, among others; cable and internet providers, mobile phone companies and comparison sites such as Confused.com, Gocompare.com and comparethemarket.com. These categories didn't exist in the 1990s. When you are selling beer, you can be more exciting with image choices but bank advertising can be a bugger. (Interview 2013)

The consensus amongst both the advertising and photographic practitioners I interviewed is that advertising photography had its golden era during a time when photographic skills were revered, and in the nascent stage of the internet, more risks could be taken in the new digital frontier while traditional media such as magazines, billboards and direct mail still required creative imagery.

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133 PhotoDisc Inc. was established in Seattle in 1991 but had an impact on the photographic industry from 1997 onwards when it merged with Getty Images to offer approximately 60,000 images as royalty-free on CD-ROM or downloaded from the website. The royalty-free model meant agencies could pay one upfront price for a collection of images (at the time between 5 and 50 images) and utilise them on as many marketing communications as they wished. This changed the stock industry at the time.

134 Negotiation was managed through personal relationships between art buyers in advertising agencies and account managers or photographic agents in photo agencies. A 25% commission was added to the fee quoted by photo agencies. Advertising agencies also add an additional 17.5% commission to production costs (if the shoot is commissioned).

From the practitioners' point of view, this era was a time when creativity was at its peak. There is also a perception that creativity has been further eroded more recently. The rise of consumer digital cameras in the early 2000s made photography easier and cheaper to more people. This was further compounded by the introduction of camera phones in the mid 2000s (the Apple iPhone was launched in 2007 for example). Photography has become something that is part of everyday life. In less than twenty years, photography has changed from a highly-prized skill held by only a few experienced practitioners, to a skill that is available to three quarters of the UK population via their mobile phones.[135] While the growing visual literacy of the consumer and the general interest in the art of photography could be viewed as a positive evolution, for the practitioners I interviewed, it is a problem:

> Photography used to be something you couldn't do, now it is something that you can do so the photography that clients want to use needs to be like the people on the street, the view of the world as it is – terms such as authenticity, vividness, photojournalism are used by clients when they talk about the type of photography they want to use. (Awdry, interview 2013)

The client is now able to understand the language of photography and is more strident in their needs. Whereas in the past, a photographer could "perform" (to use Rosenblum's terminology) on set, nowadays, the client is more knowledgeable, so the creative needs to persuade the client to their creative idea more. Once again, the lack of creativity is attributed to the client. As Awdry further explains:

> Clients now ask for "out of focus" or long lens images without knowing what they want to say. The clients pick out the wallpaper without first buying the house. (Interview 2013).

As a creative practitioner, according to Awdry, there is still a sense that even though clients are more knowledgeable, they lack the skills to understand when to apply that knowledge. In other words, there is still a need for the professionals. The sheer volume of images that are created by non-professionals is also a problem for professional practitioners. This is particularly evident in how photo agencies have evolved. Saunders spoke about these changes in depth:

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135 According to Ofcom (the UK communications regulator) in 2017, 76% of adults owned smart phones in the UK. Available here: https://www.ofcom.org.uk [Accessed 13th November 2017].

The turnover of imagery is so much faster now. In 2001, the time to market from the photo shoot to publishing on the web was between six and 18 months. Now it is between a few days and just under a month. The scale of the business is all about the numbers…volume is a distraction.

The motivation to spend money is going down because of the over-supply of cheap stock photography clouds customer's opinion of what makes a good image. (Saunders, interview 2013)

The term "clutter" is used both by advertising and photography practitioners as the number one issue that makes their work more difficult in the present day. The term also surfaces in Nyilasy and Reid's (2009) advertising practitioner interviews as a derogatory term. "Clutter" in both cases describes the mass of visual content that is produced by "others". I have quoted from Saunders who runs the creative department of the largest global photo agency but attributes the "clutter" to *other* cheaper stock agencies.[136] Against the background of falling commissioning fees, clutter and more transparency, advertising creatives and photographers are nostalgic for the era when it was easier to charge higher fees and manage client expectations. While it could be argued that practitioners are simply nostalgic for when the practice was more lucrative, other research using advertising practitioner interviews yielded similar results. Cronin's interviews with copywriters found that practitioners often referenced "the good old days" (2004b:351). Nyilasy and Reid state that:

Theories are always situated in history…the two domains are: a roughly circumscribed past (often reminiscent of a mythical Golden Age) and the present (often believed to be a less advantageous environment for the advertising industry)." (2009:92)

And Kelly et al's 2005 study of Irish advertising practitioners also note that practitioners describe "the golden years of advertising" when agencies had more control over the process. Having examined how past and present practice is viewed, I have found that practitioners seem to employ an internal measurement system to assess their own work from project to project but also in comparison to wider practice. Certainly, it appears that my interviewees produced their best, most creative work in the past. While there was a small number of recent examples given, the majority were past successes. This could be attributed to a nostalgia for their younger selves but more probably is because of the change in position in the creative hierarchy. This is particularly evident

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136 Competition to Getty Images in the stock industry are microstock agencies that licence royalty-free photos, videos, illustration and music at small fees, sometimes less than £1 each. As of 2016, these agencies are: Shutterstock, Fotolia, Adobe Stock and 123RF.

in advertising agencies. The creative directors I interviewed had become more removed from day-to-day creative work as they ascended the career ladder. This was also noted by the photographers. They had strong relationships with agency creatives in the past but as the creatives were successful, they moved to other companies or became owners of their own agencies. Barraud (interview 2014) described the zebra imagery he had created for Investec Asset Management (see an example in figure 4.4). The imagery has been so successful, the art director he originally worked was able to form his own agency. Ryan spoke of his retirement from advertising work in 2007. The reason given was that he had worked "with a circle that mutates over time. The creative director becomes successful, leaves to set up their own agency leaving a new generation of art directors who are younger and do not have the wealth of knowledge or historical relationship with him" (interview 2013).

The theory of two ages which runs through other researchers' findings and is borne out in my own research, is important to discuss here because, within photographic practice, creativity does have a chronology. There is a timeline that is not studied that I will address in chapter eight. The photographic practitioner is nostalgic about the time when photography was perceived as a difficult skill to acquire and therefore was valued (artistically and financially). Therefore, as digital technology has lowered the price of the photographic production process, it has also lowered the perceived value of the practice. As a result, more photographers are joining the professional advertising photographic marketplace, hence it is more competitive than 20 years ago.

There is a sense in this context that experienced practitioners also *measure* creativity between their own past and the present. To understand this within the frame of broader practice, I am now going to look at how creativity is measured and rewarded in more detail.

Figure 4.4 Investec advertisement, circa 2008. Photograph by Martin Barraud.

4.5 Measuring Creativity in Photographic Practice

My argument in this section draws on the second question in the survey as evidence of the way that advertising photographers measure themselves and others to establish their place in the community of practice. As stated in the methods chapter, the survey posed two questions, the first an unprompted definition of creativity and the second to determine how practitioners mentally measure creativity. Here the enquiry was set to understand how individual practitioners determine where they position themselves in their community but what measures they utilise to make that determination. Are measurements purely personal or does the body of wider practice influence the individual? To reiterate, the survey asked: "How do you measure creativity in your own and other people's work?" The question has been framed to allow the respondent to reply

naturally.[137] Nineteen (7.6%) stated that creativity is difficult to measure or they do not measure. Example responses in this range:

> I don't (Respondent 17)

> Whoa. Why measure creativity in the first place? It's like measuring artistic merit, isn't it? Totally subjective, I don't think it's measurable really. (Respondent 55)

> Creativity is not measurable, there are no degrees of creativity; either it is, or it is not. (Respondent 85)

> Just as the main character of Pirsig's book *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* is driven mad trying to define 'quality' without making comparisons, measuring creativity is equally as difficult. One person's idea of a successful creative pursuit is to another a ludicrous folly. (Respondent 97)

Most responses (89.2%) were related to creativity in broad terms, talking from experience of assessing their own creativity. The remaining 3.2% compared their own creativity with others. (Figure 4.5 shows the full results). For example:

> When I view other people's art I measure the creative process by my desire to know how it was done. I've experienced every detail of the process with my own work so unfortunately the sense of wonder is lost. With that said I don't measure my creativity as a less impressive thing but as a sense of gratitude towards the co-creation that took place in making the art. (Respondent 64)

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137 I expected responses to range between not wishing to measure at all to only measuring in others. To ensure a response was generated by all practitioners, I decided on the broader question. Sixteen practitioners did not respond to question two and five were not complete answers (for example, a single word). The total sample for question two is 250 respondents.

Characteristic	Mentions	Percent
Emotional resonance	85	34.0
Craft/ Skill/Artistic	62	24.8
New perspective/ New way	56	22.4
Difficult to measure/Don't measure	19	7.6
Idea/Imagination	16	6.4
Quantity/Measuring elements	6	2.4
Success	4	1.6
Meets standards/Expectations	2	0.8
Total	250	100.0

Figure 4.5 Results from photographic practitioner survey question two: How do you measure creativity in your own and other people's work?

The highest percentage of responses to question one equated creativity with a "New angle/new perspective" (20.1% or 53 mentions). This response generated a similar number of results for question two with 56 mentions or 22.4% measuring creativity in the same way. The responses to both questions highlighted that a significant number of practitioners relate the definition and measurement of creativity to something that they have not seen before. While looking at photographic practice from the outside, this would not bring any further clarity to the understanding of the practitioner view on creativity, from within practice, a clearer definition starts to emerge. Within the context of the advertising photography industry, there is a chronology that is rooted in the practitioner knowledge base. I will return to this in more detail in chapter seven and eight as it is a recurring theme that has emerged from my practitioner research. However, the largest percentage of responses to question two equated measuring creativity with how it makes the viewer feel. In other words, the stronger the feeling, the more creative the image. Twelve respondents used the word "wow" to describe a successful creative image. The word "wow" expresses a strong emotion or a feeling of being impressed:

> I measure creativity by emotion…how it makes me feel, how long it captures my attention, how deep it takes me within myself. Does it touch my heart, my soul, my emotions? Am I moved by it, lost in it? "Wow" is my favourite word to express amazing creativity in other people's work! Am I wowed? (Respondent 43)

> If I say to myself, "wow, that's a good idea", it fits my definition. (Respondent 75)

> The "wow" factor (Respondent 127)

> Through the WOW Factor. If my mind says "wow" then I am drawn to that image. (Respondent 175)

This subjective and less tangible measure relating to "feelings" is far higher than the number of responses that measured creativity against quantifiable standards. Creativity that meets standards, is defined by quantity of output or achieves a goal equates to a total 4.8% of respondents. Compared to 34% who measure by feelings:

> I feel it… (Respondent 32)

> Something that makes me stop, catches my attention, and stirs emotion (Respondent 54)

> By the emotions it stirs in the viewer. (Respondent 76)

By the amount my senses are engaged by the work (Respondent 114)

By what moves me and prompts me to see and experience something differently (Respondent 139)

Emotions, how the image makes me feel (Respondent 161)

Respondent 164 was almost apologetic for measuring creativity by emotional response: "Unfortunately, an immeasurable "gut" feeling". The evidence suggests that photographic practitioners quantify creativity through unquantifiable measures. As a few respondents note:

I do not have a reliable way to measure, in a scientific type way, but I measure it mainly by the impact it causes on me. (Respondent 58)

Very subjective. If it looks original or inspires me. (Respondent 59)

From this evidence, it seems that the measurement of creativity in photographic practice is subjective, personal and emotional. These results demonstrate how seemingly personal measurement is but also how there is a consistency in that measurement across photographic practitioners. There appears to be a collective agreement that successful imagery is defined by a "gut feeling" that is not simply equated with technical or craft skill. This points to knowing how to create creative/successful imagery has a tacit component. I will focus on this in more detail throughout chapter six as both personal knowledge and collective agreement are integral to understanding the practices of the advertising photographic community.[138]

The second largest proportion of respondents (24.8%) measure creativity through the artistry or craft of the practitioner. In the practitioner's mind, when assessing their own work, creativity is measured on the ability to turn the idea into something tangible (as I found in the responses to question one). In measuring creativity in others, there is a strong sense of *who* is creative:

In my own, it's with the finished product. In others, it's the finished product as well as on occasion seeing the process that brought the finished product to where it is. (Respondent 37)

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138 Collective tacit knowledge is developed within the group as they interact with one another. According to Leonard and Sensiper, it exists "more or less complete" in the minds of the participants. (1998: 121).

It isn't enough to have an idea but rather to have a great idea is the beginning of being creative. Everything is based off of the past and this is no different. I being creative, so I measure my creativity by knowing my process. A rookie artist might not have mastered the "process" but that doesn't mean they don't have creativity. Knowing how to look past the process is the key to evaluating creativity in our own work and others. (Respondent 40)

I measure it by the artistic tools I see utilized in the photo, and the emotional impact the photo creates. (Respondent 148)

There is a close connection between emotional resonance, artistry and finding new ways of visualising things. Practitioners revere other practitioners who can produce work that takes the skills of the craft and apply them in a way that produces a new version or new perspective on the expected or previously seen before. While it is expected in advertising practice that most campaigns are based on old ideas, or at least sell in the same way for decades (for example washing powders are promoted as getting clothes whiter), practitioners have respect for peers who can establish themselves as photographers who create photography that is a new take on those old ideas. (I will address this in more detail in chapter seven). In the same way, practitioners are respectful of their peers who advance the craft of advertising photography. As Respondent 169 put it, "any people's work that teaches me anything" is a good measure of creativity. Another respondent goes further:

I steal ideas all the time, and then try to tweak and put my own creative spin on the concept…It's always nice to keep adding to the bag of tricks in the Domke bag I carry around...There are some extremely talented photographers in this world, what's not to love, to have an ever expanding and evolving knowledge of my craft.[139] (Respondent 217)

While there is little mention of technical skills, especially when considering, as discussed, the role that photographers play in the production of imagery in advertising. The "craft" of advertising photography is a strong theme that emerges through the survey and the interviews. Koslow, Sasser and Riordan's (2003) study of the definition of creativity in American advertising agencies considered artistry as a concept.[140] Craft, Koslow et al argue, is related to creativity but is the aspect of creativity (at least in the minds of the agency account executives) that is "selfish",

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139 Domke is a brand name for a camera bag manufacturer.
140 Koslow et al define craft as "artistry".

in other words, it has negative connotations for advertisers. Koslow et al find that craft is discussed when an idea lacks appropriateness, the creative has "run amok" with an idea but has not met the brief. My own results suggest that craft is key to creativity and is viewed positively by photographic practitioners. While the measurement of photography is not clear cut, amongst practitioners, if skill is evident in the process of creating the image, then it is measured highly. I will therefore analyse the process in more detail in section 5.5, to examine how the creative skills of advertising photographers become apparent. The centrality of craft in advertising photography and the focus on the skill of the photographer reveals that there is, as I argue, a community of practice and this has implications for future research. Advertising photographic practice, while closely entwined with advertising practice, has its own knowledge systems and beliefs. I will return to this specifically in chapter six.

4.6 A Definition of Creativity in Advertising Photographic Practice

The title for this section could have a question mark at the end of the sentence. Based on the evidence from the practitioner survey, combined with a critical engagement with the literature, I argue that creativity is a definitive element in photographic practice within advertising. It certainly is defined by the qualities identified by Amabile as "newness" and "appropriateness" but there is also a strong connection to the past and what has been photographed before. Creativity is not of course unique to advertising photography. As Rosenblum (1978) found, fine art photographers also define themselves by their creativity. However, in fine art photography, a sense of individuality and uniqueness is far more prevalent. There is no obligation to connect to anything that has been created before. Rosenblum noted that every art photographer interviewed had a different process. The lack of client means that fine art photographers are free to determine processes and deadlines. Within fine art, creativity is as individual as the practitioner and connected to the practice of the individual therefore authorship is fully recognised. But advertising photography relies on the client and the client expects to witness an observable process. The client hires a reliable supplier, one that can be trusted, who understands the norms of the industry and will interpret the creative brief. Trust is earned through a photographer's portfolio of previous work and the ability to perform under the scrutiny of the advertising agency creative and the client. The advertising photographer in turn prefers to work with a client that trusts them enough to allow creative freedom.

Thus, creativity, as I have argued, is the central tenet of advertising photography. In this chapter I have established that creativity is defined partly through craft skills, i.e. having the ability to produce creative imagery from an idea (whether the photographer's own or created by the agency creative) but most importantly to a brief. Creativity is further defined and measured against what has come before. Creativity is applied and contextual.

While on the surface it might appear that an entire industry is defined by something that is difficult to define, for the practitioners, there is 'know how' that underpins their everyday work, motivates them to continue working and judges their own and others work. There is an understanding as to what is creative and what is not which is not always made explicit outside of practice. This would suggest that creative knowledge has a tacit component and aligns with the most referenced definition of tacit knowledge from the scientist and philosopher Michael Polanyi as referenced on page 21. An example that I have discussed within my own professional practice is the ability to cast models for a photoshoot. An experienced photographic practitioner can tell if a model will work within the image and the creative idea whereas a non-practitioner can rarely see the same potential unless they are presented with an image of the model that has visual similarities to the image that is about to be shot. This "feeling" is difficult to articulate but is an important aspect of a practitioner's creative knowledge.

In this chapter, I have begun the process of revealing the 'untold' by examining practitioner definitions of creativity. To continue to examine the 'untold' across the community, I will explore the fundamentals of the community of practice by looking at how and why photographers join professional practice, what photographic processes look like and how they fit within the advertising process. This will be done through examining the results from the interviews and the survey as well as drawing in my own experiences in practice.

The following chapter is a study of how photographers work (especially in the context of the advertising production process) and is followed in chapter six by an analysis of the acquisition and acknowledgement of 'know how' by photographers in professional practice.

5. ADVERTISING PRODUCTION AND THE PHOTOGRAPHER'S ROLE IN THE PROCESS

When an advertising image is commissioned, the photographer and agency creative enact processes that converge to create the photograph. To describe the process fully, this chapter is more empirically based and by being so, brings the role and craft of the photographer to the fore. Further, this chapter presents the core ethnography as it develops the findings from the practitioner interviews, highlighting how photographers assert creativity in the process and how advertising practitioners view creativity in photographers. As I have shown; collective and individual creative skills are utilized at different points in the process and the need to work collaboratively influences relations between the advertising creative and the photographer.

Insider ethnography (as discussed on page 15 and 18) is most visible here as I narrate the process to bring visibility to it and although constructed from the practitioner interviews, depth is given through participant observation. I have included visual records to demonstrate my insight into the process and woven through is my own professional experience. As examined in chapter two, there is a body of work that attempts to define creativity in advertising through the study of creative processes. The approach is qualitative, interviewing and mapping the process through practitioner experiences. While I have noted some of the problems with this approach, such as the difficulty or reluctance that some practitioners have in explaining how they work, I am assured that a combination of practitioner interviews and my personal professional experience will clarify how photographers are included in the process.

To demonstrate the advertising process, I draw on three studies that build upon each other. Each use practitioner interviews to offer an ethnographic account and all three studies offer a flowchart to demonstrate how the process progresses through an advertising agency. The earliest study by Mondroski, Reid and Russell (1983) examines the creative decisions that are made during the production process by interviewing practitioners in an American advertising agency. Mondroski et al reproduce a study conducted by Capon and Scammon (1979) on the process of creating an advertising campaign for a retail client. Mondroski et al acknowledge the limitation of examining a single campaign in one agency, but in both studies, there is also a lack of detail regarding turning the creative idea into something tangible.[141] The most recent study by Turnbull and Wheeler

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[141] Mondroski et al end the process with a single action labelled "execute campaign". Na, Marshall and Woodside's (2009) later study expands on the research by taking a decision system analysis approach to two campaigns at two advertising agencies through interviews and observation. However, the resulting flowchart, although more intricate in detail, also ends at the production stage. Na et al similarly label the final step in the process as "implement".

(2015) analyses a larger sample of interviews with 21 British agency practitioners to demonstrate how the creative process consists of 24 stages. Turnbull and Wheeler's results are most similar with my own because our studies were conducted at the same time, but as with earlier studies, Turnbull and Wheeler overlook the image production process. The 24th stage of the creative process, is labelled "proceed to ad production/ develop support media". The creativity of the photographer and of the photographic process are not considered part of the creative advertising process.[142] Therefore, this chapter redresses the absence, presenting a narrative account and using flowcharts to represent the photographic process. First, to define the process from within the advertising agency as others have done and second to define the missing parts of the process from previous studies.

5.1 Mapping the Process from Inside the Advertising Agency

Typically, within an advertising agency, the creative team comprises two people - one art director and one copywriter. Traditionally, the art director is responsible for images and the copywriter for words. This format originated in the 1960s when Bill Bernbach introduced the two-person creative team to the agency Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB) to help the idea generation process - prior to this, art direction and copywriting were two separate departments.[143] DDB became successful and other agencies soon adopted the same structure. Since digital media has become widespread, art directors and copywriters also work with wider teams that include digital designers and/or planners or social media experts. However, it is still industry custom to use a two-person team. Some agencies prefer to organize the creative teams around major client accounts - Ogilvy for example, has a team that works on British Airways and another that works on American Express only (Awdry, interview 2013). Conversely others such as Wieden and Kennedy (W&K) prefer to pull on specific expertise depending on the project. W&K call this organisation the "bullpen approach".[144] This enables the agency to bring in a range of people with differing skills and backgrounds to each project. According to my interviewees, there is no clear timeline for the creative process. All noted that it can be slow and time consuming and delays occur while the client goes through an internal decision-making process. For this reason, the most anxious time for the creative team is once they have presented ideas to the client. At this point, the team could be asked to start over again. Also, later in the process the idea will go through

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142 Equally filmmakers, illustrators, digital artists etc. are not considered as part of the process.

143 Bill Bernbach (1911-1982) Creative Director, co-founded DDB in 1949.

144 Quote from http://adage.com/article/special-report-agency-alist-2010/creativity-agency-year-wieden-kennedy/148358/ [Accessed 29th June 2015] The term "bullpen approach" comes from baseball. The bullpen is the area where the substitutes stay warm in case they are called upon during a match. In an agency, the approach is used to select a different mix of people for each project.

consumer testing research. If the idea is rejected by consumers, it is less likely to be approved by the client and will again mean that the creative team must rethink.

The process and timeline (as detailed by my interviewees) begins with the client brief to the agency. The brief poses a problem that the client wishes to resolve. It could be something simple such as increasing product sales or more intangible such as: "Changing people's points of view, what we want to stand for." (Awdry, interview 2013). It is the account planner's responsibility to interpret the client brief to produce a formal creative brief that focuses the creative team on the project. According to my interviewees, the creative brief includes details such as the target audience, the tone of the advertising message as well as the key messages the advertisement should communicate. Awdry then described the creative process - the creative team work on the initial ideas for approximately two weeks before presenting internally. In the first instance, the head of the creative department gives approval, then the client account team is also shown the ideas. If all agree internally, the client is invited to view the ideas which takes the form of a presentation. At this meeting or soon afterwards, if the client approves the idea, it is mocked up (presented as a rough advertisement) for validation by consumer testing. The testing process can take between four and five weeks and usually involves focus group discussions and/or interviews. Depending on the results of the testing, the creative team will "rewrite and replay" (Awdry, interview 2013) ideas until the work is approved and the campaign is launched. In total, the whole process is likely to be eight to nine months from "soup to nuts" according to Awdry.[145]

The advertising creative process, as told to me, is represented in a flowchart in figure 5.1. The key moment for the creative team is when they generate ideas (the third step in the process in figure 5.1). According to my interviewees, this is when creativity occurs. It is when tacit knowledge about creativity becomes manifest because the creative practitioners can flex their creative muscle and prove their creative worth. However, the period following the idea generation step is where insecurity might start to show. Ideas are presented internally before presenting to the client so the creative needs to accumulate peer approval, beginning in the wider creative team (as well the creative director) and then the rest of the agency. The creatives are emotionally attached to their ideas and take pride in their craft. The creative's ability to communicate the creative idea clearly and persuasively is tested at this stage of the process. It is tested again if the idea gains peer acceptance and is presented to the client. During the client presentation, the

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145 More recently, the process also includes "chemistry meetings" and/or "tissue sessions". A chemistry meeting is inserted at the beginning of the process, either while the client is choosing which agency to work with or soon after signing to the agency. The chemistry meeting is a chance for the creative team and the client to get to know each other better. A tissue meeting is inserted into the process just before the agency formally present their ideas. This allows the client to see the creative team's progress. (The name comes from the traditional process of drafting ideas on tracing paper).

creative team will often present more than one idea. During my interviews, the creative directors said they invariably present three ideas to the client, the photographer group interviewees said they would discuss two to three options prior to the shoot, and as Steel explains, during the consumer testing: "We tend to show three different images in three ads to see what the reaction to it is". In some cases, the creatives include an idea that they believe lacks creativity: "We will happily show crap images to test the reaction too" (Steel, interview 2013). This is connected to the creative practitioner's view of creativity. As I have discussed, the client is viewed as having a low sense of creativity by the creative practitioner. By showing the client three ideas, the creative can represent a "safe idea", a "more risky idea" and an idea that is so risky the agency expects the client to reject it outright. By giving three options, the middle option is a comfortable decision for the client and is acceptable to the creatives.

I found that advertising practitioners are forthcoming about the steps of the process they work through to get an advertising image in front of the consumer. The steps, as shown in figure 5.1, are clearly mapped out because certain activities must comply with the client's expectations. The client expects to have a series of meetings to understand how the budget is being spent by the agency. A visible process gives the client the impression that they understand how creativity works. As Brown, Reed and Yarrow (2017) found in an ethnographic study of meetings, they are held to "tame, narrow and contain uncertainty" (2017:23). However, the part of the process where idea generation occurs is not clearly mapped out. While earlier researchers summarise idea generation as a single part of the process but do not examine it further, I will analyse both advertising practitioner and photographic practitioner idea generation processes to determine where their separate processes converge in the creation the image. By doing so, I hope to further elucidate how creative collaboration is woven into the process.
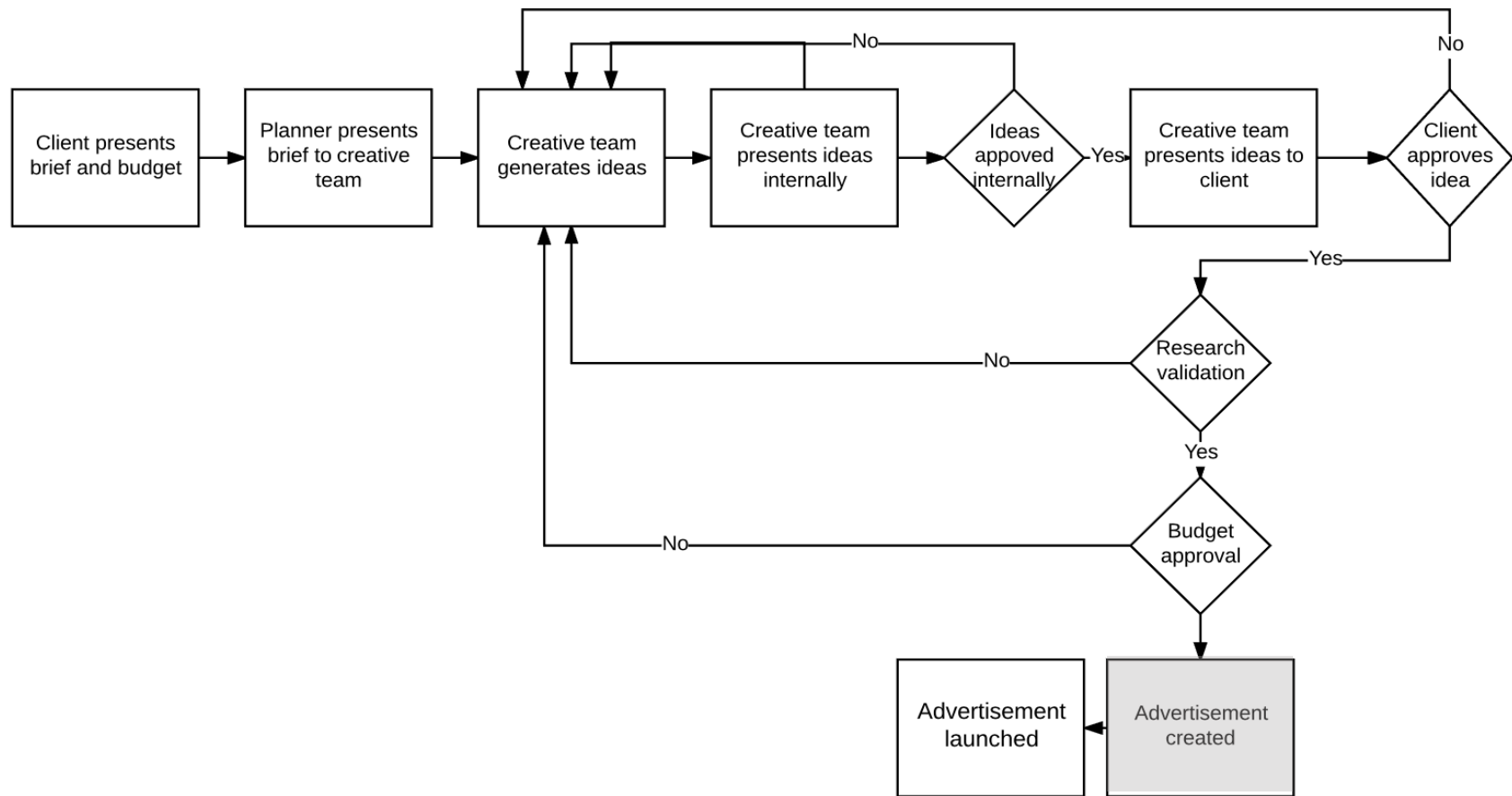
Figure 5.1 The advertising process according to agency interviewees.

5.2 Idea Generation: Creativity Becomes Manifest

In this section I present a synthesis of idea generation as articulated through my interviews and informal personal interactions. As the flowchart in figure 5.1 shows: the first step in the creative process is the presentation of the client brief to the creative team. A briefing or 'kick off' meeting is held at the agency between the creative team and the account team. Depending on how the agency organizes its creative teams, a team is selected for the project. At this meeting, everything that the account management team and strategy or planning team know is shared with the creative team. (Represented as stage two in figure 5.1). The account management team will have started working with the client (usually a marketing or brand manager). Account management plays a vital role in this respect as the *face* of the agency and is responsible for ensuring the process runs to time and budget. Information includes past and present client relationship feedback (either with their own agency or with previous agencies the client has worked with), the history of the client's advertising, any specific characteristics of the industry or the company, what the client needs from the campaign and most importantly the budget and deadlines. The account or strategic planning department (referred to in practice as simply "planning") presents the insights generated to date. Planning lay out the constraints of the creative brief such as the target audience, the tone that creative ideas need to take and their key research insights to date. This information is usually presented as a strategy for the creative team to follow. In this respect, the ideas the creative team generates are not produced in isolation; creative teams are restricted by the parameters put in place by the planning team. As Csikszentmihalyi states: the perfect conditions for *flow* (the complete absorption and enjoyment of doing something creative) require "the clarity of goals" (1996:114). All my interviewees admitted that constraints or parameters gave them a clear focus. This is then followed by the "first day" meeting with the creative team, held by the Creative Director:

> This is an opportunity for the creative team to get together to discuss their immediate thoughts, bring anything that would be a useful reference and get all the clichés out of the way (Awdry, interview 2013).

All the practitioners interviewed discussed clichés.[146] In both advertising and photographic practice, clichés encompass ideas or techniques that have been used so often, they have become

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146. Some creative teams consciously ban clichés from their discussions (I have experienced this first hand with a creative director using a whistle or bell as a threat of loud exposure of a clichéd idea) but my own professional experience is that it is useful to list out all the clichéd thoughts around the brief in order to get it out in the open. I will give closer attention to clichés in chapter seven.

ineffective. Within practice, the cliché is the 'sameness' that perpetuates in an industry sector. This is a constant issue for advertising agencies working with clients who have products with a long advertising history. Awdry discussed this issue when advertising beauty products: "It all looks the same. Much of the time it is the same photographers, all shooting for rivals" (interview 2013). So, there is a pressure amongst the creatives to not only be creative but to move on from that which "looks the same".

During the meeting, the creative director focuses the team on the concepts that he/she has identified as being the most important. The concepts are discussed in depth to ensure everyone understands. The idea generation period that follows is the most difficult to study. It is usually about two weeks as stated above and is the part of the process that is least understood. The creative team must conform to formal processes such as updating the agency account management team on progress but this period is when the creative's activity is free-form; there is no set process. Importantly though, the creative practitioner views this time as when the real work gets done because there is pressure in the form of a deadline. As creative director, David Ogilvy states: "I have to invent a 'big idea' for a new advertising campaign, and I have to invent it before Tuesday" (1983:24). During this period, creatives employ techniques they rely on to generate ideas. It is a time when the creative changes their daily working hours to help with the idea process. Creatives might not be seen in the office during this period which can be a point of friction between the creative team and the rest of the agency. While I focused on creatives and photographers to visualize the process, Turnbull and Wheeler (2015) interviewed account managers. The lack of understanding of how creative teams work is evident in the interview responses, for example, an account manager is quoted as saying: "Yup, they go down the pub or wherever they may want to go, it's a mystery to me" (Turnbull and Wheeler 2015:10). Frustratingly for the account team, the creative team will work right up to the deadline. For example, when I interviewed Awdry (2013) at his office, it was after 8pm and the creative team was working on a campaign with an imminent deadline. The rest of the office was empty.

The creative practitioner has two ways of generating ideas. The first is a personal and individualistic process where associative creativity occurs. As discussed in chapter four, creativity is determined as the ability to associate facts and ideas in new combinations. Creative practitioners have their own approaches and perform quasi-ritualistic behaviour to encourage associative thought patterns. The ritual always centres on *getting out*, i.e. not staying in one place but moving. This is important to understand as it is a vital insight into the idea generation process – creative practitioners move, they look for inspiration in everyday life and they get away from

their usual work space.[147] As Awdry states: "I try to find new stuff and feed my brain. I get out and about, do something different" (interview 2013). Awdry discussed how his own methods and those of his team's methods vary slightly. Awdry looks at visuals such as stock photos but his team members write headlines, look at family photo albums or simply go for a walk. He also spoke of the time when he played tennis when thinking up ideas. Saunders (interview 2013) searches out printed books on photography while Sutherland (interview 2013) and Steel (interview 2013) said they will seek out information around the subject. Sutherland prefers reading academic texts especially. The photographer Ryan (interview 2013) reads the architecture and interior design magazines that he keeps at home for inspiration.

In order to allow the idea generation process to flow, creative practitioners also rely on interpersonal interactions to stimulate the thought process which are partly work situated conversations but also through play. Creatives in advertising agencies have a pool of like-minded practitioners to choose from in addition to their creative partner. Awdry said he talks through the brief with "someone who gets him". Photographers also share ideas with the team they work with, such as assistants, an art director or producer. Practitioners feel most comfortable discussing creative ideas with peers that they trust. Creative teams also socialise together. I found this to be the case in both advertising agencies and photographic agencies. The photographer is invited to participate if they are located nearby. Socialising is a way for creative practitioners to sound out ideas amongst peers in an informal environment. It enables proud creatives to start to form ideas in a less pressured manner that does not require them to be accountable for what has been generated. This is a time when ideas flow freely – it is during these "off duty" moments that the creative team can be humorous about the work, laugh at the clichés, enjoy ridiculous ideas and come up with solutions that they know a client would never approve.[148] In addition, the creative department is usually characterized by posters and photos on the walls, with music playing, informal seating such as sofas and toys and games. Every advertising agency I have visited has an area that is dedicated to play. The area usually involves a table tennis, table football or pool table and sometimes even a basketball hoop. There is inevitably a fridge that contains beer and wine for after-hours socialising. Thus, there is an institutionalised ludic aspect of the creative process that encourages stimulation for inspiration (McStay 2013:53). Creative teams also organize trips to exhibitions and galleries to inspire collectively and constantly share opinions on

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147 Hackley and Kover's (2007) study of creative practitioners generated similar findings. Creatives stated that they use "everyday life" and spaces away from the office for inspiration.

148 I have not found this discussed in other studies on creative processes. Hackley and Kover (2007) note that creative teams are more comfortable in their own company because there is a suspicion of other agency departments or creative teams in other agencies who might steal ideas or criticise their work. I have found that the team is also a source of comfort and consolation when ideas are rejected. Reassurance from peer practitioners is important.

films, television shows and books. There is a collective desire to see and experience as much inspiration as possible. As Awdry states, the need to "feed the brain" is how creatives practice creativity.

As Leonard and Sensiper put it, creative ideas rise out of a combination of "conscious, semi-conscious and unconscious mental sorting, grouping, matching and melding" (1998:115). Tacit knowledge is shared through the social brainstorming process particularly and thought processes are talked through with seemingly random connections made between unrelated visuals and discussions are conducted about how ideas might work. This also occurs during the collaboration between the creative and the photographer as their personal knowledge bases are merged in order for creativity to occur.

The creative process is most visible during a brainstorming. A brainstorming is an event that brings creative people together to work on a common goal. The brainstorm represents the idea generation process to non-creative practitioners because it is a process that is visible and apparent. I therefore examine brainstorming in the next section.

5.3 Brainstorming, an Identifiable Process for Generating Ideas

Developed by Osborn (1948, 1957) and used regularly at advertising and photographic agencies, 'brainstorming' is an overt process that is recognisable to clients. It reassures the client that the brief is being seriously considered by the creative team. Brainstorming is a social activity that involves a group of practitioners who set about collectively solving a problem. The mix of attendees, the nature of the problem and the methods by which the group look at the problem can all affect the outcome. Brainstorming is not a guaranteed route to success but it can help creatives work through ideas in an environment that is not judgmental. From my own professional experience, brainstorming sessions are as short as two hours or as long as several days.[149] There is no pre-defined time limit and brainstorming can occur several times in the advertising production process. The first session takes place a day to two weeks after the initial brief is delivered by the account management team. The number of participants depends on the working methods of the creative team but is also influenced by the relationship that the client has with the advertising agency. According to the three creative director interviewees, the brainstorming can include any combination of creative department members from the agency, planning members, client marketing or brand managers and sometimes members of other agencies that are on the

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149 I have participated in and run approximately 40 to 50 brainstorming sessions for creative practitioners and for clients.

clients' roster.[150]

Brainstorming in photographic creation is varied. An advertising agency brainstorms with a photographer once an idea has been approved either internally or by the client, whereas, in a photo agency, the creative practitioner is either an art director or an editor.[151] The art director generates ideas from a brief (either directly from a client or from the in-house planning team) and works with the photographer to determine how the idea is visualised. In a large photo agency, a brainstorming session is organized to bring everyone together in one place. As in the advertising agency process, the creative brief is delivered by the planning team. The brief is given as a presentation and usually consists of facts and data to start the creative team thinking about the brief. The creative team will have a minimum of two brainstorming sessions:

> A brainstorming culture was introduced to Getty Images in 2001 by creative director Lewis Blackwell. We use one-day brainstorming sessions to start the idea generation process. Each session is international with creative teams moving around Europe and North America to mix up the creativity that each practitioner brought to the process. More recently, the full day has become burdensome and the process is now two half days segregated by at least 24 hours to allow the team to think about the brief and gather inspiration. (Saunders interview 2013).

The brainstorm involves a process of free association. As is evident in the practitioner survey responses, 'making connections' is highly regarded in advertising photography. This is most manifest in the brainstorm process because it is where creativity is performed and is emphasized through the exercises that creatives go through. In my own professional experience, the session starts with participants placing their findings on the walls of the room. In practice, this is called "tearsheeting". The term comes from the method of sourcing example images by tearing pages out of magazines and books and more recently also includes the method of printing out digital images. This is a material practice, one that is still an analogue process (despite the photographic process changing from analogue to digital), idea generation uses materials that can be touched and moved around in the physical space. The tearsheets represent any research conducted by the creatives prior to the brainstorming. Once the tearsheets are on the wall, they are available for anyone to use in idea generation (figure 5.2). Tearsheets are selected because there is something

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150 Some large multinational corporations will work with a number of advertising agencies that focus on different products or areas of the business. For example, Proctor & Gamble and Unilever have diversified products. From professional experience, I have conducted brainstorming sessions with a client (a blue-chip corporation) and all of their advertising and design agency creative teams. This is not an ideal scenario, as it requires managing the dynamics between competing agencies.

151 This depends on the timeline and the agency's expectation of the likelihood of gaining approval from the client.

in the image that has caught the eye of the creative, for example: the photographic technique, the styling, the colour palette or the idea is one they have not considered before.

The next part of the process is usually in the form of word association. In many cases, the words relate to the creative brief. For example, if a brief is for a car manufacturer, the emphasis may be on transportation. The word association exercise starts with words and conceptual ideas that relate to transportation. The words are written on large boards or Post-it notes and are simply things that come immediately to mind on the given subject (figure 5.3). Additional exercises combine words and pictures in different ways to stimulate further ideas.

Figure 5.2 A tearsheeting session in progress. Photographed at White Rabbit Studios, London. 12th January 2016 (Photograph by Rebecca Swift).

Figure 5.3 A wall of Post-it notes after a word association exercise relating to retail. Photographed at Galerie Joseph Turenne, Paris. 14th October 2013. (Photograph by Jean-Marc Payet).

The brainstorming process can be long so there is usually someone designated to lead the session. That person is responsible for ensuring the session runs to schedule, attendees do not veer off topic and, most importantly, in the latter stages, keeping the energy levels up.[152] For instance, figure 5.4 shows a brainstorm session being led by Getty Images creative director Andrew Delaney. In the background are the word association boards used during the session. In addition, another practitioner is responsible for recording ideas as they are generated to ensure that they are held which is usually done via a spreadsheet. When ideas are written up and recorded, they are made explicit. This way of approaching idea generation is acceptable because there is an understanding that this is how creative practitioners work.[153]

Tearsheets and the word associations are used to create 'mood walls' after the brainstorming session. The mood wall is placed in a public space to remind creatives of the ideas generated during the brainstorming but also to use as a visual reference when a photographer is bought in to discuss a shoot. All the interviewees (photographers and agency creatives) stated that they have either a room or a large wall dedicated to the brief they are working on. Figure 5.5 shows two mood wall examples.

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152 In my experience, this means ensuring that participants take a break, eat or get some fresh air when ideas start to run low.

153 Panahi et al (2012) found that "mutual trust" is as important as observation, experience sharing and social interaction when tacit knowledge is shared between practitioners.

Figure 5.4 Leading a brainstorm. Photographed at Focus Studio, Los Angeles on 13th May 2013. (Photograph by Rebecca Swift).

Figure 5.5 Typical mood walls at Getty Images office, New York, 2015. (Photograph by Pamela Grossman).

Once the brainstorm has been completed in a photo agency and ideas have been approved internally, creatives start to approach photographers. The advertising agency, however, has several check-ins with the client before they can start approaching photographers. As shown in the flowchart in figure 5.1, the agency creative team initially presents the results of their brainstorming internally. This has traditionally been done through sketches or "scamps" as they are referred to in advertising practice (examples are shown in figure 5.6). Art directors have typically provided the illustrations but in the past (prior to the widespread availability of digital photography) agencies would also hire the services of a concept illustrator to create visuals.[154] While technology has allowed art directors to produce production-ready mocked-up advertisements on computer software programs such as Adobe Illustrator or Adobe InDesign, there is no agreement in practice about the use of illustration versus photography at the idea presentation stage. Rough sketches and scamps are discussed in the past tense amongst practitioners although many do still like to use them. Steel (interview 2013) stated that the use of rough sketches is more conducive to the process with the client because it enables the client "to inject their own imagination", making the experience more inclusive and improving the chances of the idea being approved.
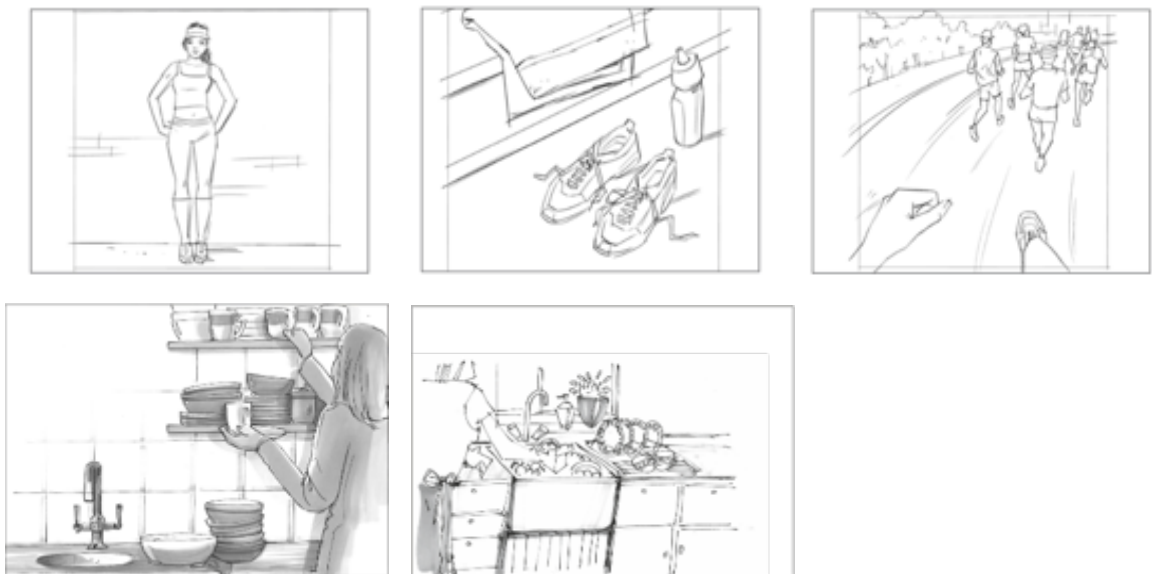
Figure 5.6 Examples of creative briefs created in 2014-2015, using illustration to draft a visual idea.

In contrast though, Steel also discussed practitioners who believe in providing an advertisement in its finished form at the presentation stage. Steel talked about his mentor Rich Silverstein of Goodby, Silverstein & Partners, who insisted that the idea be presented as a finished

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154 With the advent of computer software and stock photography in the 1990s, there is no longer a need for this service.

advertisement. Silverstein's justification, according to Steel, was that clients "don't have the imagination to see beautiful pictures" so, in providing the final advertisement, questions and further delays are reduced. Steel admitted in the interview that this approach is limited because it does not allow further ideas to develop with the photographer. This approach also results in a photographic brief that simply states: "do that exact shot" or "use the stock shot that appeared in the rough draft." (Steel, interview, 2013). This is something that the photographer wants to avoid as it restricts their input, for example, as Barraud commented, he was given "an image of sand running through someone's hand and asked to copy it" (Barraud, interview 2014). And neither the photographer nor the advertising agency want the client to decide that they are happy with the image presented in a mock-up, especially if the image belongs to a stock agency:

> Sometimes they have to put a scamp together that they must pass by the client so the client has to know what they are spending their money on more or less. In the old days that was a scamp, sometimes it was magic marker, sometimes it was story boards, sometimes it was scrap art. Often it was stock. And then they found out that stock was so good, the client just said, can we just buy the stock? (Ryan, interview 2014)

Both advertising practitioners and photographers admitted that the end goal for all art directors in agencies is to commission a shoot themselves. "Art directors want to have fun on set, they don't want to buy on-line" (Ryan, interview 2013).[155] As Steel (interview 2013) states, briefs coming back from the client with "do the exact shot" or instructions to use stock shots does not fuel creativity and thus is resisted in practice. It limits how much of the creative's own identity can be imbued in the project. For this reason, once the agency receives client approval and moves to the next step of the process, the process starts to speed up:

> When the client says "yes", the account people want it to happen soon, in a rush, in weeks. The account people do not want the client to change their mind. They are not visual people but will agree to timescales. (Ryan interview 2013)

As figure 5.1 shows, approval is not the end of the process. The idea and image go through further testing known as research validation. Research validation is further reassurance to the client that the image will elicit the expected reaction and not alienate the target audience. Once the image has been tested through focus groups or surveys, the client finally gives approval to start creating

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155 "Buying online" is a reference to licencing stock photography. Most stock photography is royalty free (RF) meaning there are no restrictions on the use of the image and the fee is set regardless of usage. Images are licenced and paid for on-line, either through a subscription or with a credit card.

the final advertisement.[156] It is at this point that the advertising agency and the photo agency processes intersect. The penultimate stage of the advertising production process in figure 5.1 equates to the start of the photographic process. (The final stage of the advertising process occurs when the advertisement is published in the designated media).[157] However, it is the activity between the last two stages that needs further examination. The advertising process does not consider how photographers are selected, how the photoshoot is planned or most importantly, how the agency creative and the photographer interact during this stage of production. This has therefore been extracted out and examined in the following section.

5.4 An Examination of the Photographic Process Within the Advertising Production Process

Continuing my synoptic outline of the interview material, in this section I present the photographic process as a separate flowchart to represent, firstly, the stages the photo agency goes through once approached by an advertising agency and secondly, the stages where the photographer is drawn into the process.[158] This usually occurs once the photographer confirms availability (shown as a grey diamond in figure 5.7). I discuss these stages specifically because this is where the photographer asserts their creativity and further examination allows the photographer to be seen in the process (instead of being confined to one stage of the advertising process as told by agency practitioners in previous research).

As figure 5.7 shows, the first stage for the photographic agency is receiving the brief. The brief is written by the advertising agency. The in-house team brainstorm how to visualize the idea

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156 Through the interviews, I found that the respondents had differing opinions on the effectiveness of image testing on consumers. Steel (interview 2013) advocated testing the most. It should be noted that Steel is a Creative or Account Planner. Account Planning is a role within the creative department of an advertising agency that brings data and insight from the consumer into the creative process. Therefore, as a planner, Steel's role is also to judge whether an image or images make the right impact and to measure the effectiveness of the idea on consumers. Steel spoke of using focus groups in order to do this, however, he believes in using focus groups as a "creative tool" and not taking them literally. It is his preferred method of gathering information on the consumer and is preferable to quantitative research. Despite working within the same agency group (Ogilvy) Sutherland has a different view on testing: "The difficulty with consumer focus groups is being able to get to the unconscious and emotional drivers that affect daily decisions". (Sutherland, interview 2013) Asserting that the value of focus groups is "in understanding why respondents say what they do rather than in what they are saying". He remarked that "sometimes they tell the truth".

157 I do not follow the process to this stage as there is no interaction with the photographer.

158 Advertising photographers tend to have photographic agents who manage their work schedules. The agent actively seeks work for the photographer. Advertising agencies approach photographic agents when they want to hire a specific photographer on their roster or if they want the agent to search for a certain type of photographer to shoot a campaign. This process is the same whether it is an independent photo agent with fewer than five photographers on the roster or a global photographic agency such as Getty Images Inc.

within the brief, as shown in the previous section, and will then shortlist the photographers to shoot the idea based on their creative style. According to the agency interviewees, a photo agency is contacted to secure the services of a photographer or to request portfolios of photographers able to work on the idea. Less often, an agency creative commissions more than one photographer. Ryan spoke of a rare example from his professional experience working with the cosmetic brands Max Factor and Rimmel. The creative director at the agency had a different process hiring multiple photographers simultaneously:

> What Robin did was that he would not actually tell the client, he would give the mock-up of the bottle to all seven photographers and he would say 'shoot me something and we'll pay you'. They would come up with their own stuff and he would then present that to the client and go "here are some ideas that we have got" and they'd go, "you can have these ideas" and they would say "I'll take that one". The client would take one of those shots. (Ryan, interview 2014)
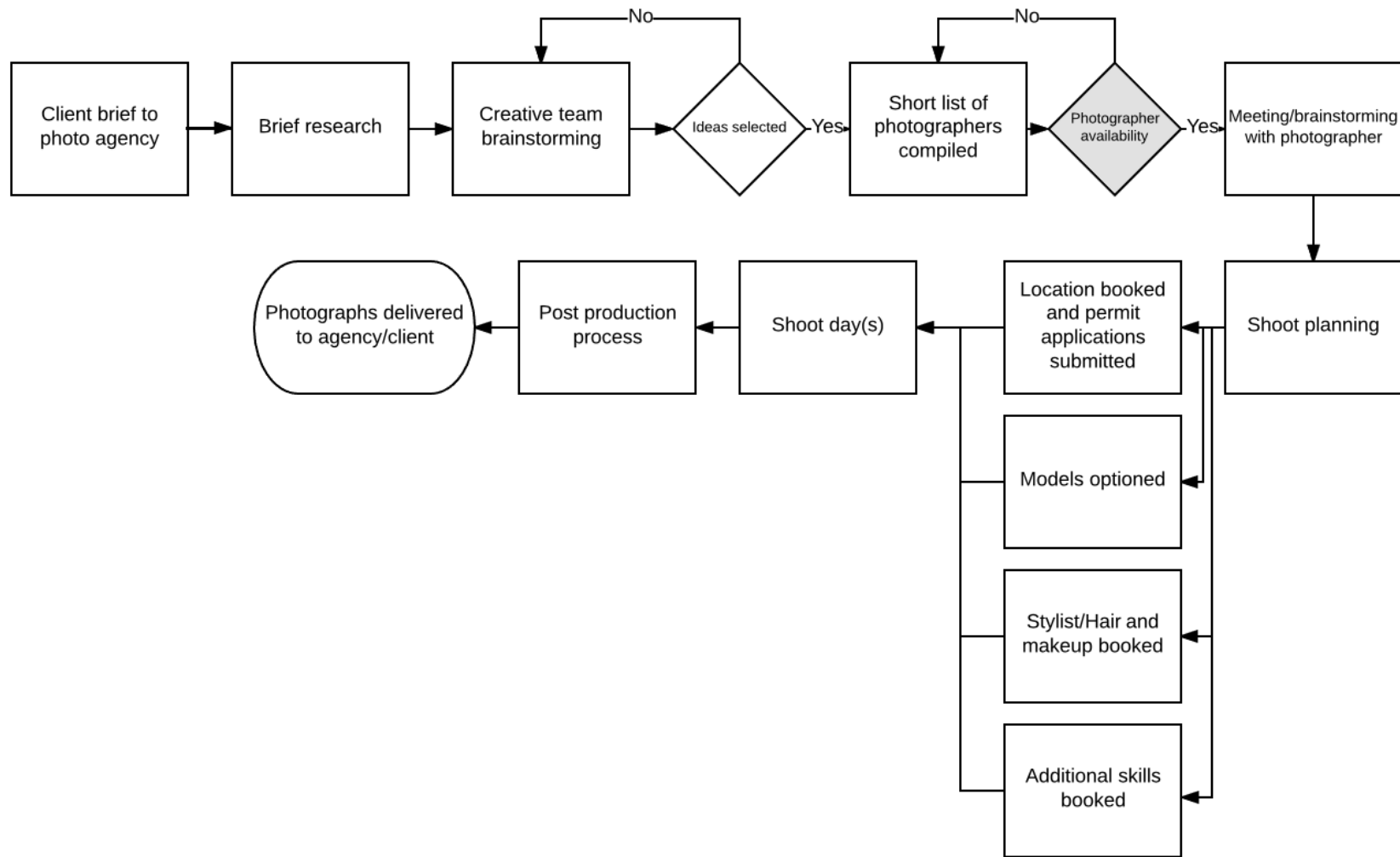
Figure 5.7 The photography production process as described by the interviewees.

On most projects, several variables can determine which photographer is selected. Firstly, the photographer's availability is a process of negotiation between the photographer's agent and the agency art buyer or the art director when there is a direct relationship with the photographer (Barraud for example, has a direct relationship with his client, Investec. This is less common.) None of the photographers interviewed spoke of losing jobs because they were not available, nor did the agency creatives discuss changing photographer for this reason. This would suggest that the negotiation process works, but it also suggests that other factors are more important.

Secondly, the fees are negotiated. This process involves the same practitioners. The photographer's fee is only a portion of the final fee passed on to the client by the advertising agency. Sutherland (interview 2013) explained the production budget of an advertising campaign to demonstrate how a photographer's fee is calculated: The percentage of the budget spent on production is set by the agency and is usually a smaller portion of the overall media budget, the largest portion of which is spent buying advertising space for the advertisement to be aired or printed. Accordingly, the production budget is approximately 10-20% of the media budget.[159] The production budget is then calculated to cover all expected costs including the photographer's fee.[160] Once the client has approved the media budget, the advertising agency starts spending money on production. As already mentioned, within an advertising agency, the art buyer role is usually responsible for commissioning or licensing imagery for the client. It is a specialised role that involves negotiating fees with photographers and stock agencies.[161] The art buyer requests photographic fees from the photo agency. Photographer interviewees noted that some art buyers will approach the photographer's agent and ask whether the image is possible within the budget available but in most cases, there is a negotiation. This negotiation occurs between the photographer's agent and the art buyer.

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159 According to Sutherland, the only exception is luxury brands such as cars or fashion labels that are willing to spend up to 30% of the media budget on production. The media budget is everything spent on producing the advertisement (i.e. production) and disseminating the advertisement (i.e. placing it in the media). The production budget is managed within the creative department but media spend is managed within a separate media buying department.

160 Production budgets cover costs of producing the advertisement that require specialist skills the agency does not have in-house, such as mobile application development, Flash design or video production. The production budget also includes an agency fee (the mark up percentage that the agency adds to its costs to cover administering the production process). This is typically 17.5% on costs according to Sutherland.

161 Art buyers are part of the creative services department (also known as production) who work with external businesses to ensure the process runs to time and budget.

The photographer's fee is increased before it is passed to the client. Firstly, the photographer's agent adds an agent fee (currently 25% in the UK in 2017) and then the advertising agency adds their 17.5% fee.[162] As Ryan also states:

> Agencies will also mark up the quote by 17.5% so they want the photographer to charge more. They need to be transparent with the mark-up so need you to choose the cost. (Interview 2013).

The photographer's agent determines who covers the shoot costs such as model agency fees, location agency fees, hiring stylists, hair and make-up artists, assistants, lighting technicians, catering as well as the photographer's day rate multiplied by the number of shoot days.[163] A photographer day rate is the fee that is charged for the photographer's time to set-up the shoot and be on set. The amount a photographer charges for a day of their time varies. The average rate for advertising work in the UK in 2017 was between £400 and £4,000 per day.[164] If a photographer is well known or has specialist skills (underwater, aerial or high-speed photography for example) then the fees are considerably higher. The seemingly simple act of "hiring a photographer" requires a complex series of decisions and hiring the skills of several practitioners in addition to the photographer. All of the practitioners also wish to insert their own creativity into the process. For this reason, photographers prefer to work with people they can collaborate with.

Post-production or post-processing costs are also included in the photographer's fee. This is usually referred to as "retouching" in photographic practice or "photoshopping" in common parlance, a reference to the popular software: Adobe Photoshop, used to retouch images.[165] Post-processing includes cropping, altering colour balance, sharpening the image, adding a filter to

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162 Percentages quoted by Sutherland (interview 2013). Reiterated by Ryan (interview 2013)

163 It is an unwritten rule but the expectation within the UK photography community is that the photographer provides catering for everyone who attends the photo shoot (even if it is the client's representatives.)

164 Photographer fees have changed during the careers of those that I interviewed. According to Ryan (interview, 2013) average day rates for advertising work were approximately £1,000 in the 1970s and rose to the highest in the 1980s and 1990s (Ryan would charge between £3,500 and £4,000 per day for example.) The average day rate is lower in 2018 because digital photography is a faster process and does not have the production costs associated with analogue photography. The client perception therefore is that photography should be cheaper. Sutherland (interview 2013) too has seen a decrease in photographer fees, mainly because media placement has also become cheaper. (As noted, production is a portion of the media budget). The cost of media placement is lower in the digital world, advertising banners on websites are cheaper than print advertisements and 48 sheet posters.

165 Adobe introduced Photoshop in 1990 but it was only when it was included in the Creative Suite package as Photoshop CS in 2003 that it was adopted universally by designers. Although there are other retouching software companies such as Corel PaintShop or Phase One Capture One, Photoshop has become a verb to describe image manipulation.

change the tone of the image, recolouring the image, adding and subtracting elements and generally tidying up the image. Retouching is particularly pertinent to photos that include people (models). It is common practice to adjust stray hairs and even out skin tones on advertising photographs.[166] Most photographers and/or their assistants have the skills to perform in-house retouching. Outsourcing image manipulation adds to the photographer's costs and the most skilled retouchers (or digital artists as they are sometimes known) charge as much per image as a photographer does for a photo shoot. For example, Pascal Dangin, who is recognised by the photographer interviewees as one of the leading retouchers in the photographic industry and charges up to $20,000 per image.[167]

Finally, a fee is arranged to cover licencing rights. Commissioned imagery is licenced by the photographer to the client, restricting the use of the image to the campaign for which it was negotiated and photographed. In many instances, advertising agencies re-negotiate rates with a photographer because the client has decided to extend a campaign, broaden the campaign into other countries or use the image in other media. This negotiation is the art buyer's responsibility.[168] If an image is licenced from a stock agency, the rate is determined by the licencing model of the image and the exposure the image receives.[169]

There are exceptions to the rules and well-known creative photographers such as Annie Leibovitz allegedly earn up to $250,000 (£164,000) per day.[170] I put this figure to the practitioners I interviewed and, although they corroborated the figures in theory, none had direct experience of the accurate figure. Awdry (interview 2013) is the only advertising creative in my sample who has commissioned a photographer at much higher than average rates. Awdry worked with

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166 Widespread retouching in the fashion and beauty industries has led to criticism of the practice. (Solomon et al 1992, Wolf 1991, Messaris 1997).

167 Dangin works with Annie Leibovitz (referenced within this chapter). His work is available at: http://www.boxstudios.com. Fees quoted are per media reports : http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/02/style/the-man-who-makes-the-pictures-perfect.html

168 According to the agency interviewees, ideally the photographer will offer "in perpetuity" rights with the fee. This is a licence that allows the brand or company to use the image for as long or however they wish to use it, without the photographer signing away the copyright to the image. Stock agencies will also offer in perpetuity rights on images for a higher fee and sometimes, although it is rare, will allow a client to "buy out" an image. In other words, future use of the image is prohibited other than by the customer who has paid for the buyout. A buyout fee is commensurate with the potential lifetime earnings of that image. The image is then removed from the stock agency's archives.

169 In stock photography licencing, the photographer receives a 'royalty fee'. This is always a percentage of the total licence fee paid by the client. In 2018, the percentage received by the photographer is between 20% and 50% depending on the licencing model and photo agency that the photographer is signed to. Other factors also determine the percent paid, which include whether the image is licenced in the photographer's home territory (where they pay tax) or not and whether the photographer has an exclusivity deal with the agency. Photographers with exclusivity deals (i.e. they are only associated with one agency) will receive higher fees.

170 Leibovitz (1949-) is best known for her large productions featuring many celebrities for cover images of Vanity Fair and Vogue. Leibovitz also regularly photographs celebrities for American Express and Louis Vuitton.

Richard Avedon in 1990 and paid $60,000 for a day's work. As he noted, there are "about six photographers who can charge anything" (interview 2013). [171] These are the superstar photographers and acquire that status amongst creative practitioners as their creative or technical style becomes successful. As the photographer's reputation builds, they are held in high regard creatively and become more expensive and elusive to hire. The most highly regarded advertising photographers are later written about as artists rather than commercial practitioners. Superstar status exists predominantly within professional practice as well-known advertising photographers are less known outside of the realm of practice. This is key as there is a pattern of influence that exists within advertising practice that elevates certain practitioners to a high status. While photographers respect and admire other photographers, they do not have the influence to elevate a photographer's reputation unless able to discuss the work publicly (in a news article for example). The photographer interviewees discussed who they admired; photographers such as Barry Lategan, Rob Golden, Lester Bookbinder, names whose meaning does not translate outside of practice. [172]

The advertising creative has the most effect as the decision maker in the advertising production process. The creative wishes to hire the most creative photographer for their campaign. A photograph that represents the creative practitioner's idea in the most technically skilful and creative way has a higher chance of success. A successful advertising campaign generates discussion within advertising practice, the trade press and ultimately mainstream media, bringing reward for the creative and his/her agency. The photographer on the other hand, is unlikely to be credited in the advertising trade press, but instead gains their reputation amongst their peer practitioners through the association to the successful campaign. This association assures the photographer's creativity and technical skill. Knowledge of a photographer's creativity is attained through word of mouth and practice-led discussion (in the trade press or at industry conferences). Ultimately though, it is the advertising creative's influence that elevates the photographer's reputation. Advertising photographers do not have any other vehicle through which to promote their craft. The exception is the well-known photographer with a reputation in another realm of

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171 Listed by the photographers as: Steven Klein, Tim Walker, Mario Testino, Rankin, Annie Leibovitz and Nick Knight. However, there is no public record of the fees paid to photographers. Each project is priced individually and confidentially. These photographers are discussed in practice and in the trade press as "artists' rather than commercial practitioners and feature in exhibitions and art books.

172 Barry Lategan (1935-) portrait photographer is best known for his portraits of Twiggy. Robert Golden (1945-) was a food photographer in the UK in 1970s and 1980s. He moved into directing television commercials shortly afterwards. Lester Bookbinder (1929-2017) was an advertising photographer, based in London from the 1960s to the 1980s. His is best known for studio photography for White Horse whisky, the V&A museum, Clarks shoes and Benson & Hedges cigarettes.

photographic practice, for example Richard Avedon. As stated above, Awdry paid a high day rate for Avedon's work because Avedon already had a reputation as a well-known portrait photographer; As Awdry said, the agency had a copy of Avedon's (1985) book: *In the American West*.[173] Therefore, Awdry knew Avedon worked well with 'real' people and would be able to create the right image for the Levi's campaign:[174]

> We decided to use Avedon to photograph real people to show how good the jeans look on real people. We chose four images and Avedon destroyed the rest of the negatives in front of us! The real people were street cast in a studio in New York and I hand wrote the text that lays across the images. As a result of the style of photography and the handwritten text, other brands started adopting similar techniques (Awdry, interview, 2013)[175]

A photographer's reputation is established in a creative style in advertising practice and that reputation is perpetuated through agency creatives requesting the photographer to work to the same style. For example, Steel recalls working with well-known fashion photographer Herb Ritts after seeing the imagery that Ritts had created for Calvin Klein:[176]

> In 1994, I worked on the Norwegian Cruise Lines 'Fantasy' campaign that Goodby, Berlin & Silverstein commissioned Herb Ritts to shoot. The brief that we were working from announced that the production should look like "Calvin Klein goes to sea". Ritts set about shooting a black and white campaign that looked luxurious rather than simply nostalgic. The cost of the shoot was $250,000 and the resulting images became iconic of luxury travel, much copied within the travel industry since. (Steel, interview 2013).

The style of photography that Herb Ritts created for the 1992 Calvin Klein campaign in figure 5.8 was reproduced for a client in a different industry because it had become synonymous with fashion and sensuality, values that Norwegian Cruise Lines then appropriated for their advertising too (figure 5.9).

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173 *In the American West* is a photojournalistic account of manual workers in the west of America through portraiture.

174 Awdry defined the models of this shoot as "street cast". This is a term used in practice to broadly describe models not cast through a model agency. Traditionally, street casting was simply the process of selecting and asking people to pose immediately. (This is how Avedon worked in the shoot with Awdry). Since the advent of social media, street casting also encompasses casting calls on social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

175 The Levi's advertisement is shown in figure 4.3.

176 Herb Ritts (1952-2002) was a fashion photographer best known for black and white portraiture of celebrities such as the 1990s supermodels. I will return to the notion of photographing using the same approach in section 7.5.
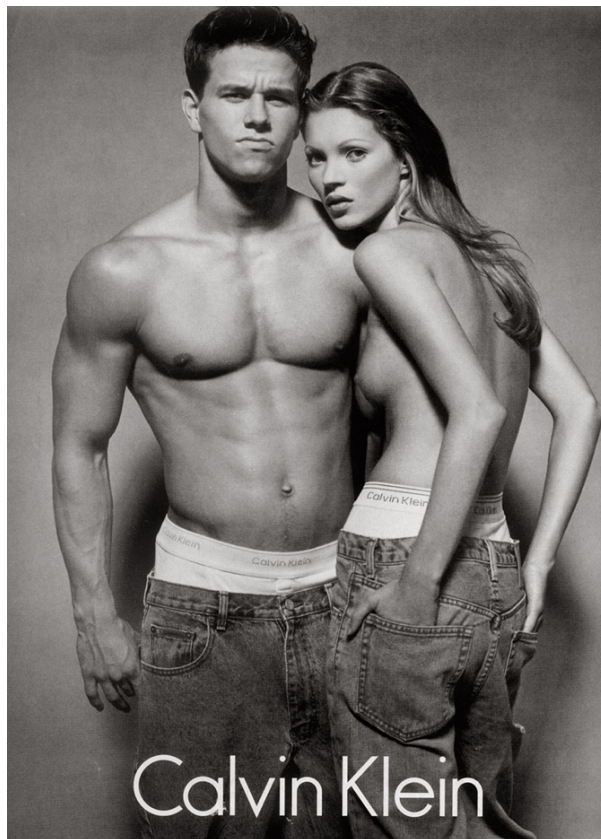
Figure 5.8 Calvin Klein advertising, 1992. Photograph by Herb Ritts. Source: www.herbritts.com.
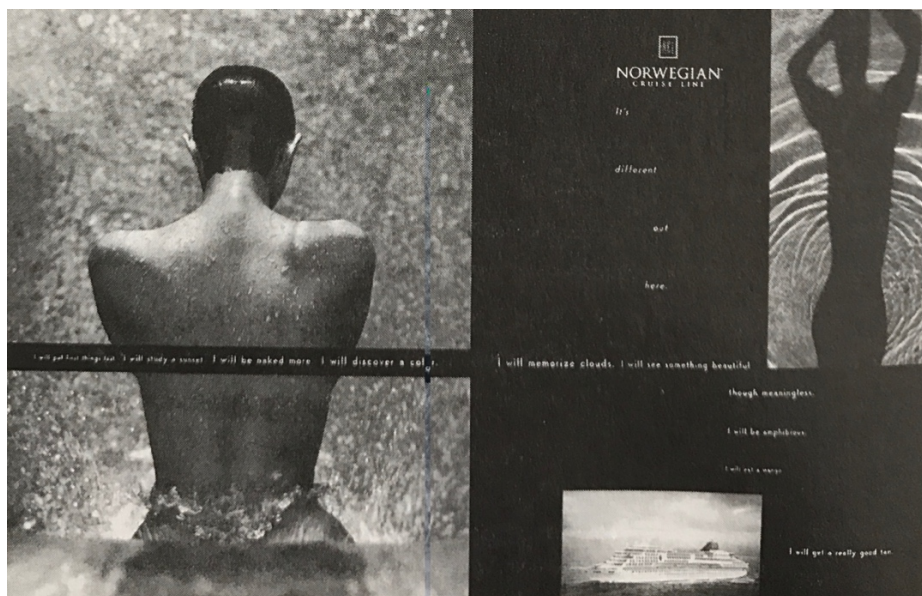
Figure 5.9 Norwegian Cruise Lines advertisement. Photograph by Herb Ritts, 1994. Source: Steel (1998).[177]

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177 Steel includes the photographs in his 1998 publication: *Truth, Lies and Advertising: The art of account planning* but does not credit the photographer. This was revealed during our interview in 2013. In 1994, Calvin Klein and Herb Ritts were well-known for

Although fees and availability are important, my findings show that the advertising creative's knowledge of the photographer and their perceived creativity has the greatest influence over who they choose. Similarly, it could be argued that a photographer who has established their creativity and craft skills is viewed as a 'safe pair of hands'. A trustworthy photographer who has a relationship with the advertising creative is in a stronger position to assert their own creativity into the process. As I have found, advertising photographers prefer working with art directors who allow them to exert their creativity. The photographer Matt Hind, described a client that is particularly rewarding to work with for this reason, (examples in figure 5.10):

> Commercially a photographer is either being asked to fulfil the vision of the client/art director or is asked to contribute actively and creatively early in the process. For the last seven seasons, I have been involved in shooting the photography print campaigns for British fashion designer Margaret Howell's brand MHL. Each project started off with a cup of green tea in her office garden when the weather allowed. The aim of the campaigns was always to shoot 'real' people in the clothes in their day to day environments. We shot dancers, carpenters, cafe workers. My personal creativity impacted on the casting and had an influence on location choices. On the actual shoot, I always like to keep open-minded about capturing unguarded moments and leaving things to chance. A caught, un-rehearsed, unconscious moment can be so much more emotionally convincing. I would also suggest that whilst image choice was very collaborative my influence on final choice produced interesting results and was a good example of a photographer's creative 'opinion' coming to fruition in the end result. (Hind, by email 2016)

While Rosenblum argues that the creativity of the photographer is "chiselled away" until the photographer is simply providing "technical labour" (1978:80), the evidence from the photographer interviews shows that the photographer's creativity does have a place in the creation of advertising imagery. Photographers are hired for their style (which has a technical element), referred to as their *aesthetic*. Ryan outlined the style value that a photographer adds to an advertising image: "Casting, wardrobe, props, location, great light, composition and aesthetics". (Ryan interview, 2013). The style of the photographer is overlaid on the agency creative's idea. As the photographer, Rob Daly states: "I am, as a photographer, translating the drawing that has been approved by the client, and bringing my style of shooting to the final images" (interview, 2014).

producing black and white images of the human form (including well-known models and actors.) The Norwegian Cruise Lines campaign features the supermodel Helena Christensen.

Figure 5.10 Examples of MHL campaign. Photographs by Matt Hind 2016. Images provided by the photographer.

Ryan discussed photographers he admired and whom were associated with a certain aesthetic:

> Certain photographers come along and change the visual language. Irving Penn and Guy Bourdin brought an artist's approach. Rankin brought his aesthetic. Bailey and Donovan in the 1960s took fashion into the streets. The language changed.[178] (Ryan, interview 2013)

Photographer style can also have a positive effect on those that are associated with the photographer. This is especially the case with assistants. There is an expectation that an assistant has unconsciously absorbed the skills of their mentor, also aiding the photographer's assistant's reputation. It is creativity by association but more importantly, creativity is learnt through tacit knowledge transmitted through every day experience in professional practice. This is an important aspect of the community of practice that photographers operate within so I will examine it in more detail in the next chapter. During the group interview, we discussed assistants who had found success working with photographers with a known style:

> Craig McDean was Nick Knight's assistant. Models know him, stylists know him. Assistants will test with Nick Knight. They will investigate on shoots and try new stuff.[179] (Ryan, interview 2014)

Conversely, the photographers also discussed how a signature style can have an adverse effect on a photographer's reputation. Once a photographer is defined by a style or the style of a single well-known image, it is difficult to evolve away from it. Ryan spoke about this at length during our interviews:

> I recently met Steve McCurry who has a huge body of work and yet he is known for a picture of an Afghan girl. And John Wimberley travels around landscapes with a 10"x8" camera doing the Ansel Adams thing and yet the image of someone dangling their feet

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178 Irving Penn (1917-2009) fashion photographer. Guy Bourdin (1928-1991) fashion photographer also working for *Vogue* magazine between 1950s and 1980s. Rankin (John Rankin Waddell) (1966-) advertising and fashion photographer who established *Dazed and Confused* magazine. David Bailey (1938-) and Terence Donovan (1936-1996) best known as 1960s fashion and portrait photographers.

179 Craig McDean (1964-) fashion and advertising photographer best known for work in *i-D magazine* and *The Face*. Nick Knight (1958-) fashion and advertising photographer using digital manipulation also known for music video production.

in a swimming pool taken on 35mm camera [figure 5.11] is the most iconic image of his and is the most successful and yet is so not what he does. (Ryan, interview 2014)[180]

Photographers are labelled with a certain type of creativity which serves as a shortcut to their skillset and is referenced as a style. Hence the quote from Steel: "Calvin Klein goes to sea" relating to figure 5.9. In the mind of an agency creative, this immediately evokes a sensual black and white image reminiscent of Herb Ritts who photographed the Calvin Klein campaign. However, photographic styles go in and out of fashion and a photographer strongly associated with a style that is going out of fashion is likely to lose their creative reputation:

> 'Looks' are popular for a period of time (it could be years) but then it becomes 'an old look' because everyone has used it. This then restricts the photographer's ability to work because they become associated with a 'look'. It can be a real burden: 'Oh no, you are not the guy we want for this'. There is such a thing as 'iconic burden' that a jobbing photographer needs to consider. Spencer Rowell, was a up and coming young photographer commissioned by Athena, the largest card and poster company in the eighties to produce a photograph of a man holding a baby [*figure 5.12*]. The image became a huge success bringing high earnings for Rowell, however, from that moment forward he was pigeon holed as the 'man and baby' photographer and found it difficult to break out of that mould. It is necessary for photographers to keep moving onwards otherwise they too become part of the cliché. (Ryan, interview 2013).

Once again, this brings me to the consideration that in advertising photographic practice, the definition of what is deemed creativity evolves over time. I would argue it has a diachronic aspect that I will explore in detail in chapter seven. Meanwhile, I will discuss how images are generated on the shoot day. Again, this will take the form of a synoptic rendering of the process as described by photographic practitioners.

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180 Steve McCurry (1950-) is a photojournalist best known for the well-known image of an Afghan girl with green eyes that appeared on the cover of *National Geographic* in June 1985. John Wimberley (1945-) is a landscape photographer who shoots in black and white (a technique also used by Ansel Adams as referenced by Ryan). The photograph that Ryan references is a black and white image of the model Christine Wells' legs in a swimming pool. The photo is titled: "Descending Angel" photographed in 1981.

Figure 5.11 Descending Angel by John Wimberley, 1981. Source: johnwimberleyphotography.com.
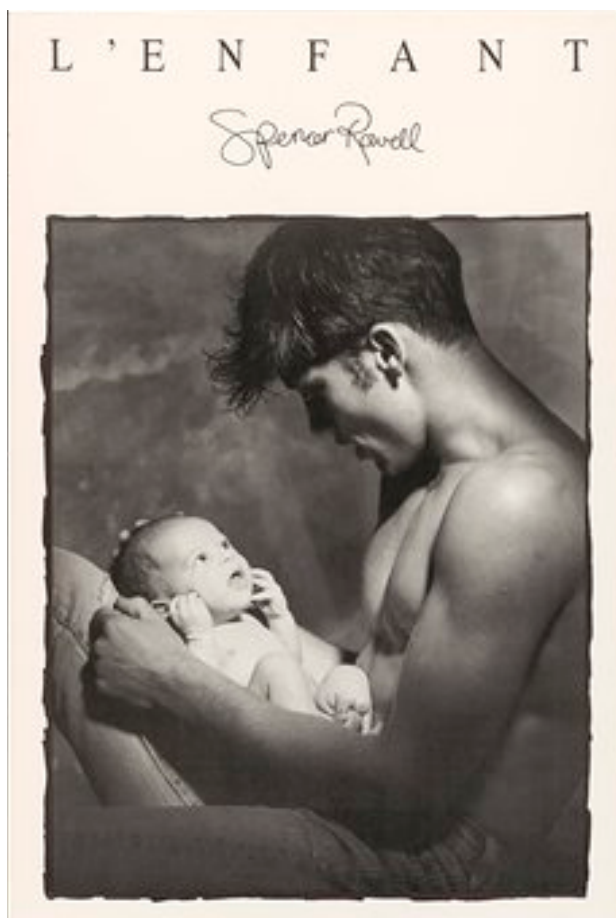
Figure 5.12 L'Enfant by Spencer Rowell for Athena Reproductions Ltd, 1986. Source: V&A Collections.

5.5 Photo Shoots: Turning Ideas into Something Tangible

The culmination of the creative collaboration between photographer and agency creative is the shoot day. Until the day of the shoot, the creative direction is firmly with the agency creative. However, on the shoot, the power shifts from the advertising creative to the photographer. If the advertising creative is present at the shoot, it is by invitation into the realm of the photographer. The shoot day is determined by the way that the photographer prefers to work. The set is a performance space and the photographer controls the spatial dynamic by holding the agency creative and client at arm's length, excluding them from the 'space'. The invited guests must view the activity via a monitor or from afar. Rosenblum similarly found the photographer's display of creativity on the shoot day had a performative aspect.

The photographer will want to control the entire situation, hence they do not like working with art directors or clients who might want to input. They must also plan meticulously for all eventualities. As Ryan (interview 2013) explained: "The best advertising photographers keep detailed records of their set-ups to ensure they can replicate it again". From my own professional experience, some photographers plan the whole shoot in detail whereas others are more experimental, as the differing responses about the shoot day from the interviewees demonstrates:

> I never really know. When I go into a shoot, I don't like to know too much about what I am doing. I work subjectively, very much from an internal position of feeling, really. (Pumfrey, interview 2014)

> Sometimes it's all drawn out and I find a way to shoot the drawing, other times I start with a set of ingredients with an idea that they will work together and then experiment to see what creation I can make. There is no one way, both ways work really well depending on what you are shooting. If I think about most of my most memorable shots, they have all been preconceived and planned prior to the shoot day, I think because I work in the advertising area of photography then this approach is the most successful. Having vision is paramount for this type of work, if you can't close your eyes and see it, you can't create it. (Newton, interview 2014)

> I have all of the elements in place, such as location, model, styling etc. and to free flow around the subject and the environment looking for something that has not been pre-conceived at all, feeling into the form and light. Once all of the elements are in place, and with some intuitive direction, the picture finds itself. (Daly, interview 2014).

The responses allude to creative flow again and highlight how photographic practitioners rely on intuition, subjectivity and personal experimentation in creating creative images. As Daly states, there are elements that are put in place, but the photographer is bringing something personal to the creation of the image. The atmosphere created at the shoot ("on set" as it is referred to in practice) originates from the photographer and is determined by how they control the space. Factors such as the number of people on set, the expectations of the client, the number of photographs that he/she needs to get, the weather, as well as the photographer's personality affect the atmosphere of a shoot. If there are models, it is the photographer's personality that will determine how well the shoot progresses. A photographer will guide the models' every pose and movement or gives them a role to play and asks them to act it out in front of the camera. From my own professional experience, some prefer to move from the camera to the set to move the models from angle to angle whereas others will set up a tripod and stand resolutely behind it, directing from that position. However the photographer works, this is the point in the process where they are the most powerful as everyone in the space is looking to the photographer for direction and is aware of their needs and emotions. Assistants learn to read how a photographer works in their environment on shoot day. Some photographers are quiet, focusing on what they are creating and only giving specific instruction, while others maintain a commentary throughout the shoot, explaining what they are doing, what they would like to happen and whether they are pleased with the shot or not. For this reason, photographers have strengths and weaknesses. Awdry (interview 2013) discussed the skill of the photographer Rankin when photographing women in their underwear for the 2003 Dove "Real Beauty" campaign.[181] According to Awdry, Rankin helped the women, who were not professional models, feel at ease by constantly talking to them.

Endless variables change the outcome of the photo shoot so success is never certain. I will now briefly examine the stages that all shoots go through to identify how the photographer controls the shoot to assure creative success. The shoot process is described as it was told to me during the photographic practitioner interviews. Saunders and Ryan (interviews 2013) also defined how the analogue process differed from the modern day digital process, which I include here too. Before anyone else arrives, the photographer and assistants run test shots to ensure the lighting set-up, light meter (a handheld device that measures the amount of light available enabling the photographer to gauge the exposure of the image) and colours are calibrated:

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181 The 2003 "Real Beauty" advertisement is shown in figure 7.10.

Photographers typically shoot bracketed test shots. A test shot is pushed a half stop and then pushed a full stop. The assistant ensured that the test shots and the final shots were all taken on the same batch of film because different batches had colour variations. Through experience, you learned about what film stock to use. It was a choice between Fuji Velvia or Kodak EPN. (Saunders, interview 2013)[182]

Assistants now check the back-up hard drives and ensure the photographer has the lenses and equipment he/she needs. According to Saunders, in the past (during the analogue process), an assistant would take the test shots to the processing laboratory for checking, which typically took one to two hours.[183] In the modern day digital process, the photographer adjusts camera settings and moves the set around more freely because there is no limitation on the number of frames that are shot. The camera is tethered to a monitor allowing the photographer to make changes as he/she progresses through the shoot. The monitor is calibrated to the same settings as the camera and the assistant will look at images to check for focus and composition. (This is the screen that the agency creative and the client could also be watching if present). The process of preparing the models occurs in parallel with the photographer's preparations. Equally, if a location requires cleaning, rearranging or dressing, a team prepare the location during this time too. Models go through styling and hair and make-up. The process is of variable length depending on the shoot, and the arrival time of the models is dependent on how much time they need to spend in hair and make-up. (For example, prosthetic make-up can take many hours to apply). Throughout the shoot there are concurrent processes as the photographer and team change lighting settings, rearrange the set and back up files. Meanwhile, those responsible for styling and hair and make-up adjust clothing, reapply make-up and hair products, sometimes changing the whole 'look' as the shoot progresses.[184]

The shoot finish time is determined by several variables – the time limit set by the location owner (if not in the photographer's own studio), the number of hours the models are contracted for or the satisfaction of the photographer with the results.[185] Assistants take down the set and 'reset' the studio, back up the files ready for post-production. Until the late 1990s and less commonly

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182 "Stops" refers to the F stops that is the aperture of the camera and the exposure that the photographer is using depending on available light. Fuji Velvia and Kodak EPN film are daylight colour balanced transparency films popular in professional photography for high colour saturation.

183 Prior to the 1980s and the widespread use of Polaroid backs on medium format cameras, half the shoot day would involve testing.

184 Included in the production costs is a catering budget for food for the whole crew throughout the shoot duration. The photographer determines when rest breaks occur and most stop for lunch to allow the models and crew to take a break together.

185 The photographer or art director announces the end of the shoot in the same way that film directors, by saying "it's a wrap".

since, film is taken to the processing lab. The analogue process is a waiting game until the film is developed:

> We dropped the film at the lab and crossed our fingers. Next morning, we picked up the transparencies. The client would phone up for the contact sheet which would be couriered to them. Their edit was then forwarded to them via assistant or motorbike. (Saunders, 2013).[186]

Saunders estimates that the shooting process now takes "a tenth of the time" it did when he started out in the 1980s, however the post-production process is now longer. Post production is determined as a range of tasks, from tidying the image through removing stray hairs, removing marks and stains on clothing or furniture, adjusting the colour balance to match the image with other campaign images, to removing or adding elements and retouching facial and body features. It is an expected stage in the photographic process that has evolved with digital technology. As Saunders explained:

> The shot was done in camera, there was no post production when I first started. Post production started in the 1990s with Barco and Paintbox systems. The job of retouching started at this time – they would paint on the transparency and then re-photograph the image. In the mid 1990s retouching was about skin tones. You would build a mask on the computer over what you wanted to change. Retouching became a specialist skill in 1990s. It started out as a technique for saving and repairing images then it became used for other things. Retouching houses started setting up, some photographers specialised. It is part of the creative process now. (Saunders, interview 2013).

5.6 The Significance of Examining the Photographic Process

The photographer's creative process and their control over the imagery ends once the photographs are delivered to the client. The final result, as I have shown, is realised through a series of negotiations between the advertising creative and the photographer. One has the idea, the other an idea of how to realise it. While the photographer is often the collaborator and sometimes the originator of the idea, the agency creative decides when and whether to proceed with the shoot and where and how the image appears in public. However, once an idea is agreed and a photographer is hired, the creative power shifts to the photographer. The photoshoot is where

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186 Ryan approximated the cost per image for processing in London at between £10 to £15 for 10" x 8" to £2 for 5" x 4" transparencies.

his/her creativity is in action. The shoot is the ultimate space of creation; it is where the photographer is in control of the space and process, allowing him/her to perform their skill and creativity. This display of skill commonly occurs in front of an audience who are financially and creatively involved and is therefore deeply implicated in the creative identity and professionalism of the photographer. The whole advertising production process has several stages and photographic production is the intersection of the abstract concept of creativity and financial and administrative practicalities.

As I have noted, at the culmination of the photoshoot, the photo or photos are detached from their creator as they become absorbed into the advertisement. Although the photographer's creativity is often lost, the process of creating an image has meaning to the photographic practitioner and is motivating enough to sustain advertising photographic practice. I will therefore examine creativity in everyday practice in the next chapter to examine how practitioners join the advertising photography industry, what motivates them to stay, and how success is acknowledged.

6. KNOWING CREATIVITY – THE COMMUNITY OF PHOTOGRAPHIC PRACTICE

I have discussed the nature and role of creativity as it is perceived in the advertising industry. In this chapter I look at how that knowledge is made and reproduced and how it works in the everyday practice of the advertising photographer. I shall do this through a consideration of concepts of tacit knowledge, picking up the exploration of performance and the measurement of creativity of chapters four and five. I will examine further how practitioners move through the community of practice from a position of not knowing to a position of creative expertise. I will then analyse the measurement of success through the workings of awards. Throughout this chapter, I describe advertising photography as a community of practice, the definition of which I have extracted from Etienne Wenger's (1998:125) seminal publication. Characteristics of the community of practice include sharing ways of doing things, (defined by Wenger as "social learning"), having mutually agreed identities, community membership "styles" and knowing who the members are and what they can do. Practitioners learn photographic craft skills but equally learn the "language" of the professional community. I have found that a community-based language exists in photographic practice relating to how images are defined creatively. The language is made up of jargon and shortcuts in conversation and is specific to advertising practice and is learnt through exposure to creative practitioners. Many of the widely-used terms are not reflected in photographic or advertising academic research and practitioners are often dismissive of others (e.g. clients) using industry terms. The terms I extracted from the practitioner interviews such as "iconic", "stylized", "self-referential" or "commoditized" have visual meaning, and although not unique to advertising practice, are understood in a specific way. For example, to describe an image as "stocky" does not mean that it is associated with a stock photography agency (although it can relate to stock imagery). Instead it generally means that the aesthetic of the image is typical of clichéd imagery from the past. Further, I am aware of the fact that terminology used within practice is not reflected in the language used by the audience of photography or advertising. Being involved in many research projects through my own practice, I have come to know that the audience very rarely talk about creativity when assessing advertising or advertising photography. The terms "entertaining", "clever" or "stunning" are far more likely to be used.[187] Studies such as White and Smith (2001) comparing audience and practice views noted in chapter two have also found that the audience does not judge advertising on its creativity in the same way that practice does.

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187 The listed terms are typical responses noted from focus groups and interview observations from my professional experience.

As I have already stated, there is a tacit element to the practice-held knowledge about creativity. While Polanyi (1966/2005) aligns tacit knowledge with 'personal knowledge', I will go further and define what is deemed 'creative' in photographic practice is in fact a collectively held personal knowledge. The role of tacit knowledge in commercial organisations is a growing area of study and more significantly how knowledge is transferred from professional to professional.[188] Amin and Roberts (2008) go further and argue that as corporations attempt to compete in the 'knowledge economy', the focus of study has shifted to communities of practice in order to understand creativity and innovation and within that, how tacit knowledge is disseminated via creative collaboration.[189] There is therefore particular emphasis placed on studying creative organizations, this is pertinent to advertising and advertising photographers, because creativity is 'sold' as knowledge. The tacit element is connected to individual experts and subsequently, creatively expert organizations. Creatives therefore hold "elite" positions within an organization (Leonard and Sensiper 1998: 115). This is evident in advertising agencies and I have also found, expert photographers within the photographic community of practice. Creative knowledge is seen as a commercial advantage and might also explain the reticence of experts to discuss their personal creativity (Cross 2011).[190]

To reiterate, Polanyi takes a philosophical approach to scientific research arguing that, while scientific practitioners use formulae and explicit knowledge (from textbooks and established research methods), there is also a part of knowledge that is individual and experiential developed through social interaction, extensive experience and mutual trust. To apply that same argument to advertising photographers – the photographer gains explicit knowledge as he/she learns technical skills (either formally through an education programme or informally from a more experienced photographer) but as importantly, during the social process (through interacting with experienced photographers, models and other professional practitioners who perform an auxiliary

188 For further information see: Cianciolo and Sternberg (2018), Mohajan (2016) Clark et al (2015), Panahi et al (2012), Venkitachalam and Busch (2012), Erden et al (2008), Berman et al's (2002), Brown and Duguid (1991) studies of tacit knowledge and organizational performance, management and learning.

189 The 'knowledge economy' is the definition given to the trade in information and technology that developed in the late 1990s. The international, intergovernmental Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development recognizes the knowledge-based economy as important for economic growth. More details here: https://www.oecd.org/sti/sci-tech/1913021.pdf.

190 Stefan Schwarzkopf's (2008) study of British advertising between the wars found that agencies promoted tacit knowledge as the key to creative success as the market became more competitive. Focusing on the Crawford Agency (established in 1914), Schwarzkopf found that creative skills were established as "intangible assets" but the whole agency was structured around the creative process and creative insights to offer a creative service that could not be replicated outside of advertising practice.

role on a photoshoot), the photographer learns how to act and how to 'be' to produce creative work.[191]

While it is difficult to align creativity with an objective definition or process, the meaning and importance of creativity is clear. As I found, photographic practitioners are aware of what they need to achieve creatively to satisfy their clients and the audience. The responses to question two in the survey reflect this. There is a clear sense of how practitioners wish to be regarded and how they regard others and creativity is at the core of how they hope that their craft is recognized. Articulating the meaning of creativity and methods for achieving it in photographic practice is difficult. I refer to this component of knowledge as 'tacit' because the meaning of certain elements of professional practice such as creativity come about for the individual through exposure to the community. The practitioner absorbs the shared values, beliefs and mental measurement systems of their fellow practitioners. The photographer interviewees talk of an "instinctive feeling" that a campaign is going to work or an image feels right. For example, when discussing successful photographs, Pumfrey states that he "gets a feeling from an image….it is human and slightly mysterious" (interview 2014). Intuition seems to be used as an explanation as how to *get* creativity in the survey too:

It is just intuitive for me. (Respondent 8)

Intuitively (Respondent 28)

Well, that's probably a gut feeling. (Respondent 136)

…gut reaction is the measuring stick… (Respondent 170)

I would argue that experience has given the practitioner an instinctive knowledge of what is creative and how creativity is applied to photography. It is culturally-acquired knowledge that enables the photographer to act and react instinctively. To reiterate, 12 respondents also used the word: "wow" to explain how they measure the creativity of an image. It is an associative term that represents an instinctive reaction to something that is impressive.

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191 A study conducted by Czikszentmihalyi and Sawyer (1995) found that individuals who were identified as demonstrating creativity consistently attributed their work to learning and interacting with other creative practitioners.

It is difficult to unpack practitioner instinct or intuition. As previous researchers such as Kover (1995), Cross (2011) and McStay (2013) have discovered, as discussed in chapter two, the range of responses can vary from defensiveness to being "willfully obscure". Both Cross and McStay also describe how advertising practitioners use the term "magic" to explain how they come up with ideas. However, it is the reliance on intuition that makes it difficult for practitioners to explain their practice. Intuition is acquired through the tacit knowledge learnt from practitioner to practitioner and is gained through experience of the craft. Practitioners get into practice to be part of the "magic" and learn the magical techniques from the more experienced. The practitioners interviewed by Cross are well regarded and highly experienced, so while it could be argued that professionals are reticent to share trade secrets, it is also possible that professionals are so integrated in the community of practice that the knowledge they have accumulated is too absorbed to easily explain their processes. This position has been tested in a different realm of practice by the design researchers Wood, Rust and Horne (2009) and illustrates the problem with attempting to reveal what tacit knowledge practitioners use in their work. Wood et al test Polanyi's theory through studying folding knife craftsmen/women in Sheffield. They found that it was difficult for novices to imitate their master in the early stages. More importantly the expert/master also found it difficult to explain how she worked.[192] Practitioners become skilled over time, aligning with Wenger's definition of a community of practice, in that becoming a member means a practitioner continues the values and beliefs that have been established over time. This further highlights the benefit of the autoethnographic approach when examining tacit knowledge, just as the practitioners themselves do not stand apart from their community of practice, as a researcher, understanding through participating in the practice has allowed me to identify the commitments and motivations that drive practitioners. But the question any researcher can examine is *how* values and beliefs are transferred to photographers as they enter and progress in the community of practice? The answers to this question brings context to the experiences drawn from the practitioner interviews.

6.1 Entering and Learning from the Community of Practice

To be able to understand advertising as a community of practice, I first explore how an individual becomes a practitioner and examine the formal knowledge required. Evidence from the practitioner interviews suggests that formal theoretical knowledge amongst practitioners (within the advertising agencies and the photographer community) is not explicit. There is no clear route

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192 Wood et al quote from a study by Peterson (1974) of the potter Shoji Hamada's craft. Hamada explained that an apprentice learns from his/her master by "absorbing a skill into one's bones" (1974:46).

of study leading to advertising or advertising photography that guarantees the acquisition of knowledge required to be successful, i.e. to be creative and produce creative ideas. Furthermore, unless an individual studied art theory or happened upon semiotics, the academic study of advertising photography does not feature in daily advertising practice. As Nyilasy and Reid (2009) state: the knowledge that circulates in the advertising industry is "independent" of academic knowledge.[193] I also found that success in job applications is not defined by academic qualification. My interviewees studied a variety of subjects at degree level from the more obvious Fine Art to Geography which seems to have been the pattern from the pre-digital days of advertising photography. From the early years of commercial photography, this seems to have been the case. For example, Edward Steichen had no formal training, he was self-taught through magazines and books and through discussions with other photographic practitioners (Johnston, 1997:8). As Saunders (interview 2013) noted, there has been a growth in photography courses which offer formal photographic training but it has also produced a high number of inexperienced photographers searching for commercial work. In more recent years, even with the formalization of teaching technical skills, there has not been an increase in knowledge of commercial practice. [194] The informal apprenticeship system is still in place. Employment is no more guaranteed having studied for a photography degree. This led me to consider the number of job interviews I have conducted for creative positions over a 20-year period. The successful creatives I have employed or worked alongside have come, like my interviewees, from diverse academic backgrounds ranging from garden design to journalism. To build on the first-person evidence, I therefore conducted a further analysis of job advertisements for art directors, photographers and agency creative staff in London.[195] The key requirements for applying for positions are not academic qualifications but more often, the ability to work in a team, to work with concepts and to present ideas in a comprehensive way. Presenting ideas and concepts is key because creative work is pitched internally (inside the advertising agency) as well as to the client. Persuasive

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193 For example, writing from an industry viewpoint, Emily Bell in The Observer writes that Williamson's 1978 semiological work (discussed in the Literature Review) is: "…good clean fun but offers little in the way of commercial application to agencies struggling to impress the jaded palate of increasingly sophisticated consumers" (1991:37). Semiotic literacy is not taught in the agency environment, although some semioticians have had success offering semiotics as a service to advertising agencies, (the best-known UK companies are Semiotic Solutions or The Semiotic Alliance.) Generally, professional practitioners find semiotics hard to understand or cannot see the value in it. Tim Delaney, Creative Director of Leagas Delaney is quoted in the same Observer article as saying: "It's all bullshit. It's like a bunch of academics watching a football match from the touchline shouting about how the game should be played in theory. Persuasion is an art form not a science and no amount of semiotics, symbiotics or antibiotics or any other biotics will make any difference". (Bell, 1991:37)

194 The Universities and Colleges Admissions Service (known as UCAS) lists six commercial photography degree courses of a total 353 photography courses available: www.ucas.com [Accessed 9th March 2018].

195 Job advertisements were studied during the month of September in 2014. (September is a key employment month in advertising because brands launch new campaigns in the fourth quarter of the year). Jobs were analysed from industry websites: www.jobs.brandrepublic.com, www.jobs.theguardian.com, www.campaignlive.co.uk.

presentation skills are therefore extremely important and this is the performance aspect of a creative practitioners that I noted in the last chapter. The other important skill is team work and more broadly, the ability to communicate and work with departments within an agency, with third party practitioners such as photographers and the client financing the project. Similarly, a photographer must be able to work with the advertising agency and the client as well as anyone else involved in the project, including models, stylists, designers, brand managers etc. In this respect, it could be argued that interpersonal relationships are an important aspect of advertising photography practice. Being able to communicate to a wide range of people and collaborate effectively is also the way that photographers learn in the job. As Wenger defined the transfer of knowledge in the community of practice: "The primary source of value creation lies in informal processes, such as conversations, brainstorming, and pursuing ideas" (Wenger 2000:244). The entire system for producing advertising photography is based on the concept of "social learning" (Wenger 2000). From the moment a practitioner joins, they are socialized in the ways to behave and build an identity in their practice.

Advertising agencies employ creative teams of two people who work with the photographer in addition to the stakeholders such as the client and the agency account management team. There is a "constellation of practices" (Wenger 1998) and the intersecting practices of art direction and photography must collaborate to make the best use of each other's knowledge and skills. One must be able to understand how creativity is expressed and how it is communicated because the idea will be presented to both creative and non-creative practitioners throughout the process. In an industry that measures itself by creativity, it is therefore imperative that the arguments for creative ideas are presented in a persuasive manner. Therefore, 'having' the language to describe a creative visual concept/idea that is valued amongst practitioners, hence the reason job advertisements ask that applicants be able to present concepts.[196] The art of persuasion is something that creatives learn from those more experienced during the early stages of their career. In my own experience, there is no training offered to learn how to persuade creatively nor is there a published lexicon. Rank and reputation do have significance and I will address them in section 6.3, but the language of creativity is learnt through immersion in practice. Similarly, evaluating visual creativity is learnt through interaction with practitioners and discussions about creative products, in this instance imagery. The determination of degrees of creativity becomes instinctive and personal. This makes it more difficult to evaluate creative skills from an observational

196 Hackley analysed persuasion skills in the creative process, further attributing success to rank, reputation or "sheer force of personality" (2003:314).

viewpoint but through experience it appears that as the language of creativity becomes second nature, the ability to persuade improves.

Within my own professional practice, I often hear the phrase "they get it" as a description of a practitioner. During the photographer interviews, "getting it" was used as a phrase to describe both themselves and advertising agency creatives that they have worked with. "Getting it" is the co-understanding of how an idea becomes a visual and where creativity is applied to add value to the final image. It does not appear to be anything more than an intuitive feeling that one practitioner has about another as they conduct the informal process. Chris Hackley's (2003) study of advertising management processes further iterates the importance of this knowledge, finding that ex-creative staff have been dismissed from their positions, not because they had done anything wrong but had been deemed as not "getting it".

There are some definable elements of the practice-based understanding around creativity that relates to visual knowledge. Throughout the interviews, the practitioners use references that are short cuts to a style, genre or type of image, for example: Saunders mentioned "a Haas use of colour" and Ryan talked about "the Douglas brothers style of grain".[197] Having visual knowledge of key practitioners and styles is important but in turn, is too far ranging and intuitive to be easily classified. It is learned through repeated exposure to the community of practice and there are identifiable trends within advertising photography influenced by the community of practice's interest in a photographic style at a moment in time. This is important to consider and I will return to it in the case study in chapter eight. Visual knowledge also comes from films, television and news media. The necessity of advertising to reference popular culture means that popular culture knowledge flows through advertising practice. I found that advertising practitioners are interested and influenced by similar imagery. All the interviewees used visual references when making a point about something visual. These are broadly categorized in three ways:

1. Publications – For example *The Sunday Times* magazine as an example of a national publication that promotes creative photography or *Vogue* as an example of a publication that promotes creativity in fashion photography, *Readers Digest* as an example of everyday American photography. *Luerzer's Archive* as an example of typical advertising photography.

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197 Ernst Haas (1921-1986) was originally a photojournalist who experimented with colour photography producing news and advertising images in vibrant colours. The Douglas brothers (Andrew 1952- and Stuart 1962-) were particularly influential in the 1990s for their 'moody' portraiture using sepia lithographic processes.

2. Well-known photographers – Herb Ritts as an example of a luxurious black and white photographer, Steve McCurry as an example of *National Geographic* style of photography, Rankin as an example of photography using white backdrops.

3. Well-known brand names – Apple as an example of simple design aesthetic, Benson & Hedge*s* or Silk Cut as examples of brands that promoted creativity in photography.

Further explanation was not offered. The expectation was that I, as the researcher and a practitioner, understood the reference and instinctively made a visual connection based on our shared knowledge. With this in mind, the following section will examine how creative knowledge is acquired and how it is passed from practitioner to practitioner.

6.2 Experiencing Advertising Photographic Craft – Progressing Through the Community of Practice

Returning to Wenger, an earlier publication with the social anthropologist Jean Lave examined "situational learning" (Lave and Wenger, 1991). Lave and Wenger argued that learning is more than "doing", it is being fully committed to the community of practice. The "newcomer" learns "to talk as a key to legitimate peripheral participation" (1991:108). The term "legitimate peripheral participation" represents the role that the "newcomer" plays in the photographic process early in their career. Before a practitioner proves themselves at certain skills, the jobs they are given are low risk to the photographer. For example, holding a reflector, moving props around or cleaning the studio. Ryan (interview 2013) recalled being employed as a fourth assistant in his first job in a photographic studio. This is usually the lowest position in the studio hierarchy and involves doing the most menial of tasks. The well-known advertising photographer Tim Walker recalls that he too was a fourth assistant for Richard Avedon, which meant his job was to open and close the studio every day.[198] Ryan also described how he would sleep in the studio to fulfill this role.

In photography, the employment of assistants serves as an apprenticeship system. While I refer to the system as an "apprenticeship", it is not a formal contractual training apprenticeship as seen in industries such as engineering. As in previous research into apprenticeships in communities of practice (Engestrom 2007, Fuller 2007, Eraut 2002), especially creative practice, photographic apprentices learn and are socialized through observation and participation. Assistants are, as

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198 Quote taken from the photographer's website: http://www.timwalkerphotography.com [Accessed on 5th January 2017]. Tim Walker (1970-) is a British photographer best known for his fashion editorial and advertising work using elaborate sets and props.

Rosenblum labelled them, a "taken-for-granted institution" (1978:26) All the photographic practitioners I interviewed started their careers as assistants. Ryan (interview 2013) was briefly a cycle messenger couriering film from photo studios to The Colour Centre (a photographic processing laboratory in London). In his own words, he became known as the fastest courier and so photographers would ask for him by name, eventually finding employment as a fourth assistant in 1972 through this reputation.

Ryan and Saunders (interviews 2013) described in detail how the apprenticeship system operates in commercial photography. In the 1970s and 1980s when Ryan and Saunders started out, London was the "mecca of photography" (Saunders, interview 2013). Both had studied at art school (Ryan in Colchester in Essex and Saunders in Swansea, Wales).[199] Knowledge about the job market was communicated back to them via ex-students from their course. According to Ryan and Saunders, London was the cultural hub, it seemed glamorous and exciting and day rates (fees for a day's work) for photographers and assistants were higher than the rest of the UK. As advertising agencies burgeoned during this period, it had a resultant impact on the advertising photographic industry too. Because agencies were paying high fees at the time, photographers could afford to hire multiple assistants on a full-time basis. This is less common in the 2010s. Studio photographers have two assistants and less often three assistants but the usual convention is to hire assistants on a freelance basis per project. This allows the photographer the opportunity to utilise the expertise of a range of assistants (assistant's skills range from lighting expertise to digital capture and retouching expertise). According to Saunders, there were approximately 40 assistants applying for every available position when he started out. This allowed the apprenticeship system to flourish because photographers paid lower rates in a competitive market but took on more assistants, thereby introducing more practitioners to professional practice. In the 2010s, there are fewer assistant positions available because of the freelance system now in place.

Saunders remembers his first position in London as an assistant to the photographer Julie Fisher.[200] He was paid £75 a week.[201] Saunders also spoke about sleeping on the studio floor and eating baked beans because he could not afford to eat on the low salary. Assistants now either live as Ryan and Saunders did in the 1970s-1980s or have a secondary job. Some are wedding or portrait photographers; others work in bars and retail or have a part-time position at a company.

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199 Art school gave the practitioners a training in visual language but not into highly constructed photography.

200 Julie Fisher is an advertising photographer who works for John Lewis, BT, Tesco and B&Q. http://www.juliefisher.com

201 Surveying photographers in my own community, the day rate for a first assistant is approximately £150-£200 a day on a freelance basis in 2016.

McLeod et al's (2011) study of creative practitioner career trajectories in advertising agencies also found evidence of hardship during the apprentice period, with mention of only being able to afford cheap Pot Noodles and having to sleep on friends' sofas. My own interviews revealed a pattern and sense of nobility in suffering during the early stages of a creative career. There is a tacit understanding that a practitioner must "suffer for their art" beginning with a move to London. It seems unlikely that anyone would wish to impoverish themselves consciously but the future rewards are viewed as worth the early suffering. As Caves (2000) study of creative organisations found: "…starving artists are numerous, starved artists are not" (2000:21). Creative individuals find a way to improve skills to earn enough to stay in the practice. According to my interviewees, the early stage (the apprenticeship period) typically lasts two years. After two years, apprentices either secure a regular salary as first assistant, will have become full-time photographers themselves, or they will have changed profession. This raises the question of why a talented young creative practitioner would wish to spend two years in that position? As I stated above, there appears to be a sense of nobility in having experienced the apprenticeship system. Because there is no single route into practice, there is a culture of "learning on the job" (Nixon 2003) and proving one's abilities whilst on the job too. It is practice's own mechanism for 'enskillment' in the absence of a formal training system. To have survived the critical early stages in practice is something that also ties practitioners together in their community.[202] The skills learnt during this period are interpersonal as well as technical. The apprentice learns how to change lighting set-ups, how to achieve a certain creative look and how to interact with models to help them create the positioning or emotions that are required.

In addition, for most creative practitioners there is a sense of vocation. None of my interviewees considered another career even while they progressed through less creative roles (for example, as a cycle courier), viewing these roles instead as a way to get a 'foot in the door' of the chosen community. And even now, all have interests outside of their paid work that are also deemed creative, such as playing music, painting, drawing or writing. Practitioners continually seek creative stimulation that fulfills them more than just working for a salary. Leiss et al (2005:413) argue that agency creatives' "true" interests are in other artistic pursuits such as film making, playwriting and painting. However, my interview and survey findings show that both agency creatives and advertising photographers view their work as an artistic craft in and of itself. Speaking from the advertising practice viewpoint, Awdry believes that advertising imagery in the 1970s and 1980s flourished because the British film industry was not so good at that time:

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202 During the interviews, I found that where I had a common experience with the interviewee (be that a particularly hard period in the industry or having worked with a mutual acquaintance) we had a camaraderie that strengthened our regard for each other.

"super talented people went to Hollywood or into advertising…Art was allowed to rear its head". (Awdry, interview 2013). As Hackley also found through interviewing creative planners in advertising agencies, creative work in advertising is seen by practitioners as "quite close to art…a very modern form of art" (2000:248). The practitioner views the community as artistic and craft-centric and yet the final product serves a commercial purpose. Koslow et al (2003) interviewed advertising practitioners in American agencies and produced similar findings. Creatives spoke of wanting to have art exhibitions or making films in Hollywood while commercial work was the chance to get paid for something "they love doing anyway". The work requires a passionate commitment which is deeply ingrained in the practitioner's identity as a photographer, making this a rich area of study. This is also perhaps why practitioners are nostalgic about advertising imagery of the 1970s and 1980s. Advertising was viewed as art. Awdry spoke of the amount of media attention advertising used to get in the 1980s in particular, citing the arts correspondents who regularly wrote about creativity in advertising including *Today* newspaper that ran regular double page commentaries on advertising.[203]

Certain advertising agencies earn a reputation for being more artistic and for promoting the *art* of photography. Steel (interview 2013) discussed working at Goodby, Berlin and Silverstein in San Francisco from 1989 to 1999. He recounted how the office was "surrounded by the photography from their work" including a gallery on the walls of the agency featuring other advertising photography. This enabled all creatives to indulge in their passion for photography as an art form. Awdry also discussed joining Bartle Bogle Hegarty advertising agency in 1986 because it was "a cathedral of visual art" and was deemed within practice to be the "heir to Collett Dickinson Pearce", the agency that had flourished in the 1970s and 1980s.[204] Collett Dickinson Pearce (CDP) was mentioned by all interviewees in discussion about creativity and art in advertising photography. The style of photography that CDP commissioned in the 1970s to the 1990s was deemed by creative practitioners to be closest to art photography. Photographers working on campaigns such as for Benson & Hedges cigarettes were and are still seen as artists (figures 6.1 to 6.3 are examples of three photographer's work for Benson & Hedges from the 1970s to 1990s). The resulting imagery is often referred to as iconic. As Ryan (interview, 2014) said: "if you were commissioned by CDP to do a gold box shot, you pretty much knew you were

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203 *Today* newspaper was published in the UK between 1986 and 1995.

204 CDP was established in 1960, best known for campaigns for Hamlet cigars, Hovis bread, Cinzano and Benson & Hedges cigarettes. CDP was bought by the agency network Dentsu in 2000 and no longer exists as a name. Some of the best-known advertising personalities worked at CDP: Charles Saatchi, Sir John Hegarty, Sir Ridley Scott, Sir Alan Parker and Lord Puttnam.

going to be creating an iconic image because of the process and its exposure".[205] Mainstream media was interested in cigarette advertising because of new legislation restricting the imagery allowed. As new campaigns were launched they received media attention which encouraged advertising practice and photographic practice to create progressively creative imagery.

Figure 6.1 Benson & Hedges advertising. Photograph by Tony May.

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205 'Gold Box' is the term used within photographic practice to talk about the Benson & Hedges campaigns. It is a reference that is well used and refers to the type of highly conceptual photography that was produced after the tobacco advertising laws changed in the UK in 1986.

Figure 6.2 Benson & Hedges advertising. Photograph by Adrian Flowers.

Figure 6.3 Benson & Hedges advertising. Photograph by Graham Ford.

It is worth considering tobacco advertising photography briefly because legislative restrictions engendered the period of intense creativity in photography. Richards et al (2000:17) state that the "ingenuity of the response" to the restrictions meant that the legislation did not see a decrease in tobacco sales, (indeed this failure ultimately led to a total ban on print advertising in 2003). From 1965 onwards, cigarettes could not be advertised on television.[206] Cigars and rolling tobacco were

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206 The history of tobacco advertising in the UK is available here: www.asa.org.uk

not included in this legislation, hence the now iconic television campaigns for Hamlet cigars (also created by CDP) that ran from 1966 until cigar advertising was also banned in 1991.[207] From 1986, cigarette print advertising could no longer show people smoking. This restriction saw advertising for Benson and Hedges and Silk Cut particularly using art photography. In a study of the history of British advertising Winston Fletcher (2008:143-147) attributes the creativity in Benson & Hedges advertising to the tobacco company Gallaher which gave CDP creative freedom. As Ryan noted:

> In advertising, I think there were more iconic images that came from necessity, the whole gold box, the whole cigarette thing like Silk Cut. Came about purely by coincidence, (Ryan interview 2014)[208]

Similarly, Silk Cut was also looking for a new visual brand before the 1986 legislation came into effect. There is a story that has become legendary within advertising practice, that the Art Director Paul Arden from the advertising agency Saatchi & Saatchi, came across Lucio Fontana's art works when looking for inspiration for the Silk Cut campaign and decided to create a similar image. Figures 6.4 and 6.5 show the similarities between the art work and the advertisement. Silk Cut became synonymous with purple silk with a cut into it.[209]

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207 The Hamlet cigar campaign used a soundtrack from Bach's Air on a G String and the strapline: "Happiness is a cigar called Hamlet."

208 It is interesting that cigarette advertising is still discussed as a creative high point in photographic history. Later, advertising agencies such as Bartle Bogle Hegarty publicly announced that they would not work with tobacco clients on moral grounds, following major research into nicotine addiction and the long-term hazards of smoking. See : http://www.independent.co.uk [Accessed 5th January 2017]

209 Lucio Fontana (1899-1968) "Spatial Concept 'Waiting'" 1960. Available here: http://www.tate.org.uk/

Figure 6.4 Spatial Concept 'Waiting' by Lucio Fontana, 1960. Source: www.tate.org.uk.

Figure 6.5 The first Silk Cut purple silk advertisement. Photograph by Graham Ford.

As practitioners move through the community of practice, learning skills through experience and observation, there is always someone who is more experienced and has more skills. There are practitioners who the apprentice admires or aspires to be; the experts. As with the example above, Paul Arden is cited regularly because of his creative skills and the iconic campaigns he created. So, as with traditional craft skills, the apprentice learns via practitioners they look up to. They learn the aesthetics and behaviours through those whom they wish to emulate. Creative knowledge is passed on to the next generation from expert to novice (Lave and Wenger 1991). The expert is the "legitimator of practice who can further the development of apprentice's (newcomer's) chosen career" (McLeod et al 2011:116). They are not a qualified teacher and according to my interviewees, sometimes not even supportive people, but the expert becomes an

informal mentor to the apprentice, showing them the way to achieve in the community of practice. All but one of the interviewees talked about a mentor that helped them learn and inspired them to do better work. The three advertising creative directors (Awdry, Steel, Sutherland) all started out in the account management department of an agency.[210] This career route is acknowledged as the "front line" by the interviewees because it involves working directly with the client. All moved into the agency creative department after serving their own apprenticeship on the front line. In junior roles, they too took on the menial jobs, for example: answering the telephone, moving paperwork around, running errands etc. Each moved into the creative department after 2-3 years at the agency, once they had become established. None mentioned a mentor whilst they were in account management; it was after the move to the creative department that they talked about someone they had learnt from. This was unprompted during the interview stage but was a pattern that emerged as I reviewed the transcripts. Steel went as far as to say that he measures everything he still does by how his mentor judged work even though they do not work together anymore. Even when he is putting together a current client presentation, he asks himself: "What would Rich Silverstein think of these slides?" [211] Saunders (interview 2013) also spoke of a Creative Director who he worked under between 2001 and 2008.[212] His mentor brought a new discipline to practice in the form of a brainstorming culture that Saunders is still using in 2017.

The evidence from the interviews shows that a mentor has a strong influence on the practitioner and is referenced as a touchstone to measure their work and that of others. Knowledge around creativity especially is assimilated through 'looking up' to more experienced creative practitioners. All the practitioners interviewed are now considered to be in the position of the mentor and are referenced by the less experienced. Yet it was revealing how they too would reference those who they revered currently. For example, unprompted, Awdry (interview 2013) mentioned: Dave Dye, Tim Delaney, Dennis Lewis, Martin Gaulton, John Hegarty, Larry Barker, Rooney Carruthers and Steve Hooper.[213] These practitioners are all older and more experienced and are those who he learned from as he was progressing within the advertising community.

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210 The account management department is responsible for working with the client and for ensuring that everyone works together in the agency to produce advertising on budget and to the deadline. Account managers are called "suits" by the creative department to denote the business attire that they wear (as opposed to the creative teams' preference for casual clothing) and to denote the more corporate nature of the role they play in producing advertising. Awdry and Ryan mentioned "suits" on several occasions during their interviews.

211 Rich Silverstein (1949-) is Creative Director at Goodby, Silverstein & Partners (GS&P) based in San Francisco. Best known for the "Got Milk?" campaign for the California Milk Processor Board that ran for over 20 years.

212 Lewis Blackwell, Senior Vice President of Creative, Getty Images from 2001-2008 was previously editor of industry magazine *Creative Review*.

213 Everyone mentioned is a British art director/creative director of repute, having worked on iconic campaigns during their careers.

The career progression of the advertising creative is easier to plot than that of a photographer once they have emerged from the apprenticeship stage. McLeod et al (2011) studied the "meaningful trajectory" (Wenger, 2000:243) of advertising creatives in agencies. McLeod et al interviewed 49 creative professionals in the British advertising industry and determined the typical career progression of a creative. McLeod et al discovered that unpaid work experience has also become commonplace in advertising agency practice. If fortunate enough to secure a permanent role, the first position as an advertising creative is usually as a member of a junior creative team moving to middleweight and then senior or heavyweight status. (The weighted system refers only to length of experience). The highest position an advertising creative can hold is a management role overseeing the creative department, usually called a creative director.[214] Creatives move as a team from agency to agency to work on different client accounts or with respected practitioners until they become creative directors, then their individual knowledge is assured and they move alone. Awdry for example, was working as creative director at Ogilvy at the time of the interview but has since moved to a smaller design agency called Big Fish. Awdry previously worked in a creative team at Publicis, BBH, Leagas Delaney, Partners BBDH and finally DDB.[215] Interviewing a group of advertising photographers together (Ryan, Barraud, Newton, Pumfrey, interview 2014) also revealed which photographers are referenced as a touchstone for their own creativity. As with the advertising practitioners, the photographers revere those who are a generation older, for example: Steve McCurry, John Wimberley, Arnold Newman, Bill Brandt, Barry Lategan, Robert Mapplethorpe, Don McCullen, Lester Bookbinder and Rob Golden.

Many of the assistants I come across in my professional practice work as unpaid interns for well-known photographers in order to gain experience and knowledge. As I have described, others are paid a low wage in return for studio time to practice their craft. In this respect, it is very important at the apprenticeship stage that a young practitioner attach themselves to someone who they will learn from. The photographers surveyed all said they do not advertise for assistants because there is always someone willing to work for a low fee. Assistants secure work through word of mouth and, in the absence of a portfolio of skills, the assistant must rely on photographers, stylists and art directors recommending them within the community of practice. However, as I have observed on the photographic set, assistants work in collaboration with the photographer. They problem-solve together and are constantly communicating with one another; the assistant is also learning

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214 Some will go on and set up their own agency. Hence the reason so many advertising agencies are named after their founders.
215 Publicis is the only agency that is not named after its founders.

through every interaction. In this regard, the photographic industry works in an informal way. Practitioners hire people they prefer to work with. Preference is often based on formal skills such as lighting or digital uploading but is mainly based on people they like and can trust. Practitioners talk of chemistry and having assistants that are "fun to have on set", but in general terms will talk about a junior as "having the eye". This once again demonstrates that "getting it" is connected to tacit knowledge, if you have it, you get it.

As tacit knowledge takes years to accumulate, those new to practice are able to build credibility through the photographers they have worked with.[216] As an assistant, it is beneficial to be associated with a photographer who has a creative reputation. There is an assumption that creative knowledge from a great photographer flows down to those who work with them. The career trajectory of a photographer also affects the assistants' trajectory (especially in terms of the style or subject matter they go on to specialize in.) The genealogy of photographic practice is important and how practitioners are connected to one another has meaning to photographers. Ryan (interview 2013) referred to Lester Bookbinder as an influential photographer and so as I traced his career as an example. I found that he was positioned within a genealogy of skilled photographers. Bookbinder trained with the photographer Reuben Samberg in New York before opening his own studio in London in the 1960s. Bookbinder was a well-known still life photographer who had an assistant called Phil Jude.[217] Jude also became a well-known still life photographer, eventually moving into film production, as did his assistant, Julian Seddon.[218] Ryan also spent time as Phil Jude's assistant until he was invited, five years later, by another advertising photographer called Jimmy Wormser (who also photographed many Benson and Hedges campaigns and worked on the floor above Phil Jude) to share his studio. This experience seems to be reflected more widely too. Graham Ford (who produced the first Silk Cut photography) interviewed by creative director Dave Dye (2015) referenced by Awdry above, discussed the family tree in advertising photographic practice where practitioners are connected through the apprenticeship system. Ford worked for David Thorpe, who had worked for Bert Stern and Arnold Newman in the US. Jerry Oke and Eugenio Franchi then worked for Ford and John Parker and Kevin Summers went on to work for Jerry Oke.[219] In interviews in the trade press, practitioners talk about their genealogy to assert their place in history. Having said that, there is no established archive of commercial photographic practice but the history and the

216 This could be other photographers or associated practitioners such as art directors, film-makers, stylists etc.

217 Phil Jude was a studio photographer in London in the 1970s and 1980s who photographed album covers for bands such as The Stranglers, The Rolling Stones and The Art of Noise.

218 Julian Seddon's film studio was previously Robert Golden's studio. Both specialized in food advertising.

219 Graham Ford interview published on 18th August 2015: https://davedye.com/2015/08/18/in-camera-5-graham-ford/ [Accessed on 5th January 2017]. The photographers listed by Ford are best known for studio photography for advertising.

'names' are in the minds of the practitioners themselves (Vansina, 1985). During the photographers' joint interview there was camaraderie as they named well-known photographers. It appears that knowledge of the work of referenced names brings a sense of membership and commonality that has a power and a positive feeling for the members of the community.

There was little discussion of peer practitioners in both the advertising agency and photographer interviews. [220] Despite this, peer acknowledgement is important, in terms of awards, recommendations and further offers of work (this is particularly pertinent for the photographers.) This subject was not discussed directly and was not part of the questioning in the interviews, however a sense of pride did come through. The photographer group was particularly insistent on each talking about their success and the work that they are proud to have been involved in. Although the group worked closely together on projects, there was still a need to assert their own creativity in the discussion.[221] For example, Ryan spoke of the photographs for The Stranglers (figure 6.6) and The Rolling Stones that he was involved in and Newton spoke of his work for Vodafone that appeared on 48 sheet posters across the UK (figure 6.7). McLeod et al (2011) described advertising as a "competitive, tight-knit creative community" and Frosh (2003) found that commercial photographers also see themselves in competition with their peers. However, the peer group is also a community of "collective judgement" (Frosh 2003:61), enabling photographers to judge each other's work. This was also evident in the findings from the survey. Practitioners judge creativity in each other in terms of craft skills (only 7.6% could not or prefer not to judge creativity because of difficulties in measurement). I will now go on to discuss how peer regard and success is manifest in advertising photography.

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220 My view is that this is due to commercial competitiveness. There is a strong awareness of "who's who" in the industry and a strong sense of who is doing creative work.

221 Ryan, Barraud, Pumfrey and Newton currently work together on stock assignments under the company name Caia Images. See: www.caiaimage.com. They also collaborate on work for the Compassionate Eye Foundation. See: www.compassionateeye.org.

Figure 6.6 The Stranglers "La Folie" album cover, 1981. Photograph by Phil Jude.

Figure 6.7 Photograph by Chris Newton and Rob Daly, 2004. Source: www.gettyimages.com.

6.3 Success in Advertising Practice

Owing to the lack of existing studies of award systems in advertising photography, I will focus on the award system in advertising as an indication of how wider practice judges itself. In both advertising and photographic practice, success is directly connected to creativity, advertising campaign success (also referred to as "effectiveness") and personal practitioner success. As I have noted, as Nyilasy and Reid found through interviewing expert practitioners: "Creativity is identified as the singularly most important factor in effectiveness" (2009:81). I have found that creativity and effectiveness are measured by the number and status of the awards that are won. The equation is very simple in the minds of the practitioner: The greater the level of creativity, the more major creative awards won, the greater the level of success (Field 2010:6).[222] In the absence of other creative measures, advertising practice trusts and respects the creative award system. Thus, creative directors who have won awards are viewed as creative experts and the agency they work for is a 'creative agency'. As Malefyt found:

> Specifically, the awards ceremony recognizes the creative as 'artist', distinguishing the creative among peers, and imbuing the agency with more magical power. (Malefyt, 2017:22)

This can affect the career of the creative and the reputation of the agency in that an agency with a creative reputation attracts more clients and more interest from the industry media. Creatives earn celebrity status through winning awards. Because of the movement of creatives from agency to agency within the industry, there is a continual flow of knowledge that confers status on certain individuals. McLeod et al (2011) argue that without this knowledge of who is who, advertising creatives cannot do their jobs and a "magical halo for generating big ideas depends on the wonder-workings of the big-name creative." (Malefyt 2017:22) Moeran (2003) terms this "the name economy", hence the importance of genealogies of practice that I noted above. The trade journal *Campaign* perpetuates knowledge through discussion of job promotions or advertising award success. The magazine is likened to a "celebrity magazine" (Pratt 2006:1893) for this reason.

According to my interviewees, the most prestigious creative awards globally are from Lions International and the most important are the Cannes Lions awards. The awards have expanded

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222 Marketing Consultant Peter Field's (2010) wide scale study of the award system was commissioned by the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising to determine the correlation between awards and effectiveness.

into a week-long festival which attracted over 43,000 entries in 2016 according to the Lions website.[223] The sheer number of entrants would suggest that the advertising industry respect and trust the Lions judging panels. The Cannes Lions festival emphasized its expertise on judging creativity further by rebranding from Cannes International Advertising Festival (which it had been called since 1954) to Cannes Lions International Festival of Creativity in 2011. The festival consists of a week of talks and events put on by advertising agencies and their clients. There is a programme of parties, presentations, beach activities and exhibitions. It is a big occasion in the advertising calendar each year because it is an opportunity to network with other practitioners and potential clients. The awards themselves are judged away from the activity in closed rooms and are presented during a formal awards show. During the awards evening, the winners and shortlisted advertisements are shown on large screens throughout the auditorium.[224] The winners are invited on stage to give an acceptance speech and photos from the evening appear in the trade magazines. The most prestigious prize for a creative team is the Grand Prix.[225] The most prestigious prize for an agency is 'Agency of the Year', given to the agency that has collected the most awards overall. For example, I have referenced John Hegarty throughout this thesis as a creative expert and his agency Bartle Bogle Hegarty (BBH) has been awarded the 'Agency of the Year' twice at the Cannes Lions Festival. BBH has also been awarded the UK advertising agency of the year by the advertising industry publication *Campaign* seven times.[226] The agency's belief in the importance of creativity is quoted on their website: "We believe creativity can be a source of real business advantage".[227]

Field's 2010 study found that the awarded campaigns were 11 to 12 times more effective than non-awarded campaigns. However, measuring the effectiveness of advertising is still open to debate. For example, Moriarty (1996) examined the criteria for the measurement of effectiveness for awards and found only 29 of the 167 entry objectives were measurable. Moriarty noted that evidence for effectiveness that agencies offer tends to be internally measured with over half

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223 Cannes Lions is organized by Ascential Events (Europe) Limited. In addition to the event held in June in Cannes every year, Ascential also organize the festival and awards at Spikes Asia (held in Singapore in the autumn), Eurobest (held in the winter in a European city) and Dubai Lynx (held in Dubai in the spring). For more detail: https://www.canneslions.com. Although the event originally alternated between Cannes and Venice, it was established along similar lines as the Cannes Film Festival that had started eight years earlier.

224 Cannes Lions represents so many awards that they are distributed across five awards shows during the week of the festival. Other advertising awards (such as D&AD in the UK or The One Show in the USA are presented during a gala dinner).

225 The Grand Prix is not presented in every category, only when the judges unanimously vote that the entry is an exemplar. It is therefore highly sought after as corroboration of creativity.

226 BBH is best known for the work on Levi's jeans, Sony Playstation and British Airways. These campaigns are discussed during my interview with Will Awdry (2013) who was responsible for some of the work whilst at BBH.

227 Sourced from http://www.bartleboglehegarty.com. [Accessed on 14th September 2014]

(52%) of the entries giving no source information for their documentation. Further, Cronin (2004b) found that the IPA Effectiveness Awards, introduced to promote commercially successful advertising campaigns, have such rigid criteria that very few advertisements enter the competition. The awards therefore have instead promoted the difficulty of measuring creative success in advertising.

Research aligning advertising success with audience response, such as that published by Kover et al (1995), found that consumers do not show a strong preference for either creative or effectiveness award winning campaigns, but responded to advertisements that were personally relevant. To test this, Bell (1992) studied television advertisements, using the popularity of the television advert as a measure for creativity. In a telephone survey, respondents were asked to name their most liked and their most disliked television advertisement. The responses were measured against an expert panel's creativity rating. Seventy percent of the liked advertisements in the audience survey were deemed by the panel to be creative, compared with only 46 percent of those that were disliked. This provides some support for Bell's belief in audience popularity although is by no means definitive.

While the correlation between success and creativity is still a matter for debate within research, in practice, creativity is rewarded. During the interviews, I did not lead the advertising creatives to talk directly about awards so instead they focused on successful projects they believed to be creative. In this sense, the advertising creatives conveyed a similar response to the surveyed photographers by discussing the projects where creative thinking brought an idea to fruition. I also found that the second most popular response to the question on the definition of creativity in the photographer survey was having the ability to turn an idea into something tangible. For example, Steel (interview 2013) recounted his experiences of pitching for the Apple advertising account in 1997.[228] Steve Jobs had returned to the business and was firm about what the company stood against, which according to Steel was: "illogical interfaces and ugly computers". From this simple premise, the "Think Different" campaign was devised. Steel saw this as a highly creative interpretation of the idea that Steve Jobs presented to the agency. The campaign also went on to win many awards which I will return to in section 8.5.

Academic studies position award wins for creativity as 'attention getting' for the creative and their agency (Stuhlfaut and Yoo 2013). Tippins and Kunkel (2006) liken winning awards as having a similar effect to a film winning an Oscar because, like the subsequent increase in number

228 Another agency (TBWA/Chiat/Day eventually won the account and produced the "Think Different" campaign.

of people who will visit the cinema to see the film, more people will view the advertisement. But advertisers want to work with creative agencies so agencies will promote award wins on their website, in the trade press (sometimes taking out full page print advertisements to congratulate the creative team) and on social media to attract new clients.[229] This is further evident in the way that awards are displayed in advertising agencies. Creatives do not take their awards home; they are put on display in a public space in the agency, usually in the entrance hall or reception area so that visiting clients cannot miss that creativity has been rewarded. Examples can be found in the reception area of Ogilvy headquarters which is shown in figure 6.8 and DigitasLBi in figure 6.9. Ogilvy displays their awards where visitors wait in the reception area whereas DigitasLBi face their awards onto the street so that passersby are aware of their creative achievements. As can be seen in both images, the trophies are clustered by award. The most recent is at the front (by year) with a few years represented. The older awards are found on shelves or in cabinets in the creative department. As Hackley and Kover state, awards are displayed in the office because "the plaque or trophy affirms creative *permanence"* (2007:68). The creative practitioner is 'on the record' as having creativity, and conjointly the agency too.

Figure 6.8 Ogilvy Canary Wharf reception area, London. Photograph by Rebecca Swift, 2015.

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229 Having first person experience of advertising awards, I can also state that practitioners enjoy and look forward to the awards ceremony celebrations. Usually held at glamorous venues with celebrity compères and well-known musicians, they are an important occasion in the annual calendar.

Figure 6.9 DigitasLBi reception in Brick Lane, London. Photograph by Rebecca Swift, 2017.

Having said that, there is criticism that creativity awards are self-congratulatory, Leiss et al (2005) argue that the "brandishing" of awards is the creatives' attempt to prove their worth and to impress each other. Criticism is also levelled at advertisements that are manufactured specifically to easily win awards by appealing to awards culture style and subject matter (Schweitzer and Hester 1992). For example, there is a trend for advertising agencies taking on projects for Non-Government Organisations and charities to produce creative campaigns with an eye on the awards.[230] And the awards system is criticized too. As stated in chapter two, Parekh (2009) found that the large agency network BBDO spent £154,000 in awards entries in a year.[231] Consequently, BBDO won more awards. The BBDO website states on the "Who We Are" page that "BBDO is the world's most awarded advertising agency".[232] So, the awards do celebrate creativity, but the system is self-referential - the winners are always chosen from paid entries. However, the fact that advertising agencies spend so much on award entry suggests that it is deemed worthwhile by the practitioners themselves.

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230 Anecdotally, there is always a flurry of activity just before award season as practitioners are gathering together entries for submission. Cannes Lions announced in November 2017 that awards categories are to be overhauled in 2018 to address this issue. Charity and pro bono work is only to be submitted in the "Good" category. More details here:
http://www.adweek.com/category/cannes-lions/ [Accessed on 8th December 2017].

231 Whereas other large agencies such as JWT, Ogilvy and DDB spent approximately £62,000 each.

232 www.bbdo.com [Accessed on 12th June 2015]

This is an important aspect to note in the judging of awards. As a practitioner progresses through the community of practice absorbing expertise through evaluating creativity, they eventually assume what Polanyi describes as "connoisseurship" (2005:56) or the art of knowing and doing. The connoisseur is the expert able to judge others. Hennessey and Amabile quote from Runco (2004) who states that "the assessment of product creativity is rarely used with non-eminent individuals". Informally discussing this with awards organisers within my field (such as Lions, D&AD, European Young Photographer) I have found that experts are chosen for several reasons –credibility within their field, work they have been involved in (award winning or highly regarded amongst peers) or the organisation they are connected to. More recently, social media presence and on-line profile is also taken into consideration by the community of practice.[233] The panel of judges assesses the creativity of the entries in isolation and then assembles in a neutral environment to discuss the scoring and canvas opinions where the outcome is not clear.[234] Judging usually comes with guidelines but it is mostly instinctive and subjective. The entry attracting the greatest consensus is awarded the prize.[235] This technique is known as the Consensual Assessment Technique (CAT), first proposed by Amabile in 1982, the technique has since been validated by other researchers as generating consistent results. (Hennessey 1994, Baer et al 2004).

In many instances, I found in my own professional practice that it is not the entry that individual judges are passionate about that goes on to win. It is the entries that the panel all judged high enough to be in the top three (with variations between judges as to what was number one, two or three.) This process favours the more strident verbal negotiators who attempt to influence the opinion of others but the technique does broadly represent what the experts within practice judge to be creative. This technique also assumes that the experts *will* agree. Nonetheless, there does seem to be consistency in the measurement of creativity from inside practice although this has not been well documented. Dorst and Cross (2001) quote from a study conducted by Christiaans (1992) who found that when specialist assessors were asked to grade designs on 'creativity', they judged them similarly. Christiaans concluded that there is a tacit agreement about creativity even though the judging of it appears to be intuitive. Kaufman et al (2008) also found that experts do in fact have more consensus about what is deemed creative in comparison to non-experts. This is

233 A trend has also emerged where corporations have started to sponsor major creative awards. One of the benefits of sponsoring an award is that someone from the corporation will also be granted a position on the judging panel. The level of their creative expertise has no bearing on their position on the panel.
234 In my experience this is usually a conference room in a luxury hotel.
235 I have first-hand knowledge of how most of the major awards are judged. This is either because I have been on judging panels myself or my colleagues have been. There have been occasions when consensus was difficult to obtain but through a verbal negotiation process it was determined.

reflected in the creative awards too. In most instances, there is an expectation that certain advertising will receive creative awards. Practitioners recognise creativity and have already acknowledged its value before any awards are presented.

There exists advertising practice led acknowledgement of how creative success is measured, which is sustained by the advertising awards system. Although the actual measurement is hard to determine, it is accepted and tacitly defined by practitioners through exposure to the community of practice. There is a general agreement inside practice as to what is deemed creatively exemplary which is further promoted through agency promotions, trade press publicity and the flow of knowledge within the community. I will now examine what affect this has on the measure of success in photographic practice.

6.4 Success in the Advertising Photographic Community of Practice

Advertising creative success, although by no means categorical, is publicly rewarded and is lauded by the trade press and practice itself. Advertising photography does not have the same high-profile awards for creativity, so instead relies on a symbiotic relationship with the creative reward system in wider advertising. If an advertising campaign achieves creative success, the photography wins by association.[236] There exists instead, a strong social network connecting photographic practitioners that is aware, like the genealogies of connection discussed above, of who has worked on what account and with whom. It is a word of mouth knowledge because there is no publication that promotes photography in advertising or discusses the day to day work that advertising photographers are doing. For example, *The British Journal of Photography*, the most established photographic magazine in the UK, focuses more on fine art and documentary photography.[237] The collective knowledge about what or who is creative that photographers rely upon is held by fully socialised members of the community of practice. This knowledge has a tacit component in line with Leonard and Sensiper's (1998) findings from a study of the renowned design agency IDEO.[238] There is a degree of implicit understanding present in the group which enhances collective action (Erden et al 2008). The group is guided by principles (in this instance, achieving the creative exemplary) in addition to practical goals (fulfilling a brief).

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236 The exception is when a high-profile photographer is hired to photograph a campaign. The association of the photographer with the campaign becomes part of the promotion. For example Richard Avedon's association with the Levi's campaign.

237 *The British Journal of Photography* or BJP as it is referred to in professional practice, has been published since 1854, first as the *Liverpool Photographic Journal* and then through two more name changes until eventually becoming BJP in 1860.

238 Leonard and Sensiper (1998) found that creatives shared a "deep understanding" of their group process and despite ideas being seemingly divergent, they knew why the ideas were generated and encouraged them.

However, there are some awards that are viewed as prestigious within photographic practice and winning them is a mark of creativity. To establish which awards are most revered, I polled twelve creative peers in July 2015. The unanimous first choice for everyone is the Taylor Wessing prize.[239] Other awards include: AOP (The Association of Photographers) Photography Awards, IPA (International Photography Awards), International Center of Photography Infinity Awards, D&AD (British Design and Art Direction) Awards and D&AD Young Blood Awards.[240] (It is also prestigious to appear in award annuals or books dedicated to professional commercial photography such as *The PDN Photo Annual* and *The Creative Review Photography Annual*).[241] To examine this further, I looked at well-known photographers and found they had been recipients of these awards. For example, two photographers I have referenced: Annie Leibovitz and Tim Walker, have both won awards. Leibovitz won the Infinity award in 1990 in the "Applied/Fashion/Advertising" category and was made the 2009 honoree for Lifetime Achievement. (The same year she was also awarded the Centenary Medal and Honorary Fellowship of the Royal Photographic Society). In 2009, Tim Walker won the Infinity award in the "Applied/Fashion/Advertising" category and was given an Honorary Fellowship of the Royal Photographic Society in 2012.

While there does seem to be some correlation between success and awards, this was not evident during the photographer interviews. The pursuit of awards does not seem to have a strong influence on career trajectory for photographers. Furthermore, I found that the award system is not the measurement by which practitioners judge themselves and others. For example, no survey respondents measured creativity through award success. Returning to the definition and study of creativity as discussed in chapter four, Amabile (1996) roots creativity in the social, determining that something is creative when it is recognized by other domain practitioners. In other words, creativity needs practice approval. In photographic practice, creativity is associated with a practitioner who is highly regarded. Superstar status comes not from winning awards but from depicting creativity through craft skills, conveying a new perspective that impresses other practitioners. An example from the photographer Chris Ryan (figure 6.10):

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239 Taylor Wessing is a law firm who sponsor a photographic portrait prize through the National Portrait Gallery. Details available at http://www.npg.org.uk

240 Details available at: http://www.the-aop.org, http://www.photoawards.com, http://www.icp.org/infinity-awards, http://www.dandad.org/en/awards/

241 Details available at: http://www.pdnphotoannual.com and http://www.creativereview.co.uk

The first person to put horizon lines, gradation lines was Lester [Bookbinder]. Any still life that you see that was created in the 70s/80s/90s would have been basically a derivative of what Lester started with. And I think you all take a bit of that, I would take a bit of Lester and use it every day still. (Ryan, interview 2014)

So beyond being aware of who is who, practitioners are also aware of who is producing creative work. This awareness subsequently influences the rest of practice as those techniques and styles are borrowed and emulated by others. As the advertising industry continues to produce new campaigns, practitioners continually reassess themselves against what is deemed creative, drawing in influences as they do so.[242] This forward movement is a characteristic of advertising photographic practice and is an indication of how creativity *evolves*. In the last three chapters, I have examined how practitioners define and learn about creativity, how they measure it in themselves and others and how being creative and being seen as creative is the fabric of the photographic community of practice. In the following chapter I will develop these findings further, examining the conditions under which exemplary advertising images are created and look at how advertising photography is influenced by the most highly regarded imagery and the subsequent effect it has on the community of practice.

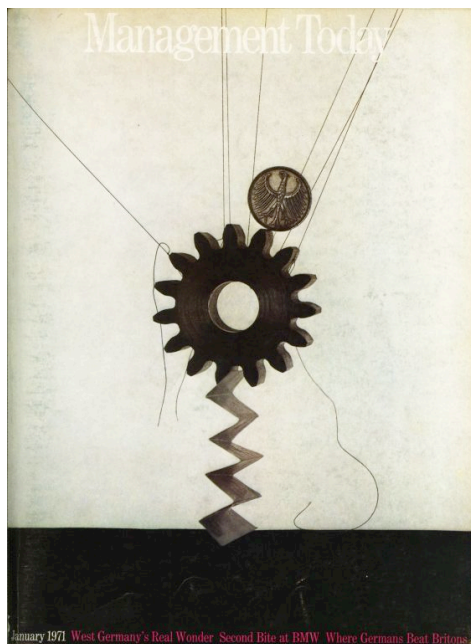*Figure 6.10 Management Today, Jan 1971. Photograph by Lester Bookbinder.*

242 Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) argue that there is a continuous process of conversion between subjective, tacit knowledge and objective explicit knowledge. As a result, tacit knowledge is continually evolving so that the community of practice is more than an environment where practitioners learn, it is where knowledge is created.

7. ICONICITY IN ADVERTISING PHOTOGRAPHY

The iconic advertising image is perceived as the pinnacle of achievement in creativity. Throughout the interviews, practitioners use the term "iconic" to describe an exemplar image and it is a concept that resonated throughout my research.[243] Previous chapters have examined the definition and importance of creativity in advertising photographic practice; how it defines careers and communities and how it is manifest in the production process. As discussed on page 19, this chapter will synthesise the practitioner survey and interviews to offer a practice-led view on a dynamic and ever-changing creativity through the production of the 'iconic image'. In addition, this chapter will analyse the effect that the iconic image has on practice and the visual language of advertising. The advertising archive is structured around award-winning and iconic advertisements and the promotion of iconic images in advertising history is the preserve of 'coffee table' books usually containing beautifully reproduced advertisements and interviews with superstar advertising figures published for the enjoyment of the casual reader.[244] But, this results in an overemphasis on the less common image and only a few advertising creatives, leaving the majority of professional practice and mainstream imagery unrepresented. This chapter acknowledges the rare iconic images but what emerges is a hypothesis that draws on the examination of visual archetypes and the changes within mainstream photographic production as iconicity occurs.[245]

I will address the following questions: How do practitioners define an iconic image and what criteria does the community of practice use to determine the iconic?

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243 Photographic practitioners use the term "iconic" to talk about imagery that is worthy of veneration.

244 For example Pincas and Loiseau (2006) *A History of Advertising*, Twitchell (2000) *Twenty Ads that shook the world* or Berger. W. (2001) *Advertising Today*.

245 There is a huge body of work that examines the meaning of icons in visuals. The icon (especially as it relates to religious figures in ancient art) is associated with semiotician Charles Sanders Peirce (Hoopes 1991) and the study of iconography by Erwin Panofsky (1955). As stated in the Introduction, E.H. Gombrich is associated with the study of iconic signs in art history arguing that iconic signs offer a "a device to impart information" (1993:84) allowing artists to learn from previous artists. While Gombrich (1993) refers to "stereotypes" as the mechanism that artists use to communicate references, the term has negative connotations in practice and relates to the simplification of archetype characteristic. For example, the father who is unable to operate a washing machine. Advertising is criticized when it reverts to stereotypes. (Lester 1996, Manstead and McCullogh 1981). I instead use the term "archetype" in its descriptive sense, as in an image that represents a typical example of a person or thing, in other words, a prime example. Archetypes are referenced and built upon. The large body of work in psychoanalysis and the Jungian theory of archetypes as universally inherited ideas cannot be part of this thesis.

Hariman and Lucaites' (2007) definition in the seminal publication: *No Caption Needed: Iconic Photographs, Public Culture and Liberal Democracy,* that is worth quoting at length because it serves as a robust baseline for photographic analysis: [246]

> Iconic photographs provide an accessible and centrally positioned set of images for exploring how political action (and inaction) can be constituted and controlled through visual media. They are the images that you see again and again in the historical tableaus of the visual media: whether on the cover of the pictorial history of the twentieth century, as the final, lingering shot of the montage advertising a World War II retrospective, or on the Web page memorialising popular protests of the 1960s. These images don't stop there, however, for they also are picked up by political cartoonists and by political demonstrators; they are used in commercial advertising and reproduced on T-shirts and all manner of promotional materials including academic book covers; they are displayed in museums and referred to in written history, fiction and poetry; they are parodied in magazines, newspapers, video, and on web pages; and they are analysed in scholarly studies of photography, photojournalism, political representation, and related topics. (2007:5)

Hariman and Lucaites are especially concerned with how the iconic image is retained in its original form over time. [247] Although comprehensive in terms of their own argument, Hariman and Lucaites are not concerned with the creative impact that iconic news imagery has on subsequent images. While stating that: "the zenith of photojournalistic achievement is the iconic photograph," (2007:27) photojournalism differs from advertising in that the iconic image is closely tied to the historical event it represents. News imagery produced by photojournalists is necessarily time sensitive and is subject to strict regulations ensuring the integrity of the final image. [248] The date and location is attached to the visual image in some way, rooting it to the event. Advertising images conversely, are not inherently time-limited, the creation date is not attached to the image (practitioner interviewees talked about the year of creation rather than

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246 Hariman and Lucaites study photojournalism, examining the impact of iconic images on political action and public memory of the viewer. Their work is referenced in later studies on icons in contemporary photojournalism (Tulloch and Blood, 2012 and Moller, 2013).

247 Case studies include Dorothea Lange's 1936 "Migrant Mother" image or Joe Rosenthal's 1945 image: "Raising the flag on Mount Suribachi" better known as "the Iwo Jima image".

248 News and documentary organisations have established 'Editorial Policies' photographers must abide by. The policy covers personal conduct as well as post-production parameters such as image editing and accurate captioning. For example, the news organisation Reuters has guidelines for photographers available here: http://handbook.reuters.com/ [Accessed 14th April 2017]

specific dates). In news imagery. there is also no expectation that a "new perspective" or "angle" (quoted from the practitioner survey results) be produced because the time has passed. For this reason, the news image remains close to the original as it passes through a range of media, allowing researchers such as Hariman and Lucaites to trace its progress over many years. Thus, a different notion of 'iconicity' is determined although Hariman and Lucaites definition is linked to my own by a distillation of social values of its time. As they state: "The icon emerges from the welter of images because it evokes the vital center of mainstream public culture". (2007: 289).

Hariman and Lucaites did not examine what the image is saying and the effect that it has on photojournalistic practice, they are interested in how the image is disseminated. As previously discussed in chapter five, advertising imagery is created with the intention of producing an image that offers a new perspective on an idea. However, understanding how the creativity of practitioners is influenced by what has come before bears further examination because imagery produced many years later is influenced by earlier iconic imagery. I will draw on Hariman and Lucaites in order to determine how certain images are established and endure but will not demonstrate how the image remains the same, instead focusing on the legacy that an iconic advertising image creates. While photojournalistic images move through different media largely intact, I argue that the iconic advertising image acts as a reference point for future photography. It is a benchmark by which photographers measure themselves. Barraud (interview 2014) calls the photographers who produce an iconic image: "a superhero" and Ryan remarked that being referred to as someone who had produced iconic photography: "It's the finest form of flattery" (Ryan, interview 2014). As noted throughout, the way iconic images operate is closer to what the science philosopher Thomas Kuhn (1962) defined as 'exemplars'. The exemplar is used as an instance of a successful piece of work and exemplars, I would argue, become iconic in the minds of the practitioners and then used as a common visual reference in future practice. I consider some iconic images (as determined through the practitioner interviews) and examine how those images influenced the evolution of advertising photography. As one of my interviewees explained it: "an iconic campaign changes the status quo" (Steel, interview 2013). Again, I will discuss themes in the way they emerged from the practitioner interviews.

7.1 Defining Iconicity with Practicing Photographers

The first question I put to the photographer interviewees attempts to identify a practitioner definition comparable to that of Hariman and Lucaites. I asked: "When does an image become iconic?" Hariman and Lucaites' definition relates to images that are easy to interpret and replicate. This is also reflected in my interviewee responses, for example the photographer Rob Daly discussed the same images as Hariman and Lucaites:

I think that images become iconic because they represent in an instant, so much more than can be expressed in thousands of words. The first image that jumps to mind is Nick Ut's famous Vietnam war photo of the Napalm girl, which encapsulated the horror of war with an unforgettable image; a moment in time, that says so much about war. Another image that jumps to mind which is also another war photo is Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima by Jim Rosenthal, and the Tiananmen Square tank man. These are three images that truly became iconic. Coming right up to date, an example of an iconic image can arise from out of the blue. Robin Van Persie's header is an iconic sporting moment for the Dutch coming out of the World Cup [Football World Cup 2014]. So, iconic for them that they made a coin to celebrate it. (Daly, email 2016)

Daly's description here equates iconicity with symbolic imagery because it accords with a cluster of values for the viewer. The image not only has symbolic importance but it is the best example of that symbol; the exemplar. This view is repeated by photographer Chris Newton:

There are many different reasons that images become iconic. The one thing they all share is that they stick in your head, there is some sort of magical glue that binds them to your consciousness, they get deep and stay there. Most images don't have that power. It's a real lottery to find them, that's part of the magic for me, it's a nice quest to have. (Newton, interview 2014)

Hariman and Lucaites argue that iconic images are identified immediately but their effect is established slowly further, advertising iconicity is not felt immediately, it is established over time. The photographer Chris Ryan reinforced this: "some iconic imagery; the critics later on read far more into it in terms of its iconography than the photographer or creator did at the time" (Ryan, interview 2014). Iconicity attributed in retrospect complicates the study of iconic advertising imagery because analysing advertising imagery requires study over a long duration to understand when and why iconic images occur. The image must travel through a process where the *regard* by its different audiences is included in how it is measured. The photographer Matt Hind is the only practitioner to consider the audience in his definition of iconicity, he emailed later:

A photographer can think whatever he or she likes about his own work or indeed the work of others but an image can only be considered iconic by peer group appreciation/confirmation and viewer engagement and endorsement. (Hind, by email 2016)

This is where the notion of influence, especially the advertising agency, is again important.[249] The photographer is reliant on the agency creative team placing the image in the right context (i.e. in a well-conceived advertisement) and the agency creative team are dependent on the media buying team ensuring that the advertisement has the greatest exposure. Everyone is dependent on the client approving the advertisement. The photographer Chris Ryan, the most experienced of the practitioners I interviewed, was the only one to consider media placement in its material form as impacting how an image is received: "With many images, they are at the behest of where they are seen. If they get the exposure in a high-profile billboard or press campaign then they have more chance of becoming iconic. If it is on the back of a train and it is a brilliant image, probably isn't going to become iconic. If it is a 48-sheet poster on the Cromwell Road, there is a chance". (Ryan, interview 2014).

All the practitioners I interviewed agreed that iconic imagery is defined over time and iconic images do not occur regularly. As the photographer, Justin Pumfrey states: "there are not that many iconic images created every year. They are pretty rare things" (interview 2014). I also established through the interviews that iconicity is not attributed often and it is always attributed retrospectively. However, I also explored whether practitioners could sense that they were creating something exemplary at the point of production. I asked: "Can you predict before a shoot whether an image is going to be iconic?" Ryan discussed working with musicians and bands in the early part of his career, giving some insight into whether a practitioner consciously acknowledges at the point of production that the thing they are creating is iconic or whether 'others' make the determination:

> …And then sometimes even though you didn't realise it, I might be creating an album cover in the 80s or 70s for someone I had never heard of. They would come in the studio and you think why the hell is this person here? It's another day's work and then you find out later that it is Boy George and it is an iconic album cover or it's The Stranglers or the Rolling Stones. Actually, if it was Rolling Stones you knew it was iconic. But they became iconic without you realising it at the time. So, there is a thing about whether you think it is iconic while you are shooting it or whether others at a later date then decide it is iconic? (Ryan, interview 2014)

Ryan also explained the feeling of producing an image that is creatively successful:

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249 Although I am not looking at reception specifically, the success of an advertising image is dependent on practice regard, audience reception and media (both trade and mass media) approval. At this point, I am concerned with production of the advertising image through the lens of the practitioners directly involved. I will return to this throughout this chapter.

It is difficult for us as creatives to say what is iconic or not. I like to think in my mind that it is going to be iconic. You get that buzz, you feel the heat. You think "this is it", this is the moment. Is it up to us to judge later whether it is iconic? Probably not. (Ryan, interview 2014)

The *feeling* comes from the photographer's tacit knowledge, it is the intersection of photographic skill and creativity and although that moment is not predictable, it can be felt during the photoshoot:

I don't know beforehand, I get a feeling from an image, I can feel the emotional truth in it. It is human and slightly mysterious. I don't shoot for the iconic. It is difficult to feel completely satisfied – I like it when the unexpected happens and something magic comes out of the shoot. It becomes an "iconic pleasure" more than anything else! (Pumfrey, interview 2014).

Pumfrey's almost visceral reaction to the moment when a photoshoot becomes something special might explain why practitioners remain in practice. Creativity occurs almost by chance on occasion. While shoot production must go through a formal process dictated by other individuals or groups (as discussed in chapter five) the moment that the photograph is created is where the photographer gets their "pleasure" from the process. Pumfrey describes the moment as a personal experience. Barraud also attributes iconicity to a personal experience but goes on to discuss what happens to the image when it becomes public:

It is iconic to yourself. I know when I shoot it and I know when I have seen the image although it can just be luck sometimes. I shot a boy in an aquarium looking at the fish through the glass. [*See figure 7.1*]. It has been copied many times by other photographers since, but I had a vision of how it was going to look beforehand and knew it was iconic. (Barraud, interview 2014)

Barraud implies that once in the public sphere, his creativity is appropriated by other photographers as it is absorbed into community knowledge. This view is repeatedly reflected in the photographer interviews. As Justin Pumfrey surmised during the group interview:

Images are regurgitated all the time…However, the moment it is created, that is a historical moment, when it has not been done before. It is a zeitgeist moment. (Pumfrey, interview 2014)

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I shall return to the practice led view of iconic moments and the "pleasure" of creating them through the professional experiences revealed by my interviewees in section 7.5. In the following section though, I will focus on why images are reproduced or "regurgitated" in a practice that prides itself on its creativity.

Figure 7.1 Boy in the aquarium, 2005. Photograph by Martin Barraud. Source: Getty Images.

7.2 Reproducibility and the Appropriation of Iconic Advertising Images

Hariman and Lucaites describe iconic news images as those that are seen "again and again". Reproduction of the image is a measure of success in the photojournalistic genre. However, advertising photographers subscribe to an informal code of practice that values creativity, so appropriating another practitioner's work is antithetical to the community of practice. Barraud is aware that his image of the boy at the aquarium has been appropriated by other photographers but there are no images that are visually identical to his original. Instead, photographers have

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been influenced by his creativity, whether the technical skills such as lighting or colour palette or creative skills such as the positioning of the model or the conceptual idea in the image. However, the knowledge that encompasses understanding the influences is tacit within professional practice. Identifying any subsequent images that appropriate Barraud's original image is difficult. To be entirely accurate, identification is only ascertained through interviewing photographers to determine their influences but, as other researchers have found, asking practitioners to reveal their creative influences is complex. Nevertheless, practitioners will discuss creative influence and appropriation in broader terms. The advertising creative Jon Steel discussed a Porsche 911 car campaign he worked on in 1993 (see figure 7.2). The brand needed to change its image and the agency (Goodby, Berlin and Silverstein) decided on a campaign centred on Porsche as a car for people who love to drive:

> The agency had conducted wide-ranging research to determine how to sell Porsche cars in a climate when the brand was seen as a symbol of greed and status that was reminiscent of the 1980s. The agency worked with [*the photographer*] Clint Clemens. He had pioneered the technique of shooting a moving car as sharp against a blurred background to suggest speed. The Porsche advertisement became iconic with the headline "Kills Bugs Fast" and the photograph was made into a poster that sold very well. It has been copied ever since by other car manufacturers. (Steel, interview 2013).[250]

Figure 7.3 is an example of a Volvo car advertisement that appeared a few years later, photographed by another photographer using a photographic technique that references Clemens' visual style. This is where the notion of archetypes is key. The standard method for photography in car advertising, established over time and as shown in figures 7.4 to 7.6, relied on photographing the car (without its driver) against the backdrop of a landscape or a studio setting. The choice of background depended on the car brand but figure 7.6 shows how Porsche cars were photographed prior to 1993. Once the Porsche campaign became iconic, cars were shown on the move, in focus against a blurred background. This in turn became the archetype for car advertising.

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250 Clint Clemens is an advertising photographer who specialises in car and sports photography. In 1980 he created a camera mount that attached to a car allowing the driver to operate the camera. His car imagery has won many photography and advertising awards. Details here: www.clintclemens.com.
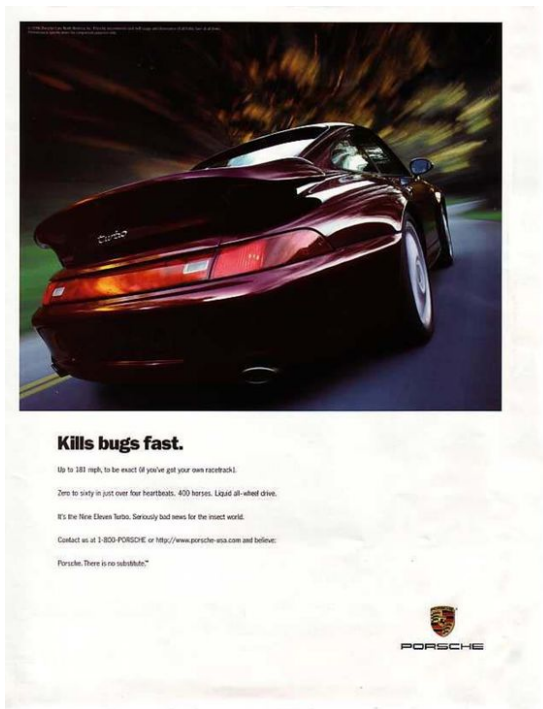
Figure 7.2 Porsche advertisement 1993. Photograph by Clint Clemens. Source: Advertising Archives.
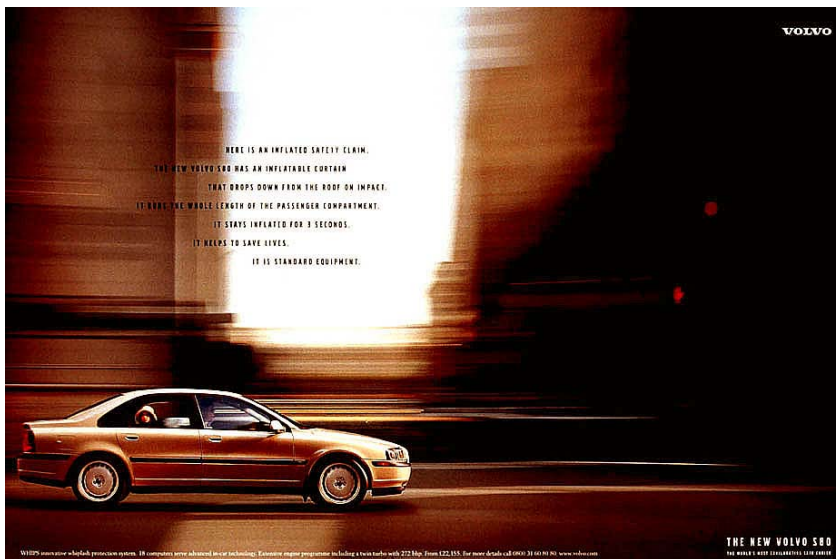

Figure 7.3 Volvo advertising 1999. Photograph by John Offenbach. Source: Advertising Archives.

Figure 7.4 Saab advertising 1981. Photographer unknown. Source: The Sunday Times Magazine.

Figure 7.5 Toyota advertising 1988. Photographer unknown. Source: The Sunday Times Magazine.

Figure 7.6 Porsche advertising 1988. Photographer unknown. Source: The Sunday Times Magazine.

As discussed in chapter five, there are instances when photographers are requested to emulate the style of another but they do not value any work they feel reproduces that of another practitioner. For example, Chris Ryan described an instance where the advertising agency asked him to recreate an iconic image for Filofax that had originally been created by the photographer Barry Lategan for Haagen Dazs ice-cream (see figure 7.17). The image was very similar to the original with a Filofax in place of the tub of ice-cream. Ryan regrets his involvement, as in his words, he "got into trouble for it" but has not repeated the mistake.

The appropriation of iconic imagery is normally less deliberate than in Ryan's example. The iconic image *influences* the industry it is associated with, as Steel noted about the Porsche campaign: "Within industries, a style is copied and it all starts to look the same. You stand out as an individual when you first shoot it but then everyone wants the same. Clients get stuck by it". (Steel, interview 2013). The Porsche campaign required a creative solution to counteract the consumers' negative views of the car, which resulted in a new perspective being created. The iconic image sets the visual standard within the industry which in turn influences other car manufacturers to use a similar style.[251] The photographic practitioners discussed other examples of iconic appropriation that they were aware of. For example, Barraud attributes appropriation to the way that photographers learn in the community of practice:

> Bob Golden was the first food photographer to use golden light across food still life [*figure 7.7*]. Students were introduced to his work at college and started copying it and then took it off into their careers as professional photographers. The trend therefore continued for a generation. (Barraud, interview 2014)

This further indicates the practice-led definition of what is creative at any point in time. As Barraud states, when at the apprentice stage, photographers are especially influenced by practitioners who are creating iconic imagery. As already discussed, practitioners look to the generation that came before them but they also look on the practice itself. Awdry attributes this to self-referencing: "Creatives start to "fetishize" certain styles of photography like Bob Miller's approach to rich colour [*figure 7.8*] or Harry De Zitter's cars in landscapes [*figure 7.9*]". (Awdry,

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251 In a lecture to Academy of Art University (2013), Clemens discussed the Porsche advertising, describing the rig that he devised to shoot the car as static against the moving background. His technique was then requested for other car campaigns because no other practitioner knew how to emulate it. He had asked his clients to sign a non-disclosure agreement but when shooting a later Mercedes campaign, the German magazine *Stern* published images of his rig. His 'secret' was then out and other practitioners used similar equipment. The technique lost its iconicity as it became mainstream.

interview 2013). [252] The well-known art director Paul Arden published a book on creativity and advertising aimed at other advertising practitioners (to establish his personal creative credentials). Arden acknowledges that advertising practice self-references and therefore influences itself:

> Most advertising people live within the world of advertising. 90% of advertising inspiration comes from other advertising. You will see the same books in every agency. (Arden 2003:88)

Advertising is criticized for appropriating culture for the sake of commodification (for example Goldman 1992) but there is less understanding about how advertising borrows from itself. In this regard therefore, iconicity is attributed by the tight circle of influence in practice. An image that receives peer regard has more chance of becoming iconic because it is judged as an exemplar. This would also suggest that the peer-led awards system is simply reinforcing the current industry view on exemplar advertising images. As Arden notes: "awards are judged in committee by consensus of what is known. In other words, what is in fashion". (Arden, 2003:90). As previously noted, the community of practice has a keen awareness of which practitioners are producing creative work and what photographic skills are held in high peer regard. Barraud believes that once high regard has been attained, subsequent regard is more likely to be high:

> Mapplethorpe was original and his images were iconic because of the way that he presented the human body. Everyone wanted to be a Mapplethorpe and everything he did was iconic. Once you establish yourself, everything else becomes iconic![253] (Barraud, interview 2014)

However, iconic status can also add pressure to the practitioner to perform at the same level indefinitely, as discussed in chapter five - it is the "iconic burden". Ryan's example, Spencer Rowell became known for an iconic image but did not evolve that style and it subsequently went out of fashion.

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252 Bob Miller (full-time photographer from 1978) is an advertising photographer awarded for his photography for Audi car advertising campaigns using rich duotones. Harry De Zitter (opened a photographic studio in 1971) won photography awards throughout the 1980s for his work for Mercedes Benz.

253 Robert Mapplethorpe (1946-1989) fine art photographer, best known for large format black and white photographs of nudes, celebrities and flowers.

Figure 7.7 Sharwoods advertising 1985. Photograph by Robert Golden. Source: Luerzer's Archive.

Figure 7.8 Audi All road advertising 2000. Photograph by Bob Miller. Source: Luerzer's Archive.
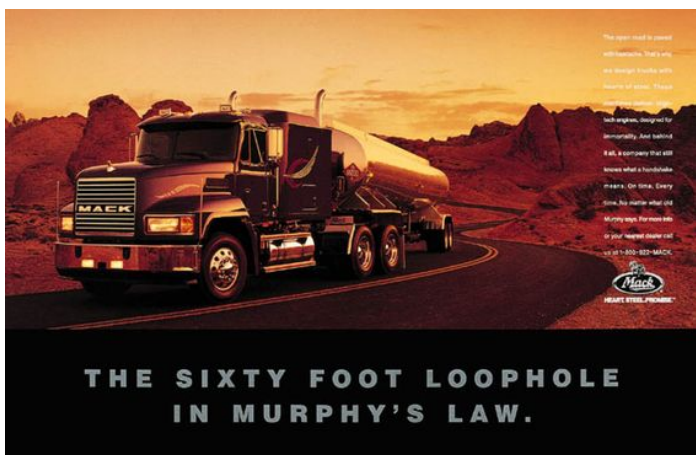
Figure 7.9 Mack Trucks advertising 1996. Photograph by Harry De Zitter. Source: Luerzer's Archive.

7.3 Visual Trends and the Evolving Visual Language

The iconic image is the exemplar, it represents exceptional creativity because it encapsulates the practitioners' theories of creativity: a new perspective or angle on a common idea. To reiterate Steel's quotation earlier in this chapter – iconic images change the status quo. This suggests that there is a visual language within photographic practice but once a "new perspective" emerges, the language shifts and then shapes itself around the new example of exceptional creativity. It is this aspect that forms my own analysis of commercial creativity as it goes through a processual evolution. I therefore propose a new way of talking about the iconic image. As noted, images do not become iconic at once, there is no obvious immediate clustering of values around an image that categorizes it as iconic, however, practice does cluster values on an iconic image because of its new perspective on the old language.

As stated in chapter two, researchers such as Leiss et al (2005) and Richards et al (2000) have produced timelines of advertising through focusing on advertising forms and analysing the techniques used to *sell* to consumers over periods of time. This aspect, while not in itself the focus of this thesis, is inherent in the need for creativity in advertising. Over time, the same messaging presented in the same medium or using the same or similar imagery has a reduced effect. In other words, despite the practice-led respect for the iconic, there is also a need for innovation. Nyilasy and Reid (2009) use the phrase: "the mutation of effects" to describe the effect that time has on the perception of advertising. The audience builds up a defence through learning to filter out unnecessary or irrelevant advertising messages. Familiarity with a known technique generates criticism but is more likely ignored altogether by the audience. Consumer researchers Friestad and Wright (1994) studied this phenomenon, arguing that the audience develops "advertising creative knowledge" through the experience of being exposed to it. Advertising photography must continually appeal to an audience that is increasingly knowledgeable about its visual techniques. It is further constrained by the client and the brief that defines the creative output by its appropriateness to the clients' industry advertising norms. Imagery cannot be free ranging in its originality, as Sternberg (1999) defined it, advertising creativity must conform to its "task constraints." Boden (1994b) also argues that it is dealing with the task constraints that makes a product or idea *creative* instead of simply original. Although advertising practice is based on the premise of creativity and 'big ideas' are the focal point of the trade press and books about advertising, it is the incremental changes that fuel the evolution within the industry. As I showed in chapter four, Stuhlfaut and Yoo's 2013 survey indicates that advertising practitioners define creativity in terms of its exceptional form: attention-getting, original and unique, but photographers instead concentrate on creativity in imagery in day-to-day

practice. I would suggest that photographers view commercial creativity as the ability to reimagine the well-known: "I am hoping that my particular rendition of the iconic image will be a dynamic re-working of an extremely familiar concept". (Daly, interview 2014). A similar example from the photographer survey:

> I'll start with others work, I look for originality, but with some familiarity. Basically, taking what's been done in the past and moving it forward in a fresh direction …Basically the same subjects have been photographed for the last century – portraits, landscapes nudes, flowers, cities, street scenes, etc., but a true artist looks at these with a fresh eye. (Respondent 138).

This aligns with the way that the design historian Artemis Yagou (2005) argues that design is evolutionary as it is a progression from what has come before. Yagou suggests that: "The best designs have always resulted from an evolutionary process, by making successive slight modifications over a long period of time" (2005:52). The design researchers Eckert, Stacey, Wyatt and Garthwaite (2012) also argue that creativity is equally manifested for designs that work with minimal change and minimal effort in meeting requirements. Eckert et al note that textbooks depict designs that are assumed to have been created from scratch but in practice many products evolve or reuse parts from earlier designs.

As the photographer Annie Leibovitz states in her book on commercial photographic practice: "Familiarity sells. Not many chances are taken" (Leibovitz, 2008:63). The photo agency head, Andrew Saunders cites a similar experience: "Good enough is good enough. The conservative nature of our customers is disappointing" (Saunders, interview 2013). It could be argued that the client expects a genre match that remains within their 'comfort zone'. The earlier study by Rosenblum found too that the advertiser only really wants an "original standard picture" (Rosenblum 1978:81). Steel describes it as "industry sameness":

> There is a comfort in doing the same as everyone else. If you switch around client logos, they are all doing the same thing with their imagery. Dog food companies all use "dog enjoyment", burger companies use the "burger smile" – they all merge together, you can't tell the difference of one from another. (Steel, interview 2013).

Rosenblum described these images as "standard". Awdry (interview 2013) called it the problem of the "middle" which he referred to through his experience when working on Dove beauty products in 2002:

We were looking for marginal differences that could be a visual point of distinction. Photographers were shooting for all the rival beauty brands and it was all looking the same. (Awdry, interview 2013)

In order to assert his creativity, Awdry therefore took a risk and decided to try something slightly different to the established norms in the beauty industry at the time, selecting a photographer on the following basis:

...his worshipful approach was chosen. Rankin's style of capturing unadorned beauty straight into camera broke with the conventions of photographing beauty at the time. (Awdry, interview 2013).[254]

Breaking from convention is perhaps the reason that the images created for the Dove advertising campaign are considered iconic. An example of the campaign is shown in figure 7.10. The campaign moved away from the established visual regime featuring unattainable beauty and typical beauty models, instead selecting "real women" and visualising them in an unadorned state without obvious retouching. Their body shapes and their cheerful attitude stood apart from other beauty advertising.

In the next section I will examine how breaking the conventions and taking a risk is associated with creativity in advertising photography and in contrast, being afraid to take risks is seen as opposite of creativity. As Ashley and Oliver (2010) found through a study of 30 years of interviews with creative leaders in the *New York Times*. They discovered that risk is a common theme across all years:

During the time we reviewed, the best clients were described by the creative leaders as risk takers who were not afraid to risk failure in pursuit of breakthrough ideas. Client fear was consistently described as a "creativity killer" (Ashley and Oliver 2010:120).

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254 The Dove 'Real Beauty' campaign has been running since 2004 and has won 19 Cannes Lions awards. John Rankin Waddell (1966-) known as Rankin, is a portrait photographer who works mainly in fashion and advertising. Awdry worked with the creative director Dennis Lewis on the Dove campaign. Lewis has a reverential position in the community of practice because the campaign won numerous awards.

Figure 7.10 Dove advertisement 2003. Photograph by Rankin. Source: www.rankin.co.uk.

7.4 Risk-Taking as the Punctuation in the Visual Language

'Creative risk' is the degree of uncertainty as to the results of the words, images or symbols used in an advertisement, and is a sub-set of an advertising risk-orientation. While it includes shock-advertising strategies like those used by Benetton, creative strategy risk is rarely concerned with such extremes. Overall, it just refers to the uncertainty of the outcome of the creative strategy. (Miciak, Sargeant and West, 1999:4)

As Awdry notes, as quoted in the previous section, iconic imagery is created and creative status is bestowed upon a practitioner when the content produced breaks from convention. Big changes or iconic shifts are celebrated because, as I have noted, it is well known in practice that clients lack creativity. As Awdry also states: "It is difficult for people to buy something they don't understand, especially something they haven't seen before. We have to convince clients to be brave." (Interview 2013).

On most projects, despite using the most creative means possible, creatives are only permitted to make incremental changes to the established visual language. This goes some way to explain how images become iconic; the images are a celebration of a practitioner's ability to persuade a client to take a risk. Iconicity is linked with the very core of the aspirations of professional practice. The creative practitioner's and the photographer's creative credentials are confirmed because they have demonstrated creativity (coming up with a new perspective), craft skills (turning the

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idea into an image) and have importantly used skills of persuasion (as listed in the recruitment advertisements I reviewed) to obtain the client's approval.

Earlier research has addressed the contrast between the cautious client and the innovation or risk-taking of the creative agency practitioner by focusing on the friction between clients and the advertising agency, (Hackley 2000, Lury and Warde 1997 and Hirschman 1989), but more recently, the relationship between risk and creativity has been examined more closely. Cronin (2004b) and Malefyt and Moeran (2003) studied the management of personal relationships between the agency and the client and the effect that uncertainty has on that relationship - if the client is uncertain, less risk-taking is allowed. As my interviewees repeatedly stated, when a client is willing to take a risk, the most creative advertising is produced. El-Murad and West's (2003) study of risk-taking and creative success found that creatives blame their clients and their managers for limiting creativity. El-Murad and West note that creatives take more risks with less important clients because larger clients are worth more money to the agency. It could be argued that creatives fear taking creative risks if it could lose a big client and yet the creatives instead blame client fear: "The higher the creative risk...the higher the fear among clients" (Nyilasy et al 2013:1700). This was evidenced in an informal survey of leading creative directors and advertisers at the 2014 Cannes Lions Festival of Creativity (Cannes Lions 2014). Each was asked: "How do you become more creative?" Risk was mentioned the most, for example, Mark Fitzloff, the global executive creative director at Wieden + Kennedy said: "Creativity is really tethered to risk, if you are not in a safe place where you can take a risk then your ideas become small and predictable and safe". This is also reflected in the experiences of the photographer interviewees:

> The most interesting creative and engaging imagery can come from a low budget environment with the freedom to take risks, where there is less 'approval by committee' (Hind, by email 2016)

As West, Kover and Caruana (2008) found in a study of practitioner and customer views of advertising creativity, risk taking is viewed as power in creative practice and the creative practitioner that takes the biggest risk is a hero:

> Advertising people often talk about "stretching the envelope". This research suggests that the stretching is rather rare. More likely, nothing is stretched. The creative process

resembles children daring each other to touch the doorbell button of the local nasty old man. The child coming closest is the hero - the creative hero." (West et al, 2008:43).[255]

The creative risk taker is best represented in the example of the iconic Benetton campaign. The campaign was art directed and photographed by Oliverio Toscani, who has since been heralded as a creative hero and an iconic photographer (it is the work most referenced when discussing iconic imagery in professional practice). In the early 1980s, Toscani was an established fashion photographer working with *Vogue*, *Elle* and *Harper's Bazaar* and was employed by Luciano Benetton (owner of The Benetton Company) to produce photographs for their first advertising campaign. Toscani was given the brief of producing a campaign that in Luciano Benetton's words was "very different and that it had to be international. I had figured that the traditional system of advertising with a different campaign in each country wasn't the way ahead." Benetton remarked on Toscani: "I realised early on that he had extraordinary vision" (Tungate 2007:147).[256] The photographer Matt Hind explained how Toscani's work became iconic:

> I would argue that imagery created in the commercial environment can only take on iconic status when it has been attributed with extra value as a result of how it is consumed in the wider cultural environment. A great example of imagery like this was the United Colours of Benetton print campaign of the late 1980s. An image becomes iconic when it perfectly encapsulates the zeitgeist of its time and contributes to our visual consciousness, a reminder of an epoch, a witness to the values and cultural milestones of a given time. Often controversy is involved, e.g. The Benetton nun kissing a priest. The set of images created by creative director Toscani for the United Colours of Benetton Campaign in the late 80s set out to challenge prejudice and create dialogue about the value of multiculturalism and sexual tolerance. The images did this in two ways, combining strong visual contrast with controversial content. (Hind, by email 2016)

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255 El-Murad (2002) analysed identities of creative risk takers finding that younger, unmarried, male creatives without dependents have a higher propensity toward risk and higher levels of creativity. This might explain the higher percentage of male creative directors in the industry.

256 As the years went by, the work became more provocative, starting with a black woman breastfeeding a white baby followed by the angel/devil advertisement. The images caused great discussion and are still the subject of debates about advertising and social commentary. The relationship ended when Toscani pushed the genre too far with a controversial campaign in 2000 featuring men on death row in the United States. It caused Benetton to lose lucrative deals with retailers but Toscani made no excuses for his photography: "You have to take chances. If you want to interest the world in your message, you have to talk about life and death". (Berger 2001:245)

It could also be argued that the Benetton campaigns between 1982 and 2000 are unique in that they are an example of the iconicity defined by Hariman and Lucaites that condenses social values, this is also an example of the exemplar in advertising risk-taking. The campaigns are also synonymous with "shock advertising". By using unexpected images (see figure 7.11), the viewer is shocked into paying attention to the advertisement. Shock advertising was later abbreviated to 'shockvertising' and the 1990s saw a trend for this style of advertising led by brands such as Wonderbra (figure 7.12) photographed by Ellen Von Unwerth and David LaChapelle's Diesel campaign which featured the first gay kiss in mainstream advertising (figure 7.13).[257] Also seemingly shocking at the time, Bruce Weber's sensual black and white photographs of young men and women for Abercrombie & Fitch in the USA transformed the fashion company into a youth brand from 1999 onwards (figure 7.14).[258]

The term 'shockvertising' came from the media coverage at the time because certain advertising agencies were using the shock factor to add value to their campaigns to attract free publicity. However, advertising practice was conflicted about the approach. As Sean Nixon (2006) found in an analysis of advertising commentary at the time, the younger (largely male) London-based creatives in less established agencies such as St Luke's, founded in 1995, were using risky approaches to try to appeal to a younger audience in a way that broke with the traditions of established advertising rules. However, the advertising 'establishment' were quick to react and the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising and the Independent Television Commission (which regulates commercial television) stated that shock advertising "threatened not only to offend the wider public, but also to damage the standing of the advertising industry at a time when it was trying to promote itself as a responsible and business-like sector." (Nixon 2006:93). It would seem that advertising practice aspires to risk taking but there is a limit because, like advertising creativity, the response must be appropriate to the advertising medium.

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257 Ellen von Unwerth (1954-) started her career as a model, switching to photography in 1989. Her best-known work is the 1994 Wonderbra campaign. David LaChapelle (1963-) is best known for his work with the denim brand Diesel. He created the image of kissing sailors for Diesel in 1994, based on the VJ Day image photographed in Times Square, New York by Alfred Eisenstaedt. (source: http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O92551/kissing-sailors-poster-la-chapelle-david/).

258 Bruce Weber (1946-) has photographed fashion since the 1970s. His best known work is black and white advertising for Calvin Klein, Ralph Lauren and Abercrombie & Fitch.

Figure 7.11 Benetton advertising campaigns 1982-2000. Photographs by Oliverio Toscani. Source: Advertising Archives.

Figure 7.12 Wonderbra advertising 1994. Photograph by Ellen Von Unwerth. Source: Advertising Archives.

Figure 7.13 Diesel advertising 1994. Photograph by David LaChapelle. Source: Advertising Archives.
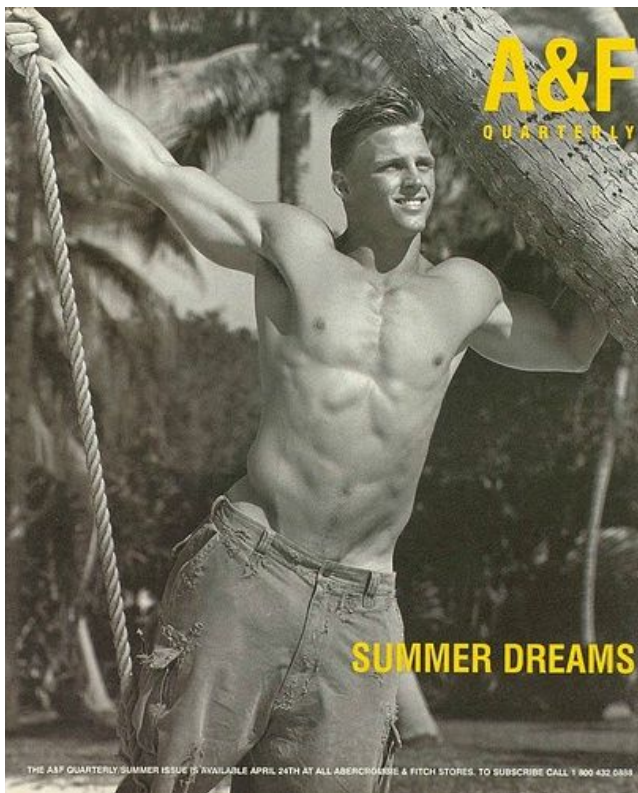
Figure 7.14 Abercrombie & Fitch advertising 1999. Photograph by Bruce Weber. Source: Advertising Archives.

In terms of risk taking though, despite the campaigns being attributed to the creativity of Toscani, he instead acknowledges that it was Luciano Benetton's willingness to take a risk that ensured the success of the campaign. Toscani is quoted as saying of Benetton: "He is rash, he has the courage to try new things and see whether they work" (Tungate, 2007:147). Similarly, Winston Fletcher's (2008) study of the British advertising industry between 1951 and 2000, attributes the iconic Benson and Hedges photography *not* to the advertising agency CDP but to the client Gallaher who allowed the agency to have creative freedom. This created an environment that enabled commissioned photographers working on a Benson and Hedges campaign to be creative but also (and importantly for the photographer) their photos had a higher chance of attaining iconicity. The photographers were aware of this:

> If you got the gold box, you got the Silk Cut or you got the Guinness posters, Guinness were also iconic, pretty much you could say we'll probably create an iconic picture because of the people you were working with at that time. You got to have the client who allows it and enough money. (Ryan, interview 2014)

We see here, as discussed in chapter five, the relationship between the photographer, agency creative and the client is key. As the photographer interviews show, there is a range of trust that results in a range of creativity in the final photograph. Photographers make a clear association between being trusted and allowed to take risks and creating creative work. Photographers also use techniques to bring their own creativity into a project. Further, also as discussed in chapter five, the photographer will offer a range of options including the original briefed image. The range includes a scale of creativity in the ideas. Malefyt and Morais' (2012) study of advertising creatives during client pitches term this "the continuum of boldness". For most practitioners, the continuum of boldness is narrow despite their best efforts, so any practitioner able to extend that scale as Toscani did, attracts special reverence.

However, the "continuum" is not endless, as evidenced in the practice criticism of shockvertising. In many instances, there are parameters that practitioners must operate within. Windels and Stuhlfaut (2014) studied how the agency's culture might place restrictions on a creative practitioner. They term it an "informal code" and the restrictiveness of the code is dependent on the agency that the creative works in and is defined by management style, creative leadership etc. The agency's "code" helps creatives generate ideas they know will receive peer approval within the agency as well as client approval. Consequently, agencies with clear creative philosophies or codes are more likely to take creative risks than those without (West and Ford 2001) and thus

create iconic images.[259] Put simply, once an advertiser makes a bold choice and breaks out of the dominant visual regime, competitors and advertisers in related realms will reassess their own imagery and make changes, and as other advertisers make the visual shift too, advertising photography then evolves.

7.5 The Practitioner Experience of Creating Iconic Imagery

The relationship between risk taking and iconic imagery works in particular ways within the personal experience of a practitioner. A key instance is that of creative director Will Awdry who was at the advertising agency Bartle Bogle Hegarty from 1986 until 1994, during which time he worked on the ice-cream brand Haagen Dazs.[260] The company had already been advertising in the UK using the strapline: "Dedicated to Perfection", promoting the product as a luxury brand. (Examples of earlier campaigns are shown in figure 7.15).

Figure 7.15 Haagen Dazs advertisements, 1986 and 1987. (Photographers unknown). Source: The Advertising Archives.

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259 Bartle Bogle Hegarty (BBH) has been referenced within this thesis as an agency that has created iconic images and is known for its creative philosophy. Trying something different is evident in BBH's guiding principle: "When the world zigs, zag."

260 Haagen Dazs created by Reuben and Rose Mattus in the USA in 1961. Pillsbury bought Haagen Dazs in 1983 and owned it during the "Dedicated to Pleasure" campaign. Nestle has owned Haagen Dazs since 2001. According to Awdry, the name is an invention by Reuben Mattus because he wanted it to have a Danish sounding name. The BBH creative team Rooney Carruthers and Larry Barker commissioned photography for the campaign, as did the creatives that Awdry worked with: Dennis Lewis and Steve Hooper.

In 1991, according to Awdry, BBH worked with Haagen Dazs on relaunching ice-cream as a luxurious adult "treat". Haagen Dazs was the first ice-cream to target adults in the UK so to separate the brand from the candy-coloured advertisements directed at children, monochrome imagery was used. This was an important strategy because of the association that black and white photographs had with art photography which added a premium feel to imagery. The advertising agency decided against television advertising choosing instead to introduce the new branding to the British public gradually, producing a photographically-led campaign. The theme came from the ingredients:

> Wall's was the market leader and used to hold its shape because of the gelatin it was made with. Haagen Dazs melts immediately so we thought about how that makes you feel, we started with sensuality and ended up with ice cream as a sex object! (Awdry, interview 2013)

The photography was created to represent the pleasure of adults sharing ice-cream. In addition, it needed to represent a lifestyle without a luxury location or objects relating to luxury (such as silver tableware in the earlier advertisement) conveying a sense of richness and creaminess. BBH persuaded Haagen Dazs to change the strapline to: "Dedicated to Pleasure" to further emphasise the theme. The first photography for the campaign was shot by established photographers Jeanloup Sieff (figure 7.16) and Barry Lategan (figure 7.17).[261] While the client allowed the advertising agency to take the risk on a new way of advertising ice-cream, they also took a risk on the photography too. This is the aspect of the campaign that Awdry most remembers. For example, the Barry Lategan image is referenced within the photographer interviews as iconic because it broke the mould. As Ryan explained:

> You've got the black woman and white guy. It was so clever, for so many reasons. Inter-racial was not the norm in advertising then and what they were doing was clearly sexual, there were all sorts of reasons why it was a) contentious b) fantastic and he managed to capture a moment. (Ryan, interview 2014).

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261 Jeanloup Sieff (1933-2000) was a French photographer already known for black and white portraiture.

Figure 7.16 Haagen Dazs advertisement 1991. Photograph by Jeanloup Sieff. Source: Luerzer's Archive.
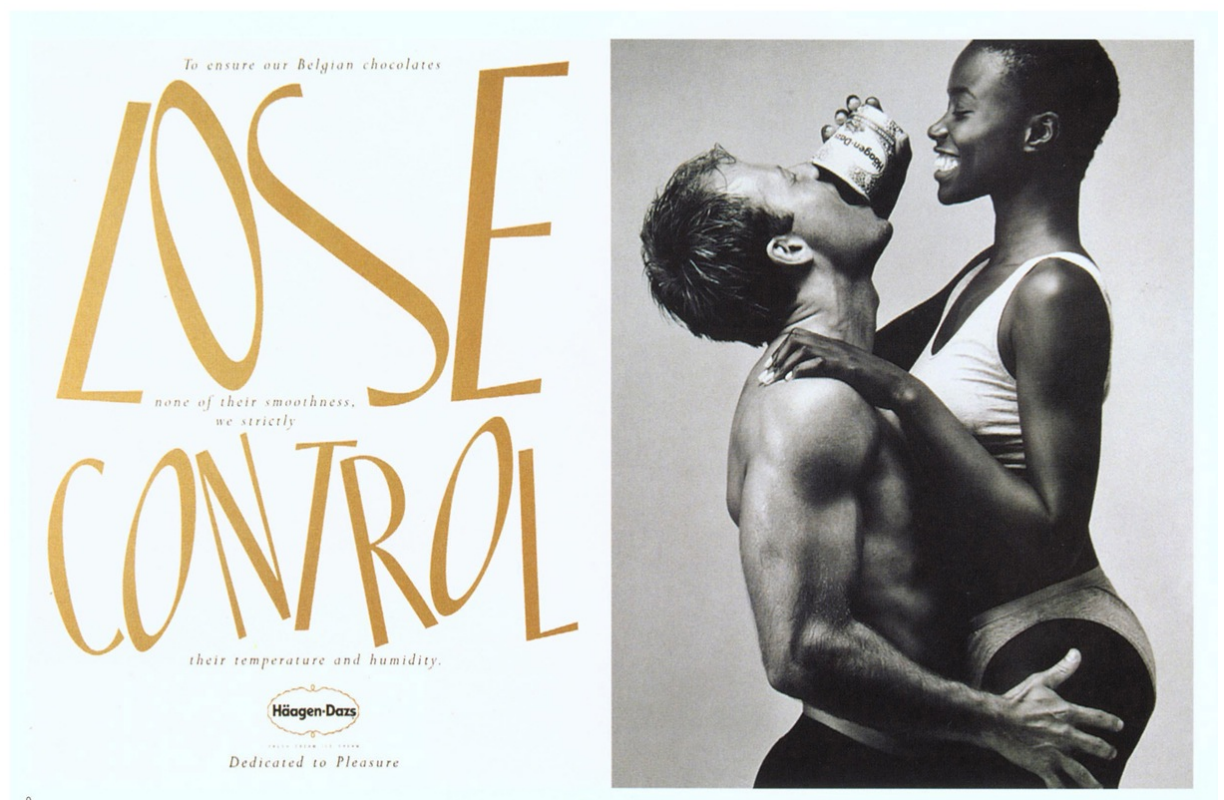
Figure 7.17 Haagen Dazs advertisement 1992. Photograph by Barry Lategan. Source: Luerzer's Archive.

However, it was the later photography that firmly established iconic status, (see figures 7.18 and 7.19), shot by the photographer Nadav Kander, the style was closer to art photography with more emphasis on the sensual experience of sharing ice cream. As Awdry said during our interview, he took a risk by hiring an unknown photographer: "We hired Nadav Kander, it was his first big shoot. He had only done a single sandwich bread ad before" (Awdry, interview 2013).[262] The results now have iconic status within advertising practice and Kander has gone on to work consistently with Awdry and his agency.[263] The campaign was also highly successful for Haagen Dazs: "Haagen Dazs spent £300,000 in total on the campaign and it received £2m in PR in 1990 alone! Haagen Dazs sales increased by nearly 400% in that year". (Awdry, interview 2013)

The "Dedicated to Pleasure" campaign is an excellent example of iconic imagery in advertising. The portrayal of a luxurious sensual lifestyle disrupted the visual language in ice-cream advertising in 1991. It happened at the intersection of a creative idea from an advertising agency, a creative execution by a creative photographer and a client who was willing to take a creative risk. As a result, it offered a "new perspective" for advertisers, advertising agency creatives and photographers. Advertisers were inspired by the business success of Haagen Dazs and creative practitioners (agency and photographers) were inspired by the creativity that the advertising depicted. Haagen Dazs' risk, taking ice-cream photography into new territory allowed the rest of the industry to follow behind them. Haagen Dazs introduced a new archetype into ice cream, advertising focusing on the senses and the effects continued to be felt for many years afterwards. Appendix Four contains ice cream advertising from 1998 to 2016 that built upon the visual creativity of the Haagen Dazs imagery. I will return to the effect the campaign had on wider advertising in section 8.2. The visual referencing, whether conscious or not, is clear. What was once iconic and risky, has become mainstream as advertising photography has evolved.

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262 Nadav Kander (1961-) became established through the image: 'Diver, Salt Lake, Utah 1997' and had his first solo exhibition in the US in 1998. Since then, he has won numerous awards for both his advertising work (for British Airways, Nike and Adidas) and his portraiture, including awards from Art Director's Club, D&AD, Epica as well as International Photographer of the Year (2009) and Royal Photographic Society's 'Terence Donovan' Award (2002).

263 Kander created images for the award winning Levi's Sta-Prest campaign for BBH in 1999 and was working with Awdry on a British Airways campaign in 2013 at the time of our interview.
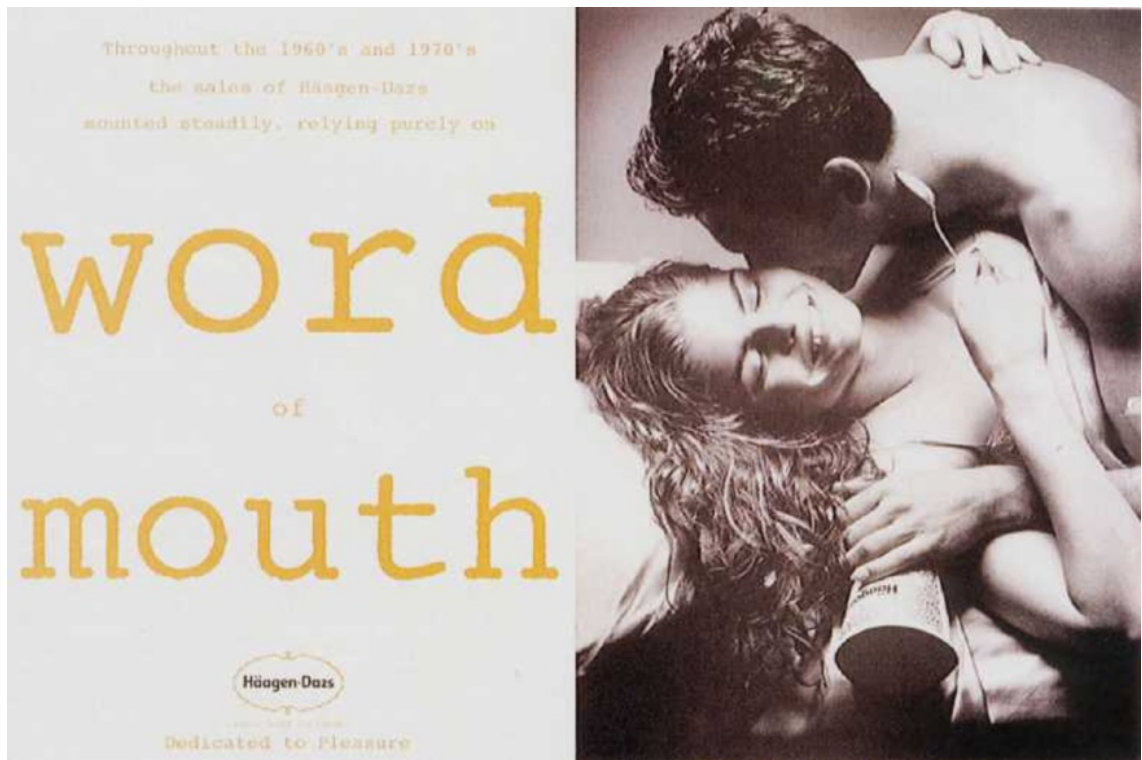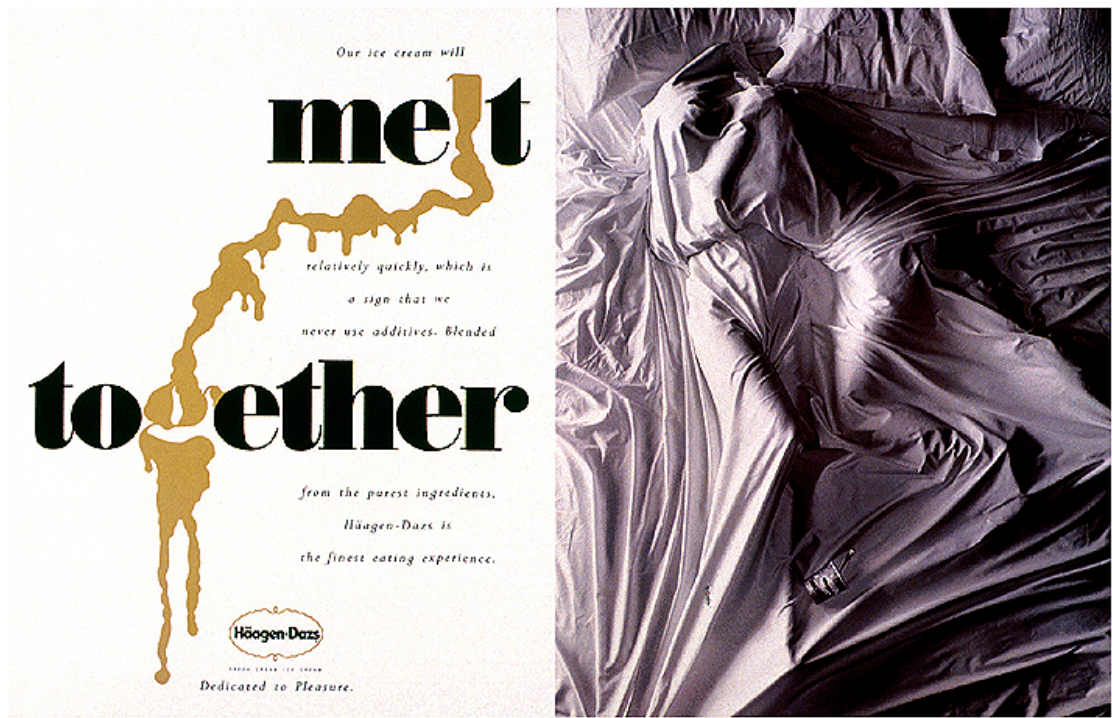
Figure 7.18 Haagen Dazs advertising 1994. Photograph by Nadav Kander. Source: Luerzer's Archive.
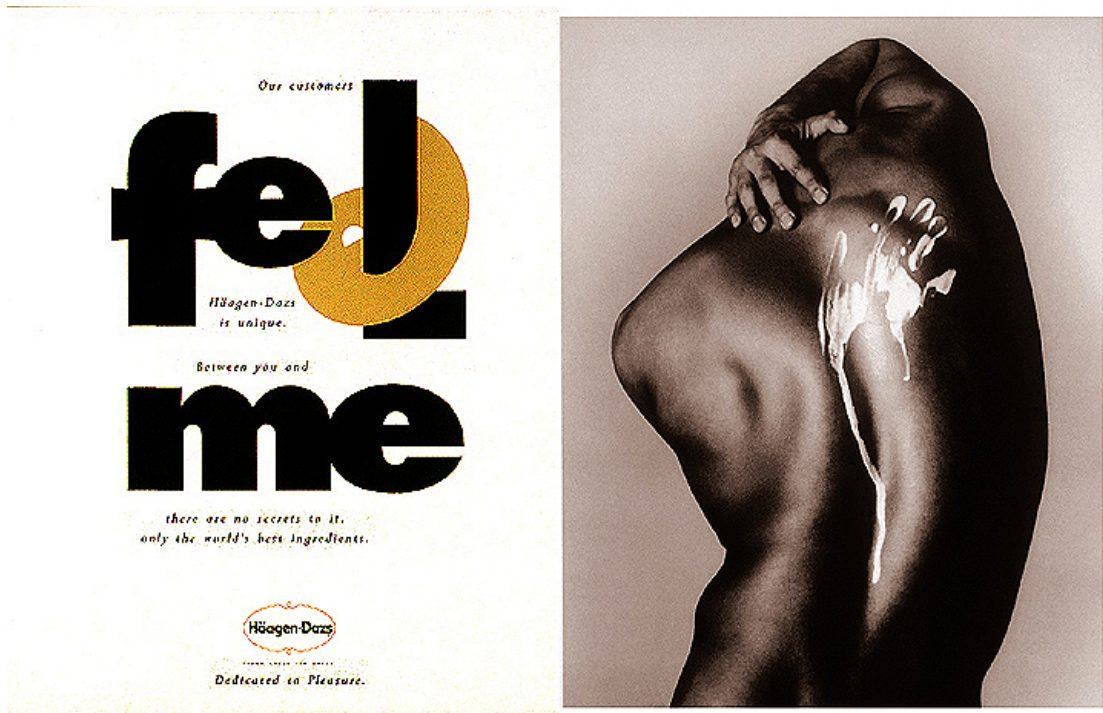
Figure 7.19 Haagen Dazs advertising 1994. Photograph by Nadav Kander. Source: Luerzer's Archive.

7.6 After Iconicity – The Evolution of the Visual Language

The Haagen Dazs analysis provides a framework for positing a theory of iconic evolution in advertising photography. I have argued that the visual language runs through the core of practice and the practitioner's tacit knowledge determines what is deemed creative but the visual language is also defined by a practice-led theory of creativity that operates within the constraints of the client's "comfort zone". However, the evolution of creative ideas and changing working practices (be it technological change or organizational changes within the advertising industry) means that what is considered creative does not remain the same. Importantly, practitioners understand this and rely on their tacit knowledge to adapt to changing conditions (Berman et al 2002, Erden et al 2008) enabling them to 'move with the times' and remain creative.

So, while an iconic image can influence photography for many years, even decades, others lose their perceived creativity as practice evolves or moves on. This accords with the psychologist Csikszentmihalyi's (1999) theory of creativity, in summary: creativity is a new variation in practice that practice experts recognize as novel and effective. This acknowledgement then passes into the body of knowledge and although the idea ceases to be novel, it now influences the assessment of later novelty. Barraud talked about his experience of changing iconicity:

> My old boss Pete Seaward, he gave up being a studio photographer and I lost my job. He went to be a location photographer. The first location job he got was for Peugeot of this car driving along, behind were flaming maize fields in Australia. Of its time, it was outstanding. Fifty-foot flames, done for real, before Photoshop. It was the iconic image of the year, it won this that and the other. Because you can't remember it now, does that mean it wasn't iconic? It was certainly iconic at the time. (Barraud, interview 2014)

Photographers access the body of knowledge in practice to learn techniques or formulas that work for clients in different industries: "the burger smile" or "happy dogs". The "industry sameness" that Steel references, is not discussed outside of practice because it is viewed as the opposite of creativity. A practice that prides itself on difference and new perspectives does not admit to creating "sameness". In a study of advertising practitioners, Nyilasy and Reid argue that there is a "shameful knowledge" (2009:90) of projects that are not about "creativity above all" that result in formulaic advertising. This once again highlights the problem with practitioner interviews. There is a professional pride that precludes a practitioner from admitting that they are personally responsible for producing imagery that is not creative. The practitioners I interviewed discussed formulaic imagery but only in context of other people's work. Nyilasy et al (2013) conducted

further research with advertising practitioners in the USA and Australia finding that: "practitioners have a mental model of creativity based on two contrasts: The first is that they view creativity as "conceptual innovativeness" or as "artistic craft" and the negative counterpoint, the formulaic or clichéd versions of them. (2013:1697). Nyilasy et al's advertising practitioners also aligned creativity with risk:

> …if clichés are used, consumer impact suffers because creative risk/opportunity are at suboptimal levels, and because clichés cannot penetrate consumers' evolutionary defence mechanisms (2013:1703)

The photographers hold a similar view, for example, Justin Pumfrey noted:

> I think it's the transformation from an interesting moment that captures the public's imagination at that moment in time to turning that into a cliché. What you have there and what everyone responds to is a moment of magic. And that moment of magic is taken on and turned into a cliché but we no longer see the moment, we see the cliché. Which is the disappointment. If we could step back, from the regurgitation of the image sometimes that magic might still be there. It is very hard to see beyond the cliché. All great images start there and then they are copied. (Pumfrey, interview 2013).

A cliché in photography is defined as something lacking originality. It is a descriptive term that is used to criticize an idea or thing. (The term cliché is itself over used in the creative industry). If a piece of work is labelled a cliché, it is rejected wholeheartedly by creative practitioners. If a client is expecting an image that the photographer perceives to be clichéd, they must use their skill and knowledge to steer the image in another direction. However, it is more complicated than a simple equation of iconic imagery being good and clichéd imagery being bad. Photographic practice bases its worth on iconic images and the display of creativity but there is a period after which the iconic *becomes* the status quo. Whether iconic images become clichés is a question for future research but within my thirty-year case study, I was able to identify an example in ICT advertising (see section 8.4). The historian Roland Marchand's (1986) study of American advertising argues that visual clichés are used by advertisers because they evoke recognition when a new version is seen. Marchand's examples include: the executive standing at a window to represent a forward-looking businessman/woman or the family at home in soft focus to represent the warmth and comfort of family life. However, while these scenarios are often represented in a clichéd way, I would argue that rather than negatively connoted clichés, we might instead see Marchand's scenarios as the 'archetypes' I have discussed in this chapter. Archetypes serve a positive purpose as a short-cut to the meaning the advertiser is attempting to convey in a

single image. Nyilasy et al (2013) also refer to "big idea shortcuts" which describes the same phenomenon. Through studying the archetypes of an era, it is possible to identify the shape of the visual regime and the photography that punctuated it. The legacy of effects of an iconic image was discussed at the beginning of this chapter and the forming of new archetypes is one of those effects. Put simply, the timeline moves from riskier or highly creative imagery to comfortable or creative imagery to imagery that lacks meaning and creativity. A long-range study is needed to understand when and how the perceived creativity of an image changes. I would also argue for identifying and mapping archetypes and trends in advertising history to pinpoint photographic eras to give shape to the archive and to serve as a reference point for future study.

In my final chapter, I will discuss in detail a long-range study of 30 years of ICT advertising to offer a chronology of creativity in advertising photography and a mapping of its forms and practices. Further and importantly, this next chapter draws together and tests my findings and argument on how creativity is defined and identified and the understanding of the photographic process as described by the practitioners and the study of iconic imagery.

8. A CASE STUDY – APPLYING AN EVOLUTIONARY CREATIVITY APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF ADVERTISING PHOTOGRAPHY

My final chapter tests the analytical position in the previous chapters and defined through the first three pillars and strands of creativity, iconicity and the community of practice. This chapter focuses on the fourth pillar by studying advertising imagery through practice itself. Thus far, the thesis argued for a visual history of advertising through the study of advertising photography and photographic practitioners and in particular, a longitudinal analysis of creativity. Having examined how creativity is identified and then analysed the effect of exemplary creativity (in the form of iconic imagery) on practice, I now take a 'case study' approach to investigate how creativity adapts to new visual languages created by economic factors, technological development and iconic campaigns. It looks at why images are produced to look the way they do.

As noted in chapter three, the case study focuses on information and communication technology (ICT) advertising between 1979 and 2009, spanning the early years of consumer computing and the transition of the telecommunications industry from a monopoly to a competitive marketplace. Within this timeline, in sections 8.1 to 8.3, I trace the incremental steps that advertising photographic practice has taken and the techniques it has drawn on as it evolved the visual language through macro-economic influences across ICT advertising history. The case study focuses on peaks and troughs of the economy, as discussed in chapter three. This model of high and low periods of the British economy will be laid alongside the visual chronology of advertising photography and the gradual yet robust ascendency of creativity as a defining concept. As shown in chapter three and Appendix Two, the years of study are 1981 (trough), 1988 (peak), 1992 (trough), 1999 (peak), 2001 (trough) and 2007 (peak) and 2009 (trough). These points in time have the highest likelihood of influencing the client's willingness to take risks, introduce new products or spend money on advertising, therefore also influencing the advertising and photographic industries. Next, in section 8.4, I analyse advertising imagery by examining how a single concept is depicted as the economy booms and recedes. To do this, I focus on 'mobility' because it is an aspirational theme that is promoted across the 30-year history studied. Finally, in section 8.5, I move on to analyse the impact of iconic imagery in ICT advertising by focusing on the Apple "Think Different" campaign. By examining the advertising that followed the campaign, I demonstrate how the advertising visual language shifted as a result.

The controlled sample is, as I have already stated, sourced from *The Sunday Times Magazine*; a publication that has been published in the same format and to the same target audience (35-65 years old ABC1 readership) throughout the period of study. The controlled sample is further supplemented by a wider sample to test and/or reinforce findings. The *Sunday Times Magazine*

and all referenced advertisements are laid out chronologically in the second volume of this thesis, which contains 533 advertisements and is offered as a supplement here for easy reference and should be 'read' in parallel with my text. Each advertisement is referenced in the text as Ad 1 to Ad 533.

This chapter thus presents a synoptic account of this industry sector and its photographic practices as demonstrated through the intersection of this substantial archive and the concepts that have informed my research.

8.1 Introducing Technology: Educating the UK through Advertising Imagery

Throughout I have argued that advertising photographic practice prides itself on its ability to evolve the advertising visual language, whether through creative ideas, technical photographic skills or by persuading the advertiser to take a risk on their creativity. As I have found, practice is aware of the history of an industry's advertising, as well as *who* has shot successful campaigns within it. Equally, the advertiser usually operates within a 'comfort zone' that connects image choice to tried and tested visuals of the past. Steel confirms this: "the effect of imagery is hard to measure because you have to take into consideration the history that precedes it". (Steel, interview 2013). It is assumed that imagery in later years is created with the knowledge of what has come before. Although it is not formally documented, there is a practice-led sense of what has come before, constituted through tacit knowledge. As also evidenced in the survey, practitioners also acknowledge that their creative skills are usually applied not to something completely new and original but to "reimagining the well-known".

Turning now to ICT in the UK; it was not a significant industry in 1979 although computer and phone advertising had been appearing in print advertising since the 1960s. Without any "well-known" archetypes of its own, ICT borrowed from similar industries. The computer company IBM (Ad 1 and Ad 2) promoted business computers as an alternative to punched card machines through still life images.[264] The contrast in scale of the new technology versus the old visually aligns computing to that which was previously familiar. The promotion of technology by its size had been evident in a similar cycle for calculator advertising previously. Throughout the 1970s,

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264 IBM had been selling technology products in the UK since 1951 (as referenced in Ad 76). IBM (International Business Machines) origins were in the United States in 1911. Use of a dominant image is not evident as a trend in consumer computer advertising for another two decades but is a visual device that IBM maintains in branding (as opposed to product) advertising throughout the period studied. The consistency of IBM's visual brand presents an interesting case study for future brand management research but also highlights how a single brand's visual brand is not representative of industry trends.

developing technology had enabled manufacturers to reduce the size and price of hand-held calculators. As a result, calculators became widespread during the late 1970s and early 1980s (Hamrick 1996). For example, in 1977, Sinclair calculators are promoted on portability and luxury, associating the technology with flying on Concorde or expensive lingerie. (Ad 4 and Ad 5).

However, the biggest challenge that advertisers had in the late 1970s/early 1980s was that consumers were cautious about computer products. As visual culture researchers Sturken, Thomas and Ball-Rokeach found:

> Technologies take on a special kind of social meaning when they are new. As they emerge in various social contexts, modern technologies become the focus of intense political, economic, cultural, and even emotional investment. A so-called new technology is the object of fascination, hyperbole, and concern. It is almost inevitably a field onto which a broad array of hopes and fears is projected and envisioned as a potential solution to, or possible problem for, the world at large (Sturken et al, 2004:1).

The 1970s and early 1980s was a period of technological imagination where imagined robotic and clinical futures seem far removed from what was deemed 'natural'. For example, cultural researchers Ryan and Kellner found that technology metaphors in science fiction films of the time were representative of everything that threatened nature and the natural: "Science fiction films concerning fears of machines or of technology usually negatively affirm such social values as freedom, individualism and the family" (Ryan and Kellner, 1990:58). As Sturken identified, science fiction films of the era thus reflected the contemporary anxieties about the increasing dominance of technology in human life. Films gave a look and feel to the future of technology which became a recognisable form, referenced by advertising and photography and thereby setting the template for the visual language of advertising. Science fiction "pictorialize[ed] the unfamiliar" (Sobchack, 2001:88).[265] While science, space and the future are themes used by other advertisers in *The Sunday Times Magazine* in 1981 (see Ad 39 to Ad 44), visuals selected for

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265 One of the films that defined a visual language for an imagined technology future is George Lucas's "THX1138" released in 1971. The film is dystopian, technophobic and unnatural, offering a view of the future where everything is regulated by the state in the 25th Century. There is no free thought, a lack of individuality symbolized by the same short haircut and drugs are administered to regulate natural human impulses. Lucas offers a future that is dirt and bacteria free and is startlingly white in its starkness. This was also a time when science and technology products became more futuristic looking and popular culture tapped into the unknown quantities of the universe, generating fear through the potential for war in space (as seen in the film "Star Wars" and "Flash Gordon") and fear of hostile creatures from other planets ("Doctor Who" and "Blake's Seven" on television and in the film "Alien").

computer advertising are more familiar. To introduce the strange object into a familiar setting, advertisers reassured consumers that the computer had a place in their home or office. In other words, consumers were told what to think of the new technology through reassuring advertising imagery. As social scientist Sherry Turkle stated: "We forget that the computer was seen as problematic and troubled the mind" (Turkle 2005:4).[266] Turkle found that computers were introduced to the consumer market at a time when parents thought allowing their children to use computers was unnatural. Visualising the family gathered around a screen is a counterbalance to the perception of 'unnaturalness' (Ad 25 to Ad 28). The computer is placed in a position in the family home where the television usually sits, at the centre of the image of the family. This followed the visual tradition established in early television advertising, as cultural historian Spigel (1992) found, the television was first marketed as a family activity in the 1950s showing families sitting watching it together. It was years later that imagery showed a parent or the children enjoying the television on their own. My analysis found that the representation of family computer use followed a similar pattern. The computer is introduced as a family activity but later, computers are used by individuals, this is shown in advertisements for Atari computers (Ad 69) and Sinclair in 1983 (Ad 64). This visual language does not last and 1983 is the last time family computing activity appears in the sample.[267] Importantly, the computer is not seen in the home in any other context in the earlier years of study.

Computers in the home were presented initially as educational tools to coincide with a BBC campaign promoting learning with technology. Called "The Computer Literacy Project", it introduced computers to the British public.[268] Other computer advertising therefore also followed in visualising the educational aspect. An archetype was quickly established and in all images, a child is featured using the computer accompanied by their parents. The father is the dominant parent assisting a child (in all cases a son) or children (in all cases, a son and a daughter) to learn via the computer. The computer is visualised as something that brings the family together, the visuals are either a whole family learning together or a father imparting knowledge and

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266 Similarly, in 1985, Sony promoted a CD player for the first time through a robot in the home. The television advertisement starts with ominous music as the robot enters the living room but quickly switches to the voice of John Cleese with the robot sitting on the sofa with a hot drink and biscuit. The imagery associated technology with the familiar (and the ridiculous) thus integrating it into the home environment. My interviewee Jon Steel worked on Sony advertising from 1984 to 1989 and stated that the campaign "simplified technology by making it friendly and approachable" (Steel, interview 2013) and in doing so pathed the way for later Sony technology such as the Sony Walkman.

267 Family technology use is resurrected by BT Broadband in 2006 (Ad 453). In the new iteration, the campaign features a step-family with teenage children. The parents share a laptop while the child has their own mobile phone.

268 The BBC Micro A and B computers were released in 1981 by Acorn Computers and the 'The Computer Programme' ran on BBC2 in January and February 1982. The aim of the television series was to educate about computer technology and formed the basis of how computing is taught in British schools. Source: National Archive of Educational Computing.

experience on to his son/children and the images are familiar and comfortable. Advertisers domesticated technology through imagery of fathers introducing a computer into the family home so that understanding technology becomes an educational advantage that fathers bestow upon their children. It is clear from the visual evidence that computer products were originally targeting professional men. The father in the family is pictured as a business executive at home sharing his experience of working on a computer in the office with his family. In Ad 69 to Ad 71, the images from 1982 to 1986 further align computer knowledge along male lineage, from father to son. There are no examples of fathers or mothers with daughters from this period.[269] Sutherland found through his agency's commercial research that there was a "male urge" to try and explore the limits of new technology (interview 2013), so advertising found a comfort zone that focused on male users. But the visual language evolved quickly and reflecting social trends, children were soon teaching their parents (Ad 66) and by 1985 were working on computers at school without parents (Ad 67 and Ad 68). Equally, computing and playing computer games started out as communal activities but by 1989, an advertisement for Amstrad computers (Ad 239) signaled the end of a family-centred activity. The image is of a child's bedroom, the style of the bedroom, including the sporting equipment, suggests that the image is representing teenage boys and later games advertising feature adolescent men suggesting a change in target audience (Ad 301 and Ad 302). But, as the computing market grew, the visualisation of technology usage becomes more balanced. The later examples (Ad 460 and Ad 467) instead show mothers with their children, suggesting that the earlier archetypes fit a particular moment in the industry's visual language.

Examining my dataset, the earlier ICT advertisements introducing computing to the UK market were launched during a recession. The UK had seen a fall in manufacturing output and inflation rose to 22% in the spring of 1980, leading to a rise in the cost of living (Floud and Mcloskey 1994). But despite the economic environment, technology was increasingly being adopted. As already noted, calculators had become mainstream and were used widely in schools while video gaming became possible through consoles connected to the television (Kent, 2001). However, advertisers were tentative in introducing computer products to the British consumer. This is evident in the significant use of text in the 1981 advertising sample whereas the visualisation of the product does not account for a significant portion of the advertisement. My interviewee Rory Sutherland discussed the production of computing advertising in the early years:

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269 Although beyond the remit of this thesis, there is potential for future research into the chronological depiction of gendered knowledge in ICT advertising.

Reassurance was needed. You had to include a spec[ification] sheet on the ad otherwise no-one will buy it. I remember Compaq, it was how many megapixels per pound in the early years. Spec is less important than it was. Judgement changes as the market matures. (Sutherland, interview 2013).

Ad 29 and Ad 30 are examples of computer advertising from 1981. The heavy use of text was not representative of the trend in advertising at the time, which was becoming more image dominant with text at approximately a quarter page (see Ad 36 to Ad 38 for examples). An overview of the proportion of image to text in computer advertising from 1981 to 2009 is available in Appendix Three, it shows how the industry became more image-led in line with other advertising as it matured.

Visually, reassurance was also offered in the form of 'successful' businessmen and secretaries who had already adapted to the new technology. Archetypes are along gender lines, the business executive is always male, whether it is a person at a desk (Ad 12), a celebrity (Ad 10 and Ad 11) or simply a detail of a business person's hand (Ad 16), although it could also be argued that this is representative of wider advertising of the time, (again see Ad 36 to Ad 38 as examples). In visual representations of the computerised office, an archetype emerges that relies on the image of a happy secretary working at a computer on her desk, which previously held a typewriter. This represents the agency creatives' acknowledgement of the influence of secretaries in their working life at the time:

> Everything was dictated to the secretaries, they were the only ones with computers. How good you were depended on your relationship with the typing pool. (Sutherland, interview 2013).

In 1981, during the recession, computers are presented as the way to run an efficient business, saving time and money, but as the economy recovered from 1982, a second computer at home was introduced. Commodore (Ad 74) uses a split image to demonstrate how a businessman might bring work home. Epson (Ad 75) goes further, showing an image of a businessman in the bath talking on the phone and using his portable computer. As Sutherland found when researching the British market for the computer company Compaq in the early to mid-1990s: "Before the internet, it was seen as a bit weird to want a computer at home". (Sutherland, interview 2013). Later, portable computers are promoted showing travelling business executives (Ad 231 to Ad 236), but the visualisation of a computer at home is not seen again until 2006 (Ad 467) to promote wireless broadband internet.

As the economy improved to 1988 and more women entered the workforce, a more empathetic visualisation of women in the office emerges.[270] The Ferranti International advertisement (Ad 195) and Ad 196 to Ad 199 are further examples suggesting that the target audience shifted entirely from the male business executive to the female. By 1992, the secretary appears only as a cartoon (Ad 240) and then disappears from the ICT visual language. It is also important to note that as the economy has boomed, the secretary has started wearing a business suit, a dress code suggesting aspiration. As more women entered the white-collar workforce, they adopted the recognisable uniform of the business executive, traditionally conveyed by men through a business suit. The suit became synonymous with the professional woman thereby engendering the term "the power suit" (Andrews and Talbot 2000:225). Photographic practice, to differentiate the female executive from the secretary, adopted the power suit as a clue to the woman's status in the image. By 1999, the depiction of a businesswoman in a suit is visualised for the last time (Ad 306).

The early years of an industry's advertising offers an insight into how advertisers establish archetypes and how the concept of creativity becomes an increasingly active driving force. In ICT, the archetypes and the visual language moved on quickly from narrative adverts to visually driven adverts as advertisers and consumers became more comfortable. Photography soon reflected fashion and lifestyle trends.

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270 According to the Office of National Statistics, the years following the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act saw the largest increase in the percentage of women aged 16 to 64 in work, rising from 53% to approximately 67% where it has remained ever since. Source: http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_328352.pdf. [Accessed on 24th July 2017]. There is a large body of research around gender and the media that is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the media and audience researcher David Gauntlett (2008) has summarized the research over time finding that the visual depiction of women in the media changed as women's role in business changed, using examples from Winship's (1987) study of women's magazines in the 1970s and 1980s or Gunter's (1995) study of television shows saw an increase in central roles in crime dramas. Gauntlett also quotes from a television advertising study by Dyer (1990) that found that the range of women's occupations increased during the 1980s. Advertising therefore reflected similar trends in other media at the time. This discussion continues throughout the period of study until the current day. For example, at the 2017 Cannes Lions International Festival of Creativity, (the largest advertising industry event of the year) the discussion about the depiction of women was included in the schedule. The world's second largest advertiser Unilever (Proctor and Gamble is the highest spender. Source: http://adage.com/article/advertising/world-s-largest-advertisers/306983/. [Accessed on 24th July 2017]) launched a campaign called: "Unstereotype Alliance". In partnership with UN Women the aim is to discourage all advertisers from using gender typecasting (https://www.unilever.com). The effects of this campaign could provide fascinating data for future researchers on this subject.

8.2 The Evolving ICT Visual Language as the Market Matures

As technology in the home and the office became 'comfortable' and technology use became individualistic, advertising imagery started to appeal to individual tastes. Archetypes changed as points of reference shifted. As one of my interviewees remembered, as the technology market matured: "it became more brand and fashion led. It started to copy other people's advertising" (Sutherland, interview 2013). The more competitive market required more differentiation so there were stirrings of more overtly creative approaches, allowing photographic practice to experiment with results from different film stock. According to my photographer interviewees, advances were made in 1990 when Fujifilm introduced the Velvia film to the British market. The colour negative film was available in all formats (35mm to large format 10" x 8") and was immediately popular with professional photographers because of its colour range which allowed for more creative experimentation. Saunders (interview 2013) commented on Velvia: "it is and was the best" and was responsible for the "really punchy stuff" seen at the time.[271] The Velvia 'look' is especially evident in the 1992 advertisements for products relating to computers for home and business use (such as printers, monitors and floppy disks). Many of these products were promoted on the quality of their colour reproduction (for example, colour printers and colour monitors). So, as colour photography was becoming more "punchy", there was a parallel growth in products that required punchy colour. Ad 265 to Ad 272 for products such as Minolta colour copiers and Canon colour printers, reflect the vivid colour palette that evolved as a result. Despite 1992 being a trough year in the British economy, there is evidence of creativity that had emerged out of the development in photographic film. However, it was the years preceding 1992 that a more conceptually-led photography really emerged.

In other advertising after 1992, the trend was conversely towards monochrome photography, influenced by the iconic Haagen Dazs campaign (Ad 282 and Ad 283) discussed in chapter seven and the 1994 Wonderbra campaign (Ad 284). Black and white photography, as well as monochromatic sepia are identifiable trends of the mid-1990s (see Ad 280 and Ad 281 for Audi and Ad 285 for Levi's) which later evolves into duotones (see Ad 294 to Ad 300).[272] Importantly, this trend also utilized the "punchiness" that had been evident in colour photography. Up until this point, monochrome photography had been closer to greyscale which produced a softer visual effect. The Canon examples from 1992 (Ad 255 and Ad 256) are blue tone greyscale whereas the newer style cut many of the mid-tones of greyscale, creating a high contrast effect. The later

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271 Saunders revealed that Getty Images was the largest European customer of Fujifilm Velvia film, processing in two E6 units in Camden Town, London, until switching to digital photography in 2001.

272 The 1999 advertisement for Triumph bras (Ad 300) is influenced by Wonderbra's earlier campaign.

photography appears bold and appeals to the photographic practitioner's sense of taking a risk within the craft. The imagery style, whether influenced by Wonderbra or Haagen Dazs, is visible throughout the rest of the 1990s and can be seen in Ad 280 to Ad 300 in that the photography has a strong contrast with heavier black tones than had been seen previously.

It was during this period (1994) that the telecommunications company Orange, working with creative director Robin Wight at WCRS, launched in the UK.[273] Orange was a pioneer as the first telecommunications company to use imagery that did not feature any technology, launching the brand with imagery of a baby swimming underwater. The bold orange and black colour scheme is so iconic that no other brand has attempted to emulate it. As noted above, the colour scheme was of the time in 1994 but Orange have established a strong visual brand by continuing to use it through to 2018 (see Ad 279, Ad 323 to Ad 327, Ad 411 to Ad 412, Ad 483). While Orange's branding is unique, it was the decision to show no technology when every other ICT brand was that was where the creativity happened. As I have argued, creativity is connected to risk-taking and Sutherland (interview 2013) explained that it was the Marketing Director at Orange Telecommunications that took the risk, trusting WCRS's "wire free future" idea, even though, when tested on consumers, it had been rejected.

Although it did not have an immediate effect, later technology adopted technology-free imagery as wireless became a selling point (see Ad 419, Ad 456 and Ad 457).[274] This is especially evident in the evolution of the Visual language as internet and digital service companies start to emerge. As my interviewees noted - with no product to photograph, the new generation of ICT advertising was able to create its own visual language allowing the imaginative space for more photographic creativity. This was the era known as the 'dot-com boom' when excitement about the 'new' was being created by web-based companies contrasting their photography with the older technology advertisers. The move away from photos of the object to a more metaphorical mode opened-up more possibilities for photographers. As a result, 'new' photographic trends were immediately created within practice. Sky Digital (Ad 287 and Ad 288) and Virgin Net (Ad 289 to Ad 291) both adopted high contrast, highly saturated photography or duotones in their launch campaigns. The subject matter in the Virgin Net campaign also represents this evolution in technology advertising. It is playful and irreverent, featuring skateboarding vicars and a naked couple running

273 WCRS (Wight Collins Rutherford Scott) was founded in 1979 and joined the Engine Group of agencies in 2005. Robin Wight is the Chairman of the Engine Group. WCRS is best known for its work with Orange and later 118 118.

274 It could be argued that IBM were the first to use photographs without technology in 1981 (Ad 18 to Ad 20) but the company were using those images to promote the company rather than technology products.

in a field, photographed by Jack Daniels and Robin Grierson.[275] This change in tone reflects how technology use was broadening as people knew what it 'looked like' it was becoming more a lifestyle product and not one to be feared. The Virgin Net advertising campaign appealed to the audience's interests and leisure activities, which contrasts with the 1992 sample that appealed to the audience's desire for knowledge and communication (for example Ad 242). Further, the photography promoting gaming companies introduced a more light-hearted visual language to reflect the fun the products offered. Sony PlayStation (Ad 301 and Ad 302) for example, focused on the shaped symbols that appear on the game controller in an edgier, more youthful style of photography. The people that appear in the advertisements are young and the subject matter (teenage acne and relationships) is relevant to the younger demographic. The photographers commissioned were also young, Sony PlayStation campaign was the first advertising campaign for both Ariel Van Straten (Ad 302) and Tomas Schelp (Ad 301).[276] Both had learnt their skills through apprenticeships with fashion photographers and as a result, the style of photography blurs the genres and is closer to trends in fashion advertising. Ad 303 and Ad 304 for Levi's, photographed by Nadav Kander, are examples of similar photography seen in fashion in 1999. Kander uses cross processing to create strong colours and contrast. Cross processing grew in popularity during the 1990s as a creative technique by using chemicals typically used for a different type of film. For example, processing colour slide or transparency film with C41 chemicals.[277]

It is also important to note that the 'dot-com' boom and the rise of a more playful and creative style of photography coincided with the booming British economy. From 1992 onwards, there was more experimentation and risk-taking, further accentuated by the growth of a new industry not confined to the older tropes of computing from which it had evolved. Further, the style and range of photographic techniques visible in the 1990s sample is indicative of the "golden era" of advertising photography referenced by the interviewees. It was a time when the ICT market had matured and was competitive enough to encourage creativity and risk taking. This then encouraged advertisers to move away from the comfort of the home and office and allowed for a broader range of photography in advertising. The visual language, one can assume, would have

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275 Robin Grieson and Jack Daniels were commercial photographers at this time but have since moved into fine art photography. Jack Daniels' photography became synonymous with the fish-eye lens technique seen in Ad 290 at this time.

276 Both photographers have stated that Sony PlayStation was their first advertising campaign. Source: https://vimeo.com/142610685 and www.arielvanstraten.com. Van Straten had spent four and a half years assisting well-known photographers already discussed (David Bailey and Barry Lategan), as well as Corinne Day (1965-2010), a well-known fashion photographer credited with discovering the model Kate Moss. On his website, Van Straten credits his years as an assistant as influential on his style. (This accords with the argument developed in chapter six).

277 Colour slide film is typically processed with E6 chemicals. C41 is typically used in colour negative film processing.

continued to evolve into the 2000s were it not for the "Millennium bug" that caused consumer concern once again.[278] The period between 1999 and 2001 is of interest because it was a unique moment in the history of technology advertising. ICT advertising had been evolving incrementally, influenced by photographic practice adopting new and creative photographic techniques but from 1999, the Millennium bug campaign by the British Standards Institution, although not image based, punctuated the dominant visual language (see figure 8.1). Advertising imagery therefore needed to counteract the heavy warning messages delivered in orange and black and that replicated hazard warning and harmful substance signs of the time.[279] In response, photographic practice returned to the established duotones of the mid-1990s and universally selected blue as the dominant colour.[280] The 1999 *Sunday Times Magazine* sample includes two campaigns (Ad 351 to Ad 353) from competing companies, Tiny and Acer, but the colour tone is identical. The colour was also dominant in other industries too: Ad 354 to Ad 363 represent other advertising from *The Sunday Times magazine* from the same period, including car manufacturers, a tobacco company and a supermarket. The colour became known within photographic practice as "Millennium blue" (Saunders, interview 2013) and was adopted widely. The Pantone Color Institute named it "Cerulean Blue" and announced that it "is the official colour of the Millennium".[281] The shade is associated with calm, safety and trust, properties that advertisers and photographers were trying to convey in 1999.[282] Blue duotones continue to appear through the 2001 sample, influenced by the dot-com crash that came soon after the Millennium bug, further reducing confidence in digital technology companies.[283] For example, Ad 393 and Ad 396 to Ad 399 from the 2001 sample feature blue tones. However, because of its association with the dot-com crash and the Millennium bug, the blue duotone has not been used since 2001.

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278 Between 1995 and 1999 an issue with computer storage of calendar data was discovered. In tests, systems using the year abbreviated to two digits were reverting to 1900 rather than 2000 at midnight on the 31st December 1999. It was feared that this would cause failures in the banking system, transportation systems as well as government agencies that would lead to problems with security. It also caused anxiety for major companies increasingly reliant on computer technology (Jones, 2014). To allay the growing unease and to mitigate the "Millennium Bug" (as named by the popular press), the British Standards Institution set up the "Y2K" compliance policy for businesses.

279 At the time, this was called CHIP classification. (It was replaced by European Regulation 1272/2008 in 2009 and renamed the CLP regulation).

280 Blue is the opposite colour to orange in the colour wheel and therefore presented as the antithesis of the fear promoted in the Millennium Bug campaign.

281 Pantone is a standard colour referencing system used in photography and design. For example, Cerulean Blue is Pantone 15-4020 TC. Press release dated 26th April 1999, available at: https://www.pantone.com/

282 Later research studied the relationship of colour in advertising with consumer perception (Batra et al 2016).

283 The dot-com crash came about in March 2000. For three years previously (during the dot-com bubble), the stock price of dot-com companies had risen quickly as investors had invested in the new digital businesses but as high profile companies such as pets.com and boo.com lost money, confidence in the dot-com economy faltered and share prices dropped. (Geier 2015).

The Millennium bug and the dot-com crash had a widespread effect on all advertising but its effect was most felt in the related technology industries. The evolutionary tendency I have identified was disrupted, suggesting fragilities. A new period of high creativity had been developing but the disruption caused computer advertising to revert to a more comfortable visual language for a few years.

Figure 8.1 Action2000 advertising 1999. Source: The Advertising Archives.

8.3 Post-Millennium Imagery - Creativity in Context of Fast Developing Technology

The period after 2001 until 2007 was a time of economic boom resulting in more technology products being developed and sold in the UK. The more competitive marketplace and the fast pace of change allowed more creative image choices in advertising campaigns. The visual language that was evident prior to 1999 started to emerge and evolve again as photographic practice asserted its creativity once more. Although the digital industry suffered a setback in its growth, the visual language that had emerged through dot-com and gaming advertising campaigns in the late 1990s, continued to be influential in ICT advertising. For example, bol.com and boo.com (both eventual victims of the dot-com crash), shown in Ad 375 to Ad 377, sustain the irreverent attitude to advertising imagery of Virgin Net and Sony PlayStation by using edgy humorous images. The Sony PlayStation "nipples" image (Ad 301) had won the Grand Prix award for advertising at Cannes Lions in 1999 and a new visual language developed through gaming and mobile phone advertisements. In 2000, other gaming companies such as Xbox (Ad 381) and Nintendo (Ad 382) brought humour into their photographic style. As more phones were manufactured and more companies joined the marketplace, mobile phone advertising started to reflect gaming advertising. Creativity was depicted in the form of irreverent imagery and was soon seen in advertising for Motorola (Ad 383 and Ad 384), BT Cellnet (Ad 385 and Ad 386, Ad 389 and Ad 390), Virgin Mobile (Ad 387, Ad 391 and Ad 392) and later, O2 (Ad 388). As defined in the practitioner interviews, this period demonstrates lucidly how risk-taking, creativity and the economic climate are interrelated.

The post-millennium period also marks the era when technological advances in the mobile phone industry created trends in advertising imagery. The fashion-led photography in 1999 evolved into imagery focused on personal style and individuality, enabled by the development of media messaging on mobile phones (Ad 388). Consequently, personalised ringtone and picture messaging subscription services advertised heavily.[284] Simultaneously, mobile phone technology developed to allow users to listen to music. Sony Walkman had created successful advertising imagery for several years, first introduced in 1980, the 1992 sample (Ad 273) is an example from a campaign that ran for several years, depicting shoes to represent different users. The campaign (photographed by Malcolm Venville) won a Bronze award at Cannes Lions in 1993 (Ad 274 and Ad 275) thereby setting the visual language for music technology.[285] From Sony's established

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284 Although not in *The Sunday Times magazine*. Personalization examples found in advertising at the time: Ringtonecity.co.uk, Monstermob.com, Uniquelogos.co.uk, Crazymobile.co.uk and Iconaphone.com. (All businesses are now defunct).
285 Malcolm Venville (1962-) is a photographer and film director. He has worked on campaigns for Nike, Wrangler Jeans and Volkswagen.

campaign, phones with music technology were able to build on Sony's theme. The first image in my dataset of someone listening to music through headphones is Ad 398 from the 2001 sample. Siemens notably selected a black woman. This is significant because it is the first advertisement that features a non-Caucasian person in my sample and is a creative decision that is later adopted by Nokia (Ad 442), Vodafone (Ad 444), Apple (Ad 441) and the iconic iPod campaign (Ad 443) thereby evolving the visual language and tropes to represent the diversity of the British population.

The next technological development, the integration of cameras into mobile phones, caused the most significant change in the visual language of the sample studied and created another wave of creative approaches. The shift from an audio and textual device to a visual device was so significant, it caused the visual language of mobile phone and camera advertising to converge.[286] This demanded increasing advertising and photographic creativity to respond to the technological changes and the social possibilities that camera phones offered. As a result, the earliest campaigns present camera phone images in a way that is recognisable to the British audience as the practice of creating photo albums, (see Ad 431 (Orange) and Ad 432 (Olympus)). In 2005 Nokia represented people's identities through a montage of many photographs (Ad 458 to Ad 461). This in turn was adopted by Sony Cybershot cameras in 2007 (Ad 511).[287] Orange further employed the 2002 visual language of Olympus cameras, centering the product on a montage of images of a party (Ad 510). The campaign also featured travel photography (Ad 509) to communicate the way a camera phone replaces the compact camera on holiday. Notably, the visual language in the Olympus advertisement (Ad 432) was then adopted by other ICT companies: Nokia (Ad 500 to Ad 503) and Xbox (Ad 504 to Ad 508) in 2008. The campaigns utilised a candid documentary photographic style with harsh flash, as if taken on a compact or disposable camera, and the viewpoint is much closer than was typical of portraiture in advertising.[288] The visual language of both mobile phone and camera manufacturers became conflated as "phone companies became camera manufacturers" (Steel, interview 2013).

The interesting and significant aspect here is that the photographic style in ICT advertising is being dictated by the technology being studied. The visual style that evolved is not highly

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286 The first advertising campaign that focused on sharing photos featured the footballer David Beckham for Vodafone (Ad 430) at the end of 2002. The first camera phone in the UK was the Sony Ericsson T68i phone with an add-on camera that was bought separately. (Ad 431 and Ad 433). This was followed later in 2002 by the Nokia 7650.

287 HP in 2007 (Ad 476 and Ad 477) uses a similar technique to promote printers, including an advertisement featuring the singer Gwen Stefani.

288 This style of photography was first used in a 2001 BT branding campaign as seen in Ad 421 and Ad 422 but was adopted more widely by other advertisers later.

aesthetic or symbolic (as seen in earlier advertising), it is realistic and emotional, (Ad 419 for One2One is an example of this simple, less technical photography). The practitioner interviewees call this style "authentic" and believe the images have "emotional resonance", and according to my survey findings, emotional resonance is one of the characteristics by which professional photographic practitioners measure creativity. But here it seems, emotional resonance was more associated with amateur photography. As technology researchers Risto Sarvas and David Frohlich (2011) found, amateur photography pervades public and commercial photography because it no longer confined to photo albums for personal viewing. Creativity is becoming marked by the self-conscious reference to 'low creativity', i.e. the everyday and the banality of the amateur. Therefore, the huge range of amateur or user generated photographs is a threat to professional photography but it is more attractive to agency creatives and advertisers as the perceived cost of photography is less. The rise in amateur photography use in advertising occurred at the same time the global economy was in a recession known as the "financial crisis". Advertisers were not willing to spend so much on advertising or to take creative risks. As Saunders described: "Photography of the everyday is comfortable. We don't need to do a big production number because we can get the message from simpler less technical images" (interview 2013). Because amateur photography is authentic, it has become the comfort zone for advertisers and is still the dominant visual language in 2018. Not unsurprisingly, this was a cause for concern for the photographer interviewees as advertisers became more resistant to paying for professional photography:

> The democratization of photography with user generated content means that people choosing photos feel like they know what it takes to make them…Good enough is good enough and as basic photography has got cheaper, no-one is protecting the producer. Some are happy to pay more but most want to pay less…The motivation to spend money is going down. (Saunders, interview 2013)

Professional photographic practice has also seen the introduction of photographic agencies charging smaller fees for image licensing and agencies offering only mobile phone photography.[289] Professional practice has therefore had to evolve to encompass the amateur 'look', dissembling the knowledge that has been accrued during years in training. Some of the

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289 Saunders experienced the rise of 'microstock' from 2001 to 2013. Microstock started as a photo sharing community which then offered a collection of images for micropayments (often as low as a dollar) directly downloadable from websites. This only became possible with digital photography and is largely dominated by amateur photographers. (Getty Images purchased the original crowd-sourced microstock business iStockphoto in 2006 and it forms a significant part of the business). Mobile photography agencies include: www.eyeem.com, www.foap.com.

techniques adopted from amateur photography are evident in the later sample, for example, dropping detail in the low lights (as seen in Ad 436) allowing lens flare (Ad 450) or odd crops (Ad 451 and Ad 455). The subject matter has also become more "everyday", as evident in Ad 447 to Ad 455.

In the 2010s, professional photographic practice therefore centred itself on creativity, authenticity and the importance of craft skills. This period will undoubtedly be the focus of future visual research. As consumers become more proficient photographers, advertising photographic practice will evolve further and new creativity will emerge to maintain practice's edge in the visual languages of modern technology consumption. While the practitioners I interviewed were not negatively affected by the rising expertise of amateurs (in fact Saunders' business had benefited from a partnership with the photo sharing business Flickr), the nostalgia that each exhibited is perhaps a result of the recent changes in their practice. Towards the end of our interview, Saunders commented that: "I still believe we created the best, most creative work between 1998 and 2004".

8.4 The Visual Language of Mobility through Economic Change

Computer advertising relied on older archetypes developed from advertising for other technologies, whereas telecommunications advertising in 1979 had a fixed visual regime established by a single provider: Post Office Communications (later British Telecommunications or BT).[290] Photography depicted telephones as desirable but mainstream objects in a catalogue style layout which included an order form in the advertisement (Ad 3). The single example of a telecommunications advertisement from the 1981 *Sunday Times Magazine* sample is for an in-car radiotelephone service by Securicor Relayfone (Ad 13). The phone is framed by a luxury car with leather seats to denote the high cost of the service but also to differentiate itself from the BT visual language.[291] As the economy improved between 1981 and 1988 and telecommunication advertising grew, increasing from one advertisement in 1981 to 85 in 1988, the successful business executive was visually consolidated as someone who was not confined to a desk (Ad 100 to Ad 115). The 1988 *Sunday Times Magazine* sample then represents a growing industry during an economic boom at a time when "sales reps" were increasingly seen on British roads

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290 The visual language set by BT is so established that when Mercury Communications entered the market in 1981 it followed the same language. This is evident in advertisements from BT and Mercury at the time (Ad 96 to Ad 99). It was not until 1991 (Ad 278) that Mercury differentiated itself through the well-known 1930's style Mr Cholmondley-Warner campaign (featuring the popular comedian Harry Enfield).

291 Throughout the archival research, I did not find any non-BT telephone advertising prior to 1981.

(Redshaw, 2008). From 1988 onwards, mobility is presented as an aspiration for all business executives, conceptually connecting the portable phone with a dynamic and successful businessman or woman (Ad 106 to Ad 111).[292] A similar mobility trend emerged in imagery of domestic life too (see Ad 116 to 119 and Ad 120 to 122).[293] The imagery represented the evolution of a new visualisation of phone usage that contrasted with the domestic telephone use that BT had previously established.

As already noted, the archetype of a business suited executive associated with the boom period of the late 1980s, dominated the visual language for technology products until the early 1990s, as it did in other industries (Ad 213, Ad 214 and Ad 225 to 236). By 1992 though, the UK was in an economic downturn, accentuated by 'Black Wednesday', the stock market crash that occurred on 16th September 1992, losing the British treasury £3.1billion in a day (Social Trends, 1997). As inflation increased and the economy receded, imagery of power-suited business executives became a cliché associated with the 1980s.[294] However, the business executive does re-emerge in the later sample.[295] After a boom period of the "dot-com bubble", the bubble burst between 2000 and 2002.[296] During the resulting recession, practice reverted to the familiar icon of the businessman again. He is shown happy and confident in Ad 393 and in Ad 394 and Ad 395 happily using technology again in imagery that returns to an older iteration of the visual language. This suggests that advertisers were not willing to take creative risks at the time and reverted to old archetypes. However, these examples did take an incremental step forward in that the businessmen are shown in airports and this reflects the growth in international business travel that had expanded mobility beyond the UK, thus allowing new creative possibilities in visualisation. Business travel had been growing since 1985 with the number of trips made from the UK increasing by 287% to 2000 (Office for National Statistics, 2010). Despite all of this, business travel as a concept was short-lived. The receding economy and the terrorist attack in the United States on 11th September 2001 saw a subsequent decrease in travel from 2001 until 2003. International business travel is not visualised in the sample again.

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292 The business executive stereotype of the late 1980s is referred to in popular culture as the "yuppie". Originally meaning 'the young upwardly mobile' it came to represent the spirit of the age of competitive business and business success.

293 BT introduced the cordless "Hawk" telephone in the UK in December 1983. Source: http://home.bt.com/news/bt-life/history-of-bt. Ad 90 is a 1985 advertorial promoting the Hawk telephone in *Cosmopolitan* magazine as part of a fashion spread.

294 The only image of a business executive in the 1992 sample is photographed standing in the distribution warehouse of his mail order catalogue business for Canon (Ad 255). He is identified as a 'real' businessman through the accompanying text. The composition of the image is replicated in a further advertisement featuring a doctor from University College Hospital London..

295 There are no business executives using technology products between 1992 and 2001.

296 The dot-com bubble was caused by the rise in new internet based businesses (labelled "dot-com businesses") from 1997 driven by high speculation by investors. The crash occurred as dot-com companies failed to live up to expectations and investors pulled out. Source: http://news.bbc.co.uk [Accessed on 26th June 2017].

Mobility then re-emerged as a business aspiration within the sample as wireless broadband became more commonplace.[297] Phone and computer technology also converged as 3G was introduced, making it easier to access the internet on phones. Mobile telephones allowed business men/women to stay in touch with the office through email. As Sutherland commented, working at home became easier and the aspiration was to receive emails in real time, which Blackberry phones were the first to do.[298] Blackberry became synonymous with business because of this (see Ad 470). Instead of images of business executives travelling 'for' work, in later examples, travelling is presented as a choice. Ad 466 from 2006 is an example where technology is downplayed to appeal to the aspiration of choosing where to work. This was more pronounced during the boom around 2007, as business and lifestyle imagery merged further because either the clothing or environment in the image obfuscates the delineation between work and leisure.[299] Work and leisure technology use have become less defined so the visual language has also evolved. There is no need to present work and home through a split screen image as it was in 1982 (Ad 74).

Technological development facilitated a visual evolution by the hardware decreasing in size and allowing wireless connectivity thereby increasing creative options, but mobility is visualised from the early years of my sample. Firstly, as successful businessmen in luxury cars (albeit in a single advertisement), evolving to all businessmen and women, including small business owners and then anyone (both in business and in domestic life) and finally away from the home completely. As the visual language has evolved, the technology user has been dressed more casually and, even if the scenario shown relates to business use, there is still a sense of informality. For this reason, the businessman in the image for Hitachi (Ad 471) seems out of context with other advertising in 2007 in an example of the cliché that the practitioner interviewees referred

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297 BT Broadband was launched in 2002 offering a wireless router as part of the package. From 2002, the telecommunications industry focused on the speed of internet delivery to enable homes and business to use wireless technology more easily. By 2005 "Superfast Broadband" was offered by a number of suppliers at 2Mbit per second for downloads, by 2006 the speed had increased to 8Mbit and bundles are offered to UK customers consisting of television subscriptions, landline rental and billing and broadband (see Ad 491 and Ad 492 from the 2007 sample). In 2010, BT Infinity was launched. A fibre optic broadband service with downloads of 40Mbit per second. (Source: BT Archives).

298 The Blackberry phone (manufactured by Research in Motion) included a small keyboard allowing users to type emails and documents. Blackberry phones outsold Apple iPhones until the launch of the iPhone 4 in 2010. Source: https://www.reuters.com/article [accessed on 30th July 2017].

299 For example, Ad 473 and Ad 474 for PC World promote a range of computer products alongside images of a man working in the garden or a woman working at home, while Netgear wireless routers (Ad 490) shows a man reclined on a sofa working on a laptop. Later examples show the further evolution: a man is working outside in a field (Ad 513) while a woman works on the beach (Ad514).

to. The visual language is closer to the Apple campaign from 1981 (Ad 46 and Ad 47) or the Acorn Archimedes campaign from 1989 (Ad 226 and Ad 227). The photograph seems outdated because it is referencing an older visual language without offering anything new to the creative idea.

8.5 The Effect of the Iconic Apple "Think Different" Campaign on ICT Advertising

Lastly, I will analyse the role of the iconic image in the evolving visual language by examining the iconic 1997 Apple campaign. I have already discussed how the Haagen Dazs and Wonderbra advertisements as iconic campaigns, influenced the use of duotone photography in ICT advertising despite being created for an unrelated industry. Here I focus on the "Think Different" campaign that changed the status quo in ICT advertising and wider advertising photographic practice. The campaign was designed as a relaunch of the Apple brand after the return of Steve Jobs in 1996 and was also promoted during a boom period in the British economy. The campaign was introduced through a booklet alongside a poem (Ad 286). As evidenced in my sample, prior to this date, Apple's advertising had been aligned with the established visual language.[300] The imagery (Ad 292 and Ad 293 and figure 8.2) stood apart from the visual language because it was a black and white campaign when ICT was at its most colourful. It also favours photography over text, using only the words: "Think Different" and the Apple logo when the rest of the industry was only incrementally reducing text (as demonstrated in Appendix Three).

Figure 8.2 Apple Think Different campaign, 1997. Source: Advertising Archives

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300 See Ad 6, Ad 12, Ad 45-Ad 47, Ad 72-Ad 73, Ad 236, Ad 276-Ad 277.

The campaign and its impact on the career of Steve Jobs, regarded thereafter as a creative superstar, has been well documented through several first-person accounts about the creative process behind the campaign. Copywriter Ken Segall recounts that it was Steve Job's return and his belief that a strong brand campaign would "rejuvenate the spirit of Apple inside the company" (Segall 2012:87) that was the impetus for the idea. Segall and his partner, chief creative officer Lee Clow at the advertising agency TBWA\Chiat\Day were asked to create a campaign that would be the "foundation for Apple's new wave of innovation" (Segall, 2012:87). The art director Craig Tanimoto is credited with originating the phrase: "Think Different" and it was his idea to place the words against large black and white images. Segall states that the team at the agency liked the phrase because it felt relevant for both employees and customers. Segall also noted that the words became more powerful once they were put together with the images. The creative director Rob Siltanen's (2011) own account of the image selection process, choosing photos of well-known people who "had changed thinking throughout history" reveals that this decision was made during the brainstorming process because it was discovered that the pop singer Sting and the film director Steven Spielberg were Apple users.[301] (They both appear in the first campaign). The comfort zone of the time was of visuals of the product or the user. The first Apple "Think Different" campaign is an example of risk-taking because it does not feature either. Having said this, according to Segall, there is no product in the campaign because the advertising agency didn't know what the new computer (called the iMac G3) was going to look like. They were "working on faith that it was going to be special." (2012:89). The restriction placed on the idea generation process helped the creative team to use their creativity to come up with an iconic idea. As discussed, awards in part create the iconic and the "Think Different" campaign won the 1998 Emmy Award for an outstanding commercial while the black and white print advertisements won a Gold Lion at the 1998 Cannes Lions awards.[302] Later, the whole campaign also won the 2000 Grand Effie award for the most effective advertising campaign in America.[303] The campaign gathered iconicity as it became well-known within practice.

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301 These images were sourced through Getty Images in New York. While the agency creative had a shortlist of people he wanted to feature, the final campaign was determined by pragmatic means because the rights and clearance agency (Nickerson Research Inc.) was not able to secure the rights to all personalities. The owner of the agency, Susan Nickerson, confirmed (via email on 2nd October 2017) that they were bound by non-disclosure agreement not to discuss the original shortlist. It is interesting that practicing photographers reference this part of the campaign so fervently. The images were not commissioned but instead were pre-shot (in some cases many decades before the campaign) and licenced through Getty Images. Creativity is in the choice of personality rather than the technical skill of the photographer.

302 Source: http://www.emmys.com/awards/nominees-winners/1998/outstanding-commercial

303 Source: https://www.effie.org

Examining my dataset from 1998 onwards, the influence of the Apple campaign can be seen in a few ways. There is a return to black and white photography, though not the contrast-heavy duotone of earlier years, instead using softer tones with a lighter touch than previously seen (See Ad 305 to 307) but it was the second iteration of the campaign that had the greater influence on the evolution of the visual language. As discussed earlier in this chapter, promoting ICT products in the early 1980s relied on informational messages of reassurance and images of the product to introduce the unfamiliar object to the British audience. This is evident in computer advertising in 1981 and in telecommunications in 1988 (see Ad 151 to Ad 184 as examples). Visualization practices are critical to enable consumers to picture the object, so proportions, material and strangeness are addressed through the form of still life photography. Using still life to represent objects has been recognised as a visual art form since the seventeenth century when still life painting was popular in Europe, building meaning through placing significant objects next to each other, for example in Dutch still life painting (Bryson 2013). Still life photographs were part of the early experimental years in photography but became established in advertising through the work of Paul Outerbridge Jr. [304] The earliest example of creative still life in advertising photography is 'Ide Collar' from 1922 (see figure 8.3). The image is now regarded as "one of the landmarks of early modernism in photography" (Sobieszek 1988:32) because of its use of geometry and light. The image is not simply a photograph of an object, it is an object that has been arranged purposefully and lit professionally to create clean lines that represent a graphic image. As the first of its kind, the Ide Collars advertisement is iconic, influencing still life photography from the 1920s onwards.

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304 Paul Outerbridge Jr (1896-1958) was an American fashion and commercial photographer whose early work was mainly still life objects. Outerbridge is known for early experiments with colour photography, publishing his seminal work: *Photographing in Colour* in 1940.

Figure 8.3 Ide Collars advertisement. Photograph by Paul Outerbridge Jr. Source: Vanity Fair Magazine, November 1922

The still life archetype was established in early computer advertising through photographic techniques that created 'clean' graphic imagery. No computer, monitor or peripheral (printer, fax machine or disk drive) is photographed with leads or wires visible. Whether in the family home or the office, computers are connected apparently wirelessly.[305] The photography does not create a realistic reflection of how the product looks, instead it relies on the aesthetic of the still life to appeal to the imagination. Photographers predominantly photographed ICT products in sharp focus against a white background, a technique that connects the product to the world of science and technological research (see Ad 6 to Ad 8). The common visual representation of science and technology resonating with a contemporary audience in 1981 was that of a 'clean room' with white walls and floors and technology housed in white units. The visualisation of the clean room had been popularised in futuristic films such as "Sleeper" (1973) and Judith Williamson (1978) argues that the use of science in advertising is presented as a "clean surface" to disguise the "complexity" within. Williamson's argument resonates in early ICT advertising as wires would detract from the visual effect of the photograph and complicate the understanding of how the product works. Presenting the product as scientific in a well-shot still life image with clean lines, maintains meaning whilst also remaining acceptable to the consumer's sense of familiarity. This evolves as the British audience became more familiar with technology as can be seen in later still life, presented aesthetically with more creative set-ups and affective conditioning or "ensemble

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305 This is not questioned in 2017 when wireless technology is a reality but in 1981, the keyboard, monitor and computer hard drive were connected by leads connected to a power source.

selling" (Marchand 1986).[306] For example, in the BBC Microcomputers advertisement (Ad 55), the photography is creative, it is less functional than earlier computing still life images and is not a simple 'pack shot'.[307] Similarly, in telecommunications in 1985, the telephone was situated alongside art to convey the aesthetic attractiveness of all objects (Ad 87 and Ad 88). But Apple's "Think Different" campaign ten years later reverted to presenting the product as a lone still life although photographed in a contemporary creative way. The Apple iMac G3 launch in August 1998 demonstrated very clearly that the computer was visually different to any computer that had come before (already assuring visual iconicity). It was offered originally in blue and later in "jelly bean" colours with the interior workings on view (see Ad 332 to Ad 335 and figure 8.4). By revealing the inside of the computer, Apple reversed the notion of Williamson's clean surface, instead choosing to celebrate the "complexity" within. Because it was so visually different, Segall stated that all they needed to do was to show a photograph of the iMac under "Think Different" headline to make an impact but the creative photography added to the impact and became iconic. It was essentially the first advertisement that presented a computer as a mainstream aspirational lifestyle and design object.[308] My interviewee Jon Steel pitched for the Apple account during this period (eventually losing to TBWA/Chiat/Day) but met Steve Jobs several times. As Steel also recounted, Jobs was a visually driven man, unafraid to take a risk: "The reason that Apple imagery became iconic is because Steve Jobs was firm about what the company was against when he returned in 1996: illogical interfaces and ugly computers" (Steel, interview 2013).

The imagery in the Apple campaign (figure 8.4) was clearly appealing to the viewers' sense of beauty and simplicity. While the interior workings were visible, there is no keyboard, mouse or any wired connections pictured. The object was presented as a product of design instead of futuristic technology or science but was photographed in a clean environment to suggest just that. While still life photography was indeed already established in ICT advertising, it had not been presented in such a colourful way before.[309] This is a key Kuhnian moment in ICT advertising,

306 Affective conditioning is an advertising technique - By placing the object in an environment or alongside other objects the viewer feels positively about, the advertiser transfers those feelings to the new object. (Baker 1999).

307 The term "pack shot" came up in the interviews, the interviewees referred to pack shots as different to still life photography in that a pack shot is an illustrative representation of a product's packaging whereas a still life is a creatively conceived and creatively shot photograph.

308 Harrods had attempted something similar in 1988 (Ad 191) promoting "The Prestige" computer as a luxury item beyond the means of most consumers at the time.

309 The 1992 Sony advertisement (Ad 273) is perhaps the closest and was created at a time when Sony was more dominant than Apple. Steel (interview 2013) worked on both the Sony account and pitched for the Apple account. Steel worked on the Sony Walkman campaigns when Sony was seen as the innovator and their branding seen as "approachable" for a long time. According to Steel, Sony eventually lost out to Apple's innovative approach and moved away from the Walkman product once the iPod was launched.

the image in figure 8.4 is the exemplar still life because it is a creative interpretation of the still life archetype, created by a technically skilled photographer, using white negative space to draw attention to the product.

Despite the number of written accounts about the campaign, the photographer is not widely credited. The campaign is recognised as iconic in advertising practice but the advertising archives do not reference the person responsible for creating the imagery. The photographer was a Los Angeles based photographer called Mark Laita. Laita was responsible for the still life imagery for Apple from 1998 until 2008. As he stated in an interview with *Advertising Age* he has "gotten tons of business just based on those images, which is wonderful because that's the type of work I love – simple, clean and graphic" (Klein, 2004, para. 2). As discussed in chapter seven, although Laita is not universally recognised as the creator of the iconic imagery, his work was recognised within practice and other advertising agencies subsequently 'hired' him. It is also worth noting that it was Laita's work on another campaign that gave the agency art director (Susan Alinsangan of TBWA/Chiat/Day) the reason to hire him. In the same *Advertising Age* interview, Alinsangan is quoted as saying: "It was Mark's Neutrogena work that caught our eye. What really impressed us was the feeling of ultimate control it conveyed." (Klein, 2004, para. 3). The Neutrogena advertisement (shown in figure 8.5) has visual similarities to the Apple campaign (figure 8.4) using a sophisticated lighting set-up, creating clean lines and bright but translucent colours.

Figure 8.4 iMac advertising 1999. Photograph by Mark Laita. Source: History of Advertising Trust

Figure 8.5 Neutrogena advertisement (date unknown). Photograph by Mark Laita. Source: www.marklaita.com

Apple changed the way technology products were photographed at the peak of the economy in 1999 and this created a new visual language for other advertisers to emulate as the economy slowed. Later advertisements from Blackberry (Ad 485), Nokia (Ad 486 and Ad 496-Ad 497) and Samsung (Ad488) reflect how the new visual language was adopted widely. Instead of creating catalogue style still life images as seen in early ICT advertising, Apple adopted the techniques of highly skilled still life photography to create creative imagery focusing on the design of the ICT product. It is in this campaign that visual cues from design crafts are brought into play, changing the promotion of technology products to aesthetic as well as technical quality. In later Apple advertising, the iPod Nano (Ad 489) and iPhone (Ad 487) are presented as still life objects, shown to scale with the human hand, as seen in the earlier evolution in still life photography, but still offered as an aesthetic object. Sutherland argued that technology products are now advertised using similar visual techniques to fashion or design products. He went on to state:

> Technology started out by talking about memory and power, it was like the car industry in the 1950s, discussing engine size etc. But now we make aesthetic decisions rather than

technical. Tech is part of design culture now. Is Apple a fashion brand? (Sutherland, interview 2013).

The Sunday Times Magazine sample that followed the "Think Different" campaign in 1999 demonstrates how fashion and design had become part of the evolution of the visual language. The Motorola campaign (Ad 317 and Ad 318) although visualising a model, combines fashion and fashionable photography using cross processing to create pastel tones. By 2000, the visual language was firmly established, drawing in lighting techniques, fashion models and focusing on style as technology was visualised as *the* fashion product (Ad 364 to Ad 374).

Finally, in the 2009 Dell campaign photographed by Nadav Kander (Ad 529 and Ad 530), Kander had reverted to the earlier black and white photographic techniques, presenting the model and object against a white background but with a design aesthetic that had evolved out of the change in the visual language created by the Apple advertisements. And the trend continues to the present day in phone advertising. As shown in figures 8.6 to 8.8, the visual languages of popular smartphones in 2017 are starting to converge. The photographic style of phone advertising is gathered around the aesthetic style of Apple as competitors use similar photographic techniques to demonstrate sameness. But does this mean that what was once iconic has now become the comfort zone for the smart phone industry? Is this aesthetic now in fact the mainstream? It is indubitable that Apple has influenced the visual language of the ICT industry and it is for future researchers to determine if the visual language will continue to evolve along the aesthetic style that Apple sets or whether it will become part of the cliché.

Figure 8.4 iPhone X presentation. 12th September 2017. Source: www.apple.com

Figure 8.5 LG V30 advertising 2017. Source:www.lg.com

Figure 8.6 Samsung Galaxy Note8 advertising 2017. Source: www.samsung.com

8.6 Case Study Conclusion

Throughout my thesis, I have argued that knowledge about, and the pursuit of, creativity binds the advertising photographic community of practice together. While practitioners acknowledge that frequently their creative input is to make incremental changes to what has come before, as I have found in this chapter, the agency creative and the photographer's creativity in turning ideas into a tangible image *creates* the visual language. Importantly, this chapter shows that by looking at advertising over a long period, it is possible to appreciate the external influences that affect creativity, namely the economic climate, global events and the consumer's perception of the product. The relationship between the main protagonists in the creation of the image, the advertiser, advertising agency and photographer, affected by commercial concerns, also plays a large part in how far the visual language evolves. Therefore, a study of commercial creativity in the UK is also a study of commercial enterprise.

However, there are exceptions in the evolution of the visual language and the exemplary advertising photograph, the image that becomes iconic in practice and beyond, is more likely to occur when the elements above are advantageous. As I have found, iconic images tend to arise in booming economies when more risks are taken, whereas advertising reverts to a more 'comfortable' visual language as the economy recedes.[310] The model for the evolution of the advertising visual language demonstrates that evolution speeds up or is punctuated in a boom and

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310 Within my sample, no iconic images were published during a recession.

slows or reverts to the existing comfort zone in a recession. Imagery is continuously changing in (sometimes imperceptible) increments and the professional photographer uses their creativity to ensure that there is a forward momentum. While borrowing from earlier archetypes is acceptable in practice if a new perspective or a new photographic technique is offered, reverting back to old styles and an older visual language is condemned to being deemed a cliché. Something that practitioners wish to avoid at all costs.

9. CONCLUSION

I have situated advertising photography in the broader advertising industry because as separate practices, they are both responsible for adhering to the legislative and professional requirements imposed by professional bodies such as the IPA and ASA. But also, because the two practices are inter-connected and need each other to create imagery that offers "new perspectives" (the photographer definitions of creativity) and creates something that is "attention getting" (the advertising practitioner definition). By doing so, I have found that while each practice determines what is deemed creative separately, the pursuit and acknowledgement of creativity in others is a joint vocation. Additionally, I have also found that while the creative aspiration remains constant, visual renderings evolve over time. This is sometimes due to new photographer's rising through the ranks and bringing new perspectives but is also due to established photographers moving with the times and continuously absorbing knowledge from wider practice. As evidenced in the interviews, not moving with the times can threaten the career of even the most accomplished photographers.

I set out to understand what influenced the final image beyond the collaboration between creative and photographer. I have experienced periods in my own professional practice when it was easier to take risks in the images we were creating, resulting in a practice based folklore about creative years and less creative years in photography. As quoted in the introduction on page 17, there is a practice led theory that advertising (and subsequently advertising imagery) is "carbon dated", so this was something I wanted to unpack because I believe it reveals a lot about the practice itself. Therefore, the main aim of my thesis was to answer the question: "Why do images look the way they do at certain times?" And I did this by using a multimethod approach examining both the imagery and the practice that created them.

In many ways, chapter eight forms part of the response to the research question. It tested the hypothesis developed in the rest of the thesis by presenting a visual demonstration of the argument developed throughout. By analysing the images and identifying archetypes, I have been able to define photographic eras that give shape to the archive. The years 1979 to 2009 were selected for the case study because of the profound change that occurred in ICT technology and photographic technology during those thirty years. As shown in chapter eight, the ICT industry has also developed from a monopoly (telecoms) and a feared industry (computing) to an industry that is integrated into daily lives. This allowed me to demonstrate the ascendancy of creativity alongside product assurance through a more distanced view of photographic practice, looking at visual trends but bringing in the practitioner experience where necessary. I have also

demonstrated where patterns of visual similarity have occurred and given account of why those patterns emerged. The supplement, which forms the visual appendices, is an archive that shows a sensitivity to visual shifts over time. I do not purport to represent all advertising for the 30-year period and am aware that my sample is just that, a sample of the whole. However, through interrogating the existing advertising archives and extracting the sample in the most methodical way possible, I have demonstrated that the sample is therefore a valid one. While I was able to create an initial sample of 2098 advertisements over the 30-year period, it was when I contained the analysis to the 533 advertisements from *The Sunday Times Magazine* that I felt I had identified clear patterns which were not simply an indication of advertisements that were convenient or 'to hand'. As I discussed in the literature review in chapter two, there are established methodologies for analysing advertising which have typically required an experienced and committed researcher to deconstruct each image separately. Although more recent researchers have attempted to combat the close study method with a more distant methodology, the practitioner is still not considered. This is akin to ignoring the artist in the analysis of fine art and more importantly ignores how art and creativity evolves over time through drawing on previous artists/creatives. This is something that Gombrich (1993) argues is missing in the study of art history and I have shown is missing from the understanding of advertising photographic history. As a result, my approach to advertising photography is new.

As more print magazines are digitised, a new method may emerge but until then, the print archives of well-known British publications offer a rich source of data that have yet to be examined. As other researchers such as Richards et al (2000) found, sourcing British advertisements by publication offers a controlled sample of imagery because it is created for a defined target audience. It also offers a chronology of advertising by industry. Early in my research, I found that studying single advertisers is simpler (especially when the company has their own archive as BT do) but it restricts the research to a single brand management view of imagery which I believe still needs contextualising in broader trends. The explanatory models I have used can be replicated across advertising and I hope what I have done here opens a door to further research. The study of advertising through the production of images and the conceptual processes that framed production are, I would argue, a new and necessary approach. Studying the advertising agency process does improve understanding of how commercial creativity is 'applied' but I offer a further consideration by demonstrating how an idea becomes an image through the photographic process. Connecting the photographer's name and their genealogy to their work, which I have done wherever possible, is a first step, as it is only through this change in the way the archive is structured that photographers and photography can be easily studied. It is clear to me that to be able to bring more researchers into the field, there needs to be a better understanding of what they are looking at, who created it and what relevance it has to the greater

canon of work about photography and advertising. Perhaps the work of late twentieth century advertising photographers will be studied as the artists in the future?

While chapter eight is offered as a response to the typical ethnographic 'tension' between participation and analysis, I have argued for the insider view throughout and exposing the inner workings of advertising photographic practice became paramount as I acknowledged that my unique position in the centre of a large community of active photographic practitioners allowed me to do so. It became my responsibility to create a baseline for future researchers to work from. Therefore, in addition to examining the imagery, I also examined the practice that created it, including my own autoethnography within that. To start with, I explored how creativity is defined and measured by professional practice and subsequently how it manifests itself in the advertising photograph. In the literature review in chapter two, I considered definitions of creativity, especially Amabile's (2013) theory of applied creativity and I looked at how previous researchers had attempted to understand how creativity is applied. In recent years, attempts to understand where creativity occurs has resulted in a rise of studies of the creative process in advertising agencies. For example, Turnbull and Wheeler's 2015 interviews of agency practitioners to define the creative process, conducted because they had identified a need for more knowledge about how ideas are generated. My own study of processes came from the same perceived need and my findings enhance the understanding of advertising photographic practice and give an account of applied creativity. Applied creativity, I would argue, is an important and recurrent theme in the production of photographic practice. I have studied the advertising production process through the advertising agency creative's viewpoint to draw out how creativity is applied (to compare my findings to Turnbull and Wheeler directly) but I then also added the study of the photographic production process. It is here, in examining the interaction and processes of creative image production that I was able to show how the relationship works and how it has changed as the economic climate and the perception of the cost of photography has changed. For example, as noted by the photographer interviewees, interference from the creative is more likely when photographic budgets are reduced. I found that there is a correlation between the economic climate and the likelihood that an iconic image would be created, therefore offering a model for predicting periods of high and low creativity. The evidence reinforces this as no iconic images were created during a recession in the period studied. This firmed up my own theory around the influences of the economy on photographic trends caused by anxieties about budget which creates an environment that photographers feel less able to perform their creativity in. This in turn creates a nostalgia amongst practitioners about a time when budgets were higher and photographic skills were less known. I did find that there are behaviours that photographers have learnt to deal with less than ideal situations. When faced with an anxious client, the experienced photographer offers several image options to the agency creative to avoid undue interference, allowing the

photographer to convey their creativity but also to remain in control of the shoot. This behaviour is learned through exposure to professional practice and makes itself visible through ethnographic research. In other words, without in-depth study of the photographic process, the roles people play during the creation of the image is purely speculative. I also found that the part of the process where the idea is turned into a tangible image, when the photographer's creativity is showing itself, is most often performed in front of an audience. The photoshoot, is a performative space that the photographer must dominate to prove his/her creativity and the amount of creative input that the photographer is able to assert on the final image is determined by this performance.

Ultimately though, creativity and the pursuit of being creative is what binds the photographer and the advertising creative together in a complementary community, consistent with Wenger's (2000) definition of communities of practice. Creative photographs are charged with strong personal feelings and commitments that are a tacit form of knowing, while the technical process also requires an element of hunches and guesses based on gut instinct which creates the "feeling" that practitioners talk about, but this is not felt in academic studies. There is a deep commitment to applying every piece of creative know how to the creation of an image. A sense of achievement is shared in the moment of creation, it is when tacit knowledge about creativity is made visible, in commercial photography, tacit knowledge is literally visualized as the image. Photography is more than simply a job, it is a way to apply artistic skills to a professional craft and practitioners do not consider any other line of work. I found by asking practitioners to describe their route into practice and to discuss where their creative inspiration comes from, revealed a further insight into how practitioners embody creativity. I found that an informal apprenticeship system exists that allows new photographers to gain articulated commercial and technical knowledge but also to incorporate tacit, craft-based knowledge into their practice. Creative tacit knowledge held by the photographer therefore is the embodiment of values and ideals of the people that he/she has learnt from. The apprenticeship experience is supplemented through the experience of personal meetings and relationships that the photographer develops over time.

There is also a tacit element to the knowledge that sits within practice about the 'who is who' and 'who has done what'. While a comprehensive advertising photographic archive is difficult to achieve, the practitioner held knowledge *is* the archive of advertising photography. In other words, practitioners know and understand what has come before and those names have meaning inside practice, acting as a guide to the creative skills of individual photographers. A method and a potential area for future study is in oral history interviews with advertising photographers to build a genealogy of skills and styles, as well as determine how creative knowledge is transferred from practitioner to practitioner. My concern at the end of this study is that photographic practitioners who were active during the 1960s to the 1990s are disappearing from professional

practice as they retire or pass away. This will be regrettable as academia, in the absence of an established archive, will lose the history of the practice when it was regarded as at its peak. I recommend here that future researchers in advertising and commercial photography, consider oral history as a methodology to help build a history of the practice.

In the commercial photographic environment, as Leonard and Sensiper state: the "purest form" of tacit knowledge is that possessed by the group whose process is the commercial product (1998:122). This is certainly true for the creative photographic process. There has been less study into how individual and organisational based expertise develops from sharing tacit knowledge. This has been addressed by recent research into organizational and shared corporate knowledge which has influenced my own examination of creativity and tacit knowledge. Photographic practice has parallels with the advertising community of practice, in that each agency or photographer has a value placed on their tacit knowledge that is valued amongst fellow practitioners, but also as a commercial value which is used as an advantage in a competitive market. I argue that the tacit component of advertising photographic creativity resides in the individual practitioner but is also collectively acknowledged. In this regard, I have advanced the understanding of tacit knowledge and its relation to creativity in the commercial environment.

The broader study of advertising practice has been gathering pace with a new focus on creativity. As a result, many of the studies I have referenced were published during my research period. Comparing my results to Stuhlfaut and Yoo's (2013) survey of advertising practitioner views of creativity, I found that photographers define creativity according to their own practice measures and not advertising measures. Advertising practitioners are most concerned with getting attention for their work and creating something original and unique. Photographers, although concerned with originality and uniqueness, see creativity as a skill that finds new perspectives and makes connections to something that has come before. So, while for both communities, creativity is viewed as it relates to craft and how it fits into the overall advertising process, it is also connected to the artistic pride of the practice. This was evident in the reaction that the photographer interviewees had to their clients. Any attempts by the agency creative or the advertiser to interfere with the photographer's creativity is met with distain, despite the economic relationship that the photographer has with the person commissioning them. This is where the importance of the photographer's technical skills emerged strongest. Therefore, photographers accentuate their technical skills as being intrinsic to creativity. Idea generation and 'newness' or 'originality' is one thing but a photographer must also know how to make it happen, which is why a high proportion of practitioners defined creativity as having the skill to turn ideas into something tangible. It sets photographers apart from advertising creatives and gives them status within the process, even though this is rarely discussed publicly.

I felt it was important to also ask photographic practitioners to define how they measure creative success in order to build on my own and Stuhlfaut and Yoo's findings. As I showed, there exists an advertising practice led acknowledgement of how creative success is measured, sustained by the advertising awards system. Although the actual measurement is hard to determine, it is accepted and defined by advertising practitioners through extended exposure to their community of practice and publicised through agency promotions, trade press publicity and the flow of knowledge within the community. Therefore, understanding how photographers measure creativity is important because the advertising award system does not credit photographers in the same way. Photographers are rarely invited to the glamorous awards ceremonies so are reliant on agencies to credit their creativity publicly at these events.

In 2018, the large advertising agency networks are questioning the cost and legitimacy of award entries which has led Cannes Lions to change its award categories. It is for future research to consider how this will affect who wins awards, whether the measurement system for creativity shifts and whether that brings more exposure for photographic practice. More pertinent to my research though, more studies are needed to understand the effect that photographic awards have on a photographer's career trajectory and whether it parallels that of the advertising creative.

The results from the second question in the survey led me to examine how career success is perceived in photographic practice. I found that the career goal of practitioners is to create an image that is thereafter considered the exemplar, thereby acquiring iconic status and a reference point for future photography. I looked at iconicity specifically, comparing my findings with Hariman and Lucaites' (2007) theory of iconic news imagery. I found that iconicity in advertising photography serves a different purpose to news imagery which expands our understanding of the concept and how it is applied to publicly visible photography. Iconicity is acquired slowly over a period of time which becomes the criteria by which other imagery is then judged and is a benchmark or touchstone for future photography. Importantly, it is clear that iconicity becomes part of the knowledge that flows through practice and either explicitly influences future projects, through clients asking for the same or similar, whether from the original photographer or other photographers or implicitly as a visual reference point of a style or technique. I therefore consider the theory that iconicity in advertising photography is processual and should be studied as such.

Next, I analysed how exemplar or iconic imagery is produced and the circumstances under which they are most likely to be created. I found that in the minds of the practitioners, creativity and more profoundly iconicity are associated with risk. As I found across all interviews, the client is viewed as risk adverse and most of the time prefers his/her photography to remain within the

confines of the existing visual language. There is a practitioner held theory that the client has a "comfort zone" which the photographer must either coach clients out of or present creative ideas to them that are seemingly connected to tried and tested ideas. Conversely, the agency creative and the photographer deem it of utmost importance to avoid creating what they consider to be tired or clichéd imagery. The cliché is something that no practitioner wishes to be associated with and is something that is created by 'others'. In contrast to comfort and safe imagery, risk is seen as a highly creative endeavour. As I found, risk is articulated through visual practices. It is manifest in images that punctuate a visual regime or change the visual language, images that are more than an incremental evolution. Risks are taken when the art director and photographer have a mutual trust and an equally creative relationship. A similar relationship also needs to exist between the agency and the advertiser for the agency creative to persuade the client to spend their budget on the creative idea. Once a photographer/photograph takes a risk and punctuates the visual language, it gives other agency creatives the opportunity to persuade their clients to act similarly, allowing photographers to have more creative input. With each iconic image, there is a change in status quo affecting how the community of practice views a certain type of photography, which in incremental turns shifts the visual language.

I have interwoven iconic imagery with the standard visual language to compare how it stands out in context. As I have found, iconic imagery stands apart from the existing and past visual language. It is created for several reasons and while practitioners get a "feeling" that an image is going to achieve iconic status whilst on set, there is a combination of factors that occur during the production process that make iconicity more likely. According to the evidence from the interviews and the case study, the factors are usually: a healthy economy and therefore advertising budgets that allow for more creativity, an advertiser who is willing to take a risk and trusts the advertising creative, who in turn trusts the photographer he/she commissions to shoot the idea, allowing the photographer to inject his/her creativity, resulting in a creative image. I offer a theory of a legacy of effects of iconicity that creates a new perspective on advertising imagery not previously considered. By doing so, a diachronic model of creativity emerges that creates a historical view of photographic practice to be referenced against artistic and fashion trends as well as other advertising or photographic genres.

I established the argument for evolving creativity through studying the practitioner and their practice, identifying resulting trends. Visual trends are active for many years and cannot be aligned with seasonal or even annual trends. As I have found, within any single industry, there are degrees of risk taking and creativity in image choice. Certain corporate brands have a reputation for creativity and continue to strive for the next iconic image whereas others follow their lead. As a result, at any one time, there are advertisers still relying on older visual languages.

Equally, photographers adapting to new technological advances in their practice, move the visual language forward. As Saunders said, photographers use technology to express themselves creatively: "Each age finds its own way to express themselves with the medium" (Andrew Saunders, interview 2013). There is amused interest in retro-advertising because it is an indication of how British society has progressed and as I found, the archive is organised around decades for this purpose. But, the study of long term visual trends intersects across time periods depending on the industry studied. As I have demonstrated, ICT advertising has been through several cycles, sometimes repeating itself when the visual language is punctuated and at other times evolving as advertising creatives and photographers attempt to apply their creativity to an oft photographed idea. Previous researchers have categorised advertising as distinct "eras", Leiss et al (2005) for example, define the 1970s and 1980s as the "lifestyle" era that focuses on emotive themes of "leisure, health, groups and friendship". As I have found in my own study, this is a broad sweep of 20 years of advertising history that do little to explain the connection to what has come before or acknowledge emerging products that bring a new advertising visual language, as I found with dot com companies in the late 1990s.

Overall though, by examining the creative techniques of photographers at a certain point in time, insight is gained into how advertisers allow photographers to work creatively as well as identify when more risks were taken photographically. Thinking about diachronic definitions and the theory of evolving iconicity has more implications for the study of advertising imagery. This creates a chronology of advertising photography that is defined by photographic practice and adds to knowledge about brand management and commercial culture. It is an evolutionary theory that has not been considered as a method for studying photographic creativity, least of all a commercial creativity such as advertising photography. I did however consider work in other fields such as art theory (Gombrich 1993), literature (Moretti 2005) and referenced Yagou's (2005) work in design history as all three argue that to truly understand creativity, the researcher must necessarily consider what has come before. This accords with my own findings and indicates that there is the potential for a large body of research about the history of advertising photography and the evolution of creativity. Although advertising photography cannot be segregated into distinct decade long eras, to understand practice, longitudinal studies are necessary to identify how practice makes its creativity known. I know that economic changes influence the visual language. I found that in recessions, old and comfortable archetypes are more likely to reappear and familiar ideas revisited. Whereas, during economic booms, advertising becomes more multitudinous and therefore more competitive, encouraging risk taking and new ideas so this is when creativity is more apparent. Equally as new photographic technology allows photographers to create new styles of imagery, I expect it to show itself in advertising photography. For example, in professional practice in 2018, photographers are experimenting

with the use of wearable cameras, drones and 360° photography, all of which are offering "new perspectives".

As I introduced this thesis with a history of advertising photography to 1979, I now also consider the period between the end of the case study and the current day. The years studied in chapter eight were important because it encapsulated the era of hyper-creativity when large budgets were available for photography at scale, as double page spreads in print publications and on 48 sheet posters. However, as the 2010s have played out, more advertising budget is now spent on digital advertising and social media. In fact, in 2018, the highest growth in advertising spend is predicted to be in mobile internet advertising (WARC 2017). Imagery shown on mobile phones is in contrast, small scale and does not have the lifespan of the print or poster advertisement. This will undoubtedly have an impact on what future practice will determine as iconic. Given the trajectory seen in the case study, we are likely to see more user-generated photography across all advertising and a merging together of domestic and professional photographic styles as advertisers exploit social media as an advertising medium. In the second decade of the twenty first century professional practice is certainly on the cusp of something that is changing. There are more opportunities for imagery and photographers and therefore more opportunities for more wide-ranging creativity. Although I did not address it directly in my research, I noted that the audience for advertising also continues to evolve because of the changing mediums that feature advertising images and much of this evolution has occurred because of growing visual literacy. The term derives from the practice-based theory about consumers understanding how advertising images are created and importantly, also, how they work. The 'magic' has become harder to achieve over time, resulting in practitioner nostalgia about the "golden age" of photography but this may change again because consumer interest in the craft of photography creates an informed understanding of how difficult it is to create magical images. This is a possible direction for future audience focused research.

My conclusion and response to the research question is that images look the way they do at certain times because of a number of influences. These influences can be categorised in two ways - external and internal to the community of practice. The external influences (as I found) are technological change (which affects consumer social behaviour and offers new media for advertising imagery) and economic change (which also affects consumer social behaviour but more importantly affects the behaviour of the client, the advertiser). The internal influence is the community of practice itself. As practitioners become socialised into practice, they learn important technical skills that enables them to visualise ideas thus creating tangibility to their creativity. But there is also a tacit component to creativity that is less known. I have drawn on autoethnography to maximise the insight I have been able to offer as a practitioner in the wider

community of practice. This approach has also allowed me to evoke authentic responses from practicing photographers and has avoided the issues that previous researchers have encountered. In this way, I have been able to build on the singular research study, conducted by Rosenblum in 1978. My conclusion opens up a rich area for study by researchers interested in the evolution of an industry, mapping how artists influence one another and offers signposts to find another viewpoint to understanding the advertising creative and the advertising photographer. I have been able to contribute to the field through the view from within, changing approaches from semiotic to processual, from end-product to practice. As well as offering a narrative on practice, its history and the visual trends it has created, my work creates a different narrative of advertising photography whilst contributing a methodological baseline that can be tested on other material. The study of advertising photography beyond the mere surface of the photographic image is nascent but I feel that the lacuna will be filled as future students both in photography and advertising conduct broader studies over space and time, utilising the approaches I have presented here.

Appendix One – Interview and Survey Background Information

<u>Interviews</u>

The six questions asked during each interview:

1. Talk me through your career in the industry from the beginning to the present day
2. Talk me through your photographic/advertising process from brief to final image
3. How do you/your team generate new ideas?
4. Where does your visual inspiration come from?
5. How do you measure the success of the images you produce?
6. At what point do you realise an image is iconic?

Each interview lasted between 40 minutes and two hours and the audio was recorded. In each instance, I followed up with an email to ensure that the six questions had been covered.[311]

<u>Interviewee Biographies</u>

Rory Sutherland
Studied Classics at Cambridge University and on graduation, joined Ogilvy and Mather Direct in 1988, first as an account planner before moving into copywriting, eventually becoming a creative director in 1997. Sutherland became executive creative director in 2002 and was president of the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising from 2009 to 2011.

Jon Steel
Joined Boase Massimi Pollitt (BMP) in 1984 after completing a Geography degree at Nottingham University. He had planned to become a school cricket coach but instead embarked on an advertising career, first as an account manager and then as an account or creative planner. He spent five years as BMP before moving to Goodby, Silverstein & Partners (GSP) in the UK and a year later San Francisco. He stayed at GSP for ten years and then returned to the UK to write a

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311 The original interview with five photographers was conducted in a group in 2014 with subsequent discussions in person and via email over the next two years. I had already interviewed Chris Ryan in 2013 and he encouraged the other four photographers to participate.

book on creative planning. For the last 17 years, Steel has worked for WPP in a global creative consultancy role. He is based in Australia.

Will Awdry

Awdry studied Geography at university and joined Publicis as an account executive in 1983. He then joined Bartle Bogle Hegarty (BBH) in 1986 as a copywriter but left in 1994 to go to Leagas Delaney, returning to BBH 15 months later to take a position as creative director. He stayed at BBH until 2001 and this time went to Partners BDDH. Awdry then moved on to DDB to take on the role of international creative director in 2003 and then joined Ogilvy in 2006 and stayed until 2014. He is now creative director at a branding and design agency called Big Fish.

Andrew Saunders

Saunders studied Art at Swansea School of Art and started his career as a photographer's assistant to the commercial photographer Julie Fisher in 1987. He assisted until 1991 when he joined the Tony Stone Images photo agency as a darkroom assistant, becoming the manager after six months. He then joined the creative department at the agency and in 1994 was made UK director of photography. The agency became Getty Images in 1996 and Saunders then took on the role of group director of photography. He was promoted to vice president of the creative department in 2001 and then senior vice president in 2008.

Chris Ryan

Ryan studied at Colchester art school and joined the photography industry as a freelance assistant in 1972, usually as fourth assistant. He was a cycle courier at the same time. His first job as first assistant was with the photographer Phil Jude. In 1978, Ryan shared a studio with the photographer Jimmy Wormser and then in 1988 bought his own studio in Fulham, London. In 1992, Ryan also started shooting for a photo agency called Telegraph Colour Library and then Digital Vision. Ryan gave up shooting for advertising clients in 2005 and continues to work in the advertising industry through Getty Images.

Rob Daly

Daly left college after studying English, History and Economics at A Level. He got his first job as a photographic assistant in 1984 and his first full-time assistant job with the photographer Charles Gordon-Lennox (Earl of March and Kinrara). Daly begun his career as a photographer in 1989 and has worked in advertising ever since.

Martin Barraud

Barraud studied at Salisbury College of Art and joined the industry in 1983. He started out as a photographer's assistant to the special effects photographer Peter Seaward. After two years, he left to set up as a photographer in his own right and has been working in advertising since then.

Matt Hind

Hind studied History of Art and English at Oxford Brookes University, graduating in 1990. He was then an art director at the Telegraph Colour Library until 2000. From 2000 onwards, Hind has been working as a photographer in the advertising and fashion editorial industries.

Chris Newton

Newton studied Visual Communication at university and started out in the photographic industry as an art director working with several photographers. He then started working in partnership with Rob Daly (above) in 1999 and set up on his own in 2003. He continues to work in advertising.

Justin Pumfrey

Studied English Literature at Oxford University. Pumfrey then worked as a photographer's assistant for three years from 1986 to 1989, two years of which was with the photographer Anthony Crickmay. He has always worked in advertising and fashion editorial and set up on his own in 1989

Photographer survey introductory email

My name is Rebecca Swift and I am Creative Planning Director in the Creative Research team at Getty Images. I have been working at Getty for decades and am now also researching a PhD into visual trends in photography.

As part of my thesis I am looking at how we (creative staff and photographers) come up with ideas and then implement them in imagery. A key part of this is the magical term "creativity". We talk about it all the time, we measure our own work by it but what is it?

This survey consists of two very short questions. Your participation is greatly appreciated! Many thanks.

1. How do you define creativity?
2. How do you measure creativity in your own and other people's work?

The categories generated from the practitioner survey responses

Newness	Magical
Quality	Holy
Imagination	Undefinable
Unique	Complicated
Connections	Universal
Difference	Solve problem
Abstract	Ideas into something tangible
Ideas	Freshness
Not standard	Outside the box
Beyond the norm	Inspiration
Original	Non-conformity
Simplicity	Oneness
Passion	Evoke emotions
Emotions	Comes from emotions
New perspective	Heart
New angle	Soul
Knowledge	Satisfaction
Skills	Unexpected angle
Personal	Familiar unfamiliar
Letting go	Individual
Freedom	Wonder
Beauty	God-given
Fearlessness	Purpose
Courage	Going beyond

Appendix Two – Background Data for the Case Study

Total GDP at market prices in £million at current prices

Date	GDP (£m)	Growth from previous year (£m)	Peak/Trough
1979	199220	29876	
1980	233184	33964	
1981	256279	23095	Trough
1982	281024	24745	
1983	307207	26183	
1984	329913	22706	
1985	361758	31845	
1986	389149	27391	
1987	428665	39516	
1988	478510	49845	Peak
1989	525274	46764	
1990	570283	45009	
1991	598664	28381	
1992	622080	23416	Trough
1993	654196	32116	
1994	692987	38791	
1995	733266	40279	
1996	781726	48460	
1997	830094	48368	
1998	879102	49008	
1999	928730	49628	Peak
2000	976533	47803	
2001	1021828	45295	Trough
2002	1075564	53736	
2003	1139746	64182	
2004	1202956	63210	
2005	1254058	51102	
2006	1328363	74305	
2007	1404845	76482	Peak
2008	1445580	40735	
2009	1394989	-50591	Trough

Data source: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/. [Accessed on 11th January 2011].

Computer Advertising by Brand and by Year 1979-2009

Year	IBM	Apple	Sinclair	Commodore	Apricot	Acorn/BBC	Atari	Amstrad	Siemens	Psion/Palm	Compaq	Nintendo	Sony	Microsoft	AOL	Sega/XBOX	Yahoo/Google/Dell	Panasonic
1979	IBM																	
1980	IBM	Apple				Acorn												
1981	IBM	Apple	Sinclair															
1982	IBM	Apple	Sinclair	Commodore			Atari											
1983	IBM		Sinclair	Commodore	Apricot	BBC												
1984		Apple		Commodore	Apricot													
1985	IBM	Apple	Sinclair	Commodore														
1986	IBM	Apple	Sinclair			Acorn												
1987					Apricot	Acorn												
1988	IBM	Apple				Acorn		Amstrad			Compaq							
1989				Commodore	Apricot	Acorn	Atari	Amstrad	Siemens	Psion	Compaq							
1990		Apple										Nintendo						
1991																		
1992		Apple																
1993													Sony					
1994		Apple																
1995		Apple																
1996		Apple																
1997		Apple																
1998		Apple							Siemens				Sony					
1999		Apple											Sony					
2000	IBM	Apple						Amstrad		Palm		Nintendo	Sony	Microsoft	AOL	Sega		
2001		Apple											Sony	Microsoft				
2002	IBM											Nintendo	Sony	Microsoft		XBOX		
2003	IBM	Apple												Microsoft				
2004		Apple										Nintendo	Sony	Microsoft			Yahoo	
2005	IBM	Apple											Sony	Microsoft	AOL			
2006	IBM												Sony	Microsoft				
2007	IBM	Apple										Nintendo	Sony	Microsoft				
2008	IBM	Apple							Siemens				Sony	Microsoft	AOL		Google	Panasonic
2009	IBM	Apple										Nintendo		Microsoft			Dell	

Appendix Three – Text to Image Comparison in Advertising 1981 to 2009

Key:

Image less than 1/4 advertisement: Green
Images between 1/4 and 1/3 advertisement: Orange
Image between 1/3 and 1/2 advertisement: Grey
Image between 1/2 and 3/4 advertisement: Yellow
Image more than 3/4 advertisement: Blue
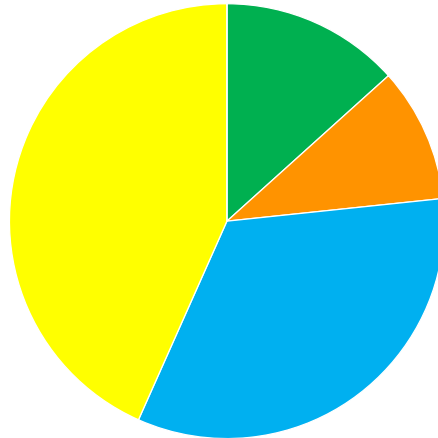
1981 computer advertisements
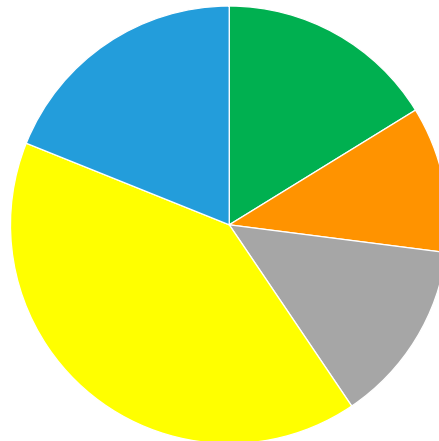
1988 computer advertisements
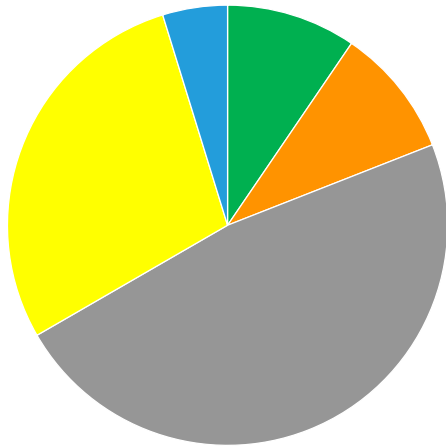
1992 computer advertisements

1999 computer advertisements

2001 computer advertisements

2007 computer advertisements

2009 computer advertisements

Appendix Four – The Evolution of Ice-Cream Advertising after the Launch of Haagen Dazs

Valio 1998, Finland

Magnum Light 2004, France

Icecreamists 2009, UK

Icecreamists 2009, UK

Federici 2010, UK

Magnum 2012, UK

Encanto Pops 2016, USA

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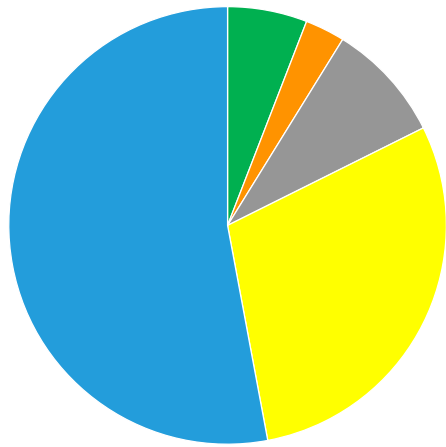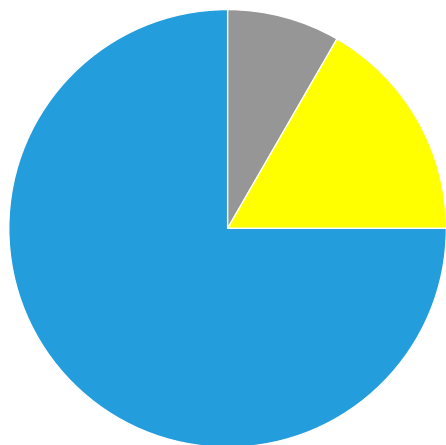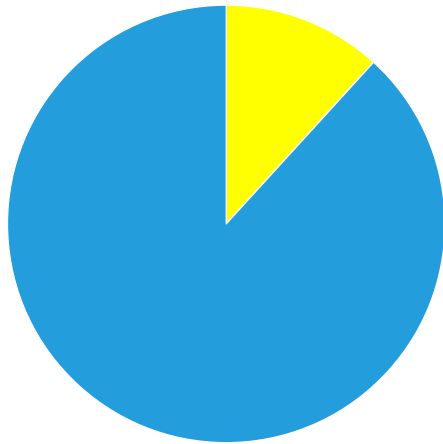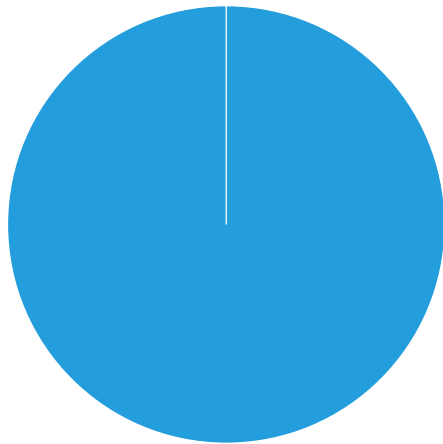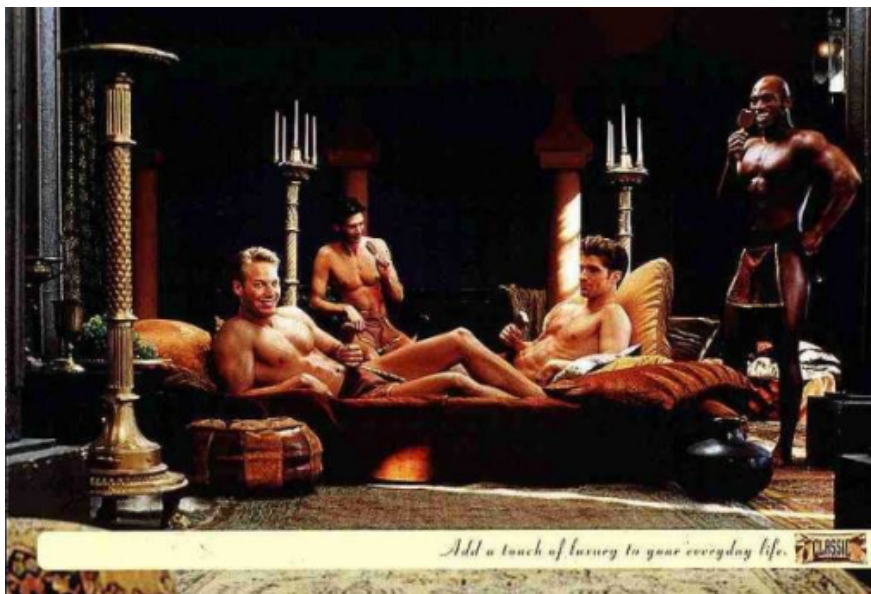Andrew Saunders. Personal interview. 21st March 2013, 142'

Chris Ryan. Personal interviews. 22nd May 2013, 125' and 8th July 2014, 40'

Will Awdry. Personal interview. 5th November 2013, 131'

Jon Steel. Telephone interview. 25th November 2013, 114'

Rory Sutherland. Telephone interview. 2nd December 2013, 125'

Matt Hind. Personal interview. 8th July 2014, 40' and email dated 1st November 2016

Rob Daly. Personal interview. Email dated 15th July 2014 and 26th January 2016, 61'

Chris Newton. Personal interview. 8th July 2014, 40' and email dated 18th July 2014

Martin Barraud. Personal interview. 8th July 2014, 40'

Justin Pumfrey. Personal interview. 8th July 2014, 40'

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Central Saint Martin's College Library (CSM), London (*The Sunday Times Magazine* 1979 to August 2001)

The News UK Archive, London (*The Sunday Times Magazine* August 2001 to end of 2009)

BT Archives, London (Communications, Publicity and Marketing Collection)

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