OBSSESSION WITH BRILLIANCE: 
MASCULINITIES AND CREATIVITY IN 
TRANSNATIONAL ADVERTISING 
AGENCIES.

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(June 2016)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 
Department of Gender and Cultural Studies, 
School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry, 
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, 
The University of Sydney.
DECLARATION

I declare that the substance of this thesis has not been submitted already for any degree, nor is it currently being submitted for another degree.

I certify that the intellectual content of this thesis is the product of my own work and that all the assistance received in preparing this thesis has been acknowledged.

I certify to the best of my knowledge that all sources of reference and their authors, wherever known, have been acknowledged in this body of work.

Signed:

Paul A.B. Priday

30 June 2016
There is unprecedented interest in the construction and practice of gender in the workplace. In men’s studies, transnational business as an institutional location is recognized as important for understanding masculinities. On average, eighty percent of the creative personnel in transnational advertising agencies are men. At the level of creative directors on average ninety percent are male. In this thesis I provide an empirically based description of how three cohorts of male advertising practitioners in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai construct and practice a style of creative masculinity that gives their identities legitimacy and authenticity. I contend that creative masculinity is not hegemonic but is a form of maverick masculinity indexed to creativity. My empirical research consists of ethnographic observation in the M&C Saatchi (Sydney), McCann (Sydney), McCann (Delhi), Ogilvy (Shanghai) advertising agencies and in-depth interviews with male advertising creatives, and the women who work in the same agencies – the latter provide alternative perspectives on male advertising creatives’ identities and practices. It becomes clear that the creative department is a hierarchical ‘men’s club’ that through masculine cultural capital sanctions masculine privilege whilst collapsing traditional notions of class. My analysis identifies advertising as an always already male gendered occupation that is an intensely aggressive and competitive workplace where fluid power relations are used to define the rules of the game and the importance of winning. There is a professional expectation for advertising creatives to consistently produce authentic and award-winning work. This study identifies the persistent and personal state of anxiety that accompanies male advertising creatives as they seek acceptance for their work alongside the conflicting experience of rejection. A close examination of the relationship between creative labour and creative product reveals the importance of the visible display of creative work and the public recognition and endorsement of it. The five chapters, Manspace, Manbrand, Manpower, Manxiety and Manmade, provide an in-depth analysis of advertising as an ‘obsession with brilliance’.
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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

## Advertising Agencies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BBH</td>
<td>Bartle Bogle Hegarty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDP</td>
<td>Collett Dickenson Pearce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DDB</td>
<td>Doyle Dane Bernbach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JWT</td>
<td>J. Walter Thompson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEB</td>
<td>Leo Burnett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCD</td>
<td>McCann, Delhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCS</td>
<td>McCann, Sydney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M&amp;CSS</td>
<td>M&amp;C Saatchi, Sydney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OGS</td>
<td>Ogilvy, Shanghai</td>
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## Advertising agency work titles:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Title</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AE</td>
<td>Account Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACD</td>
<td>Account Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACDA</td>
<td>Associate Creative Director – Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACDC</td>
<td>Associate Creative Director - Copywriting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD</td>
<td>Art Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>Broadcast Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Copywriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCO</td>
<td>Chief Creative Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDA</td>
<td>Creative Director – Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDC</td>
<td>Creative Director – Copywriting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCD</td>
<td>Digital Creative Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DE</td>
<td>Digital Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSP</td>
<td>Director Strategy Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EA</td>
<td>Executive Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECA</td>
<td>Executive Creative Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECD</td>
<td>Executive Creative Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GC</td>
<td>Global Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td>General Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOD</td>
<td>Head of Knowledge</td>
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<tr>
<td>MP</td>
<td>Managing Partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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<td>---------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Personal Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PM</td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRE</td>
<td>Public Relations Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCD</td>
<td>Regional Creative Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAD</td>
<td>Senior Art Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAM</td>
<td>Senior Account Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SBL</td>
<td>Senior Brand Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Senior Copywriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SP</td>
<td>Strategy Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>Trainee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRS</td>
<td>Talent Resources Specialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TVP</td>
<td>Television Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VP</td>
<td>Vice President</td>
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**General abbreviations:**

- **AWARD**: Australian Writers and Art Directors
- **D&AD**: Design and Art Direction (UK)
- **DCMS**: Department for Culture, Media and Sport (UK)
- **KPI**: Key Performance Indicator
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge with respect the Gadigal people of the Eora nation who are the traditional owners and custodians of the land where much of my study and writing of this thesis took place.

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If it takes a village to raise a child, it takes a department to produce a PhD. I am privileged to belong to the remarkable Department of Gender and Cultural Studies that is an intellectual and social home to its students and staff and where academic generosity is a cherished practice.

It has been a privilege to work with Professor Elspeth Probyn as my supervisor and I am deeply grateful for her continued interest in my project and encouragement to put both my head and my heart into my writing. Elspeth’s emotional support and intellectual clarity pushed me to do things I would never have thought I could and gave shape and purpose to my work. I also enjoyed the generosity and encouragement of my co-supervisor, Dr. Prudence Black who always gave me time when I needed it and guidance when I asked for it. I express my sincere thanks to this wonderful supervisory team.

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Finally, to my best beloveds, Margot and Polly. I would never have started down this path if Margot had not shown the way first and she remains my inspiration and my guide. Providing wisdom, calmness and a prod when needed, Margot has watched and encouraged every step of this journey. Polly remained interested, curious and supportive along the way. My best beloveds, thank you.
MANPLAN
(INTRODUCTION)

On 9 November 2015, the Australian advertising trade magazine, B&T, ran the front page feature headline: ‘Leo Burnett fires up creative department with five new hires.’ A successful and long established transnational advertising agency with a reputation for creativity, Leo Burnett was understandably keen to announce this major investment in their Sydney-based creative resource. Each of the new ‘hires’ came with an impressive individual record of creative achievement and numerous creative awards to prove it. The picture that accompanied the agency’s announcement shows the two executive creative directors together with their five new creative appointments in a contrived display of homosocial spontaneity. (See Figure 0.1) Within hours a storm of local and international criticism from social media rained down on Leo Burnett for perpetuating the stereotype that advertising creatives are all-white and all-male.
Leading the charge was ‘prominent British equality campaigner and advertising heavyweight’ Cindy Gallop, who posted on Twitter: ‘It’s 2015 ... what the f--- are u thinking?’ In a later piece covering the story, Kate Aubusson (2015) wrote; ‘There was something a little too uniform about Leo Burnett’s latest hires, and it wasn’t the stressed denim and casual footwear’. The agency management bunkered down for a few days before responding that ‘None of our latest hires were hired because of their specific gender, race or nationality; they were hired because they were the best.’ This comment about trying to position advertising within a gender-neutral system meritocracy merely highlighted the very problem Leo Burnett was trying to avoid - namely the suggestion that women are not as creative as men. In a final attempt to swing public opinion their way Leo Burnett, Sydney followed up by releasing statistics showing that females made up forty-five percent of the management team and fifty percent of the agency. Figures released by the Communication Council Salary Sydney (2015) showing the relative numbers of men and women in Australian advertising agency categories suggest the Leo Burnett photograph was not only a stereotype but also an accurate reflection of the gendered reality of the creative sector more generally (See Appendix 1).

On the first day of my fieldwork at M&C Saatchi, Sydney I asked Wyatt, one of the twelve all-male creative directors, how advertising had changed since the seventies. I was taken by surprise when he replied, ‘It’s still the same: the last of the gender divided industries.’

Back in the seventies, Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) published her classic study Men and Women of the Corporation that compared men and women in corporate life and documented the struggles facing the ‘tokens’ (women) working in the world of the ‘dominants’ (men). Despite this agenda-setting work, there has been a striking lack of comparative studies between men and women in advertising work locations since. Advertising studies tend to feature gendered representations of women as secondary to the men (Alvesson, 1998). Despite recognizing gender as a social construction that is reinforced and changed by everyday interactions, analysts have favoured a dualist approach opting to study one gender while positioning the other as the ‘singular oppositional category’ whose purpose is to signpost difference (McDowell, 1997, p. 238).
The focus of my study is men and masculinity and their role as cultural producers in the creative departments of transnational advertising agencies. It is a distinguishing feature of my study that my research participants are not only male advertising creatives but also the women who work with them. Significantly, the key findings are balanced and illuminated by the juxtaposed opinions and observations of these women. Hailey, a copywriter at M&C Saatchi, Sydney volunteered enthusiastically by declaring, ‘Any man questions, I’m up!’ In the transnational advertising agencies featured in my study, women today are not the ‘tokens’ identified by Kanter. However, although women account for more than fifty per cent of the staff in each of the agencies where I conducted my fieldwork, they do not qualify as ‘dominants’ because of relations of power and status that continue to privilege men. Despite change being the lifeblood of the advertising industry, gender relations continue to protect the status of men through the organized subordination of women.

The development of this thesis was influenced and informed by two things. First, the groundswell of concern about the lack of diversity and gender equality in the advertising workplace as reflected in the social media-storm outlined above. Second, a personal response to the popular American period drama Mad Men 2007-2015, featuring the lives and loves of advertising people in and around Madison Avenue in New York during the sixties which acted as a catalyst for me to reflect on the gendered relations that structured my working life. I have spent my career between 1965-2015 in advertising and transnational agencies and for the most part in the role of creative director. So, yes, I am the stereotypical advertising white male. (See Appendix 2 for details of transnational advertising as a powerful economic industry worldwide and in Australia, India and China.)

Through this study I hope to critique the relationship between creativity and masculinity in the transnational advertising industry. I was interested to return as a researcher to a creative workplace that I remember as generally inclusive and supportive but which, on reflection, clearly favoured men. As a beneficiary of what R.W. Connell (1995, pp. 135-160) has taught us to call the ‘patriarchal dividend’ my study invariably involves some degree of critical self-reflection alongside an empirically based description of how three cohorts of male advertising practitioners
in transnational advertising agencies in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai construct and perform a style of creative masculinity. My selected advertising agencies are not autonomous ‘little worlds’ in and of themselves existing in discrete spatial locations, but are linked between ‘cross-cut time frames and spatial zones’ (Marcus, 1998, p. 73). Across these advertising agencies I found that creative masculinity is not hegemonic but a form of maverick, individualistic masculinity that is indexed to creativity in a variety of ways. The three socio-cultural settings, Australia (Anglo), India (Indo) and Shanghai (Sino), were chosen to explore cultural differences and to explore the established perception that creativity in advertising is the province of the white male by opening that gendered proposition out to cultural difference.

**Looking behind the advertisement**

Since the 1960s there has been considerable interest in advertisements as socio-cultural records of change and historical texts. In *Understanding Media*, Marshall McLuhan, the early guru of media studies, insisted on the centrality of advertising to understanding culture:

> Historians and archeologists will one day discover that the ads of our time are the richest and most faithful reflections that any society ever made of its entire range of activities (McLuhan, 1964, p. 232).

However, McLuhan’s argument in support of advertising’s cultural centrality was rejected largely because advertising was viewed as an ongoing series of impermanent, interruptive expressions scheduled on behalf of commercial enterprises and therefore stained by the spectre of capitalism. A maverick ahead of his time, McLuhan alienated many of his academic colleagues in part because of his closeness to the advertising industry and his use of ‘the ad man’s vernacular and pithy one-liner’ (Uricchio, 2014, p. 105). A decade later when McLuhan (1964) pronounced emphatically that ‘Advertising is the greatest art form of the twentieth century’, he put on notice all disciplinary attempts to separate commerce and art. Today, McLuhan’s declarations seem remarkably prescient. Certainly, the study of advertising is common in business, sociology and cultural studies. Another important cultural theorist of the same period, Raymond Williams (2003 [1974]), also offered an alternative to the text-based approach to the study of culture, seeing technology as both a social institution and a cultural practice. Yet, what has
changed very little over the years is the critical preoccupation with advertising as a process of cultural production that proliferates across various media. What is still missing is any critical interest in the interactions and embodied experiences of the practitioners who create and produce advertising. Consequently this study differs from previous studies in advertising communication by proceeding via an ethnographic approach ‘marked by the centrality of people ... to the empirical and theoretical questions being posed’ (Ginsburg, 1994, p. 137).

I proceed on the presumption that in any ethnographic encounter there are two ‘others’ since both researcher and research participant are others to each. These ‘others’ are fully formed and pre-exist the ethnographic encounter that can be seen as a form of interruption to the continuing cultural processes of being and practicing. I set out to produce a personal account of reflections based on experiences that, in Paul Rabinow’s words, inevitably will be ‘altered by the alchemy of fieldwork’ (2007, p. 3). At the same time, I am careful not to be lulled into a false sense of security by believing that experiences in the field will immediately transform me into an ethnographer. Bruno Latour (1987) reminds us that ethnography is executed in the writing of it. However, before the writing comes the collecting and the collecting depends on access to my selected cultural sites.

My permission to re-enter the field as a researcher was granted on the basis of my credentials as a creative advertising practitioner. Simply put, I have traded symbolic capital for cultural access. Having made this trade I hope to emulate in some small way the achievement of Rabinow in conducting ‘fieldwork as an ethical experience and quest’ and through this claim my authority to speak (2007, p. 3). As a white Australian investigating Indian and Chinese sites, I am aware of my cultural privilege and status as an outsider. Edward Said (1979, p. 7) has described the ‘flexible positional authority, which puts the Westerner in a whole series of possible relationships with the Orient without ever losing him the relative upper hand’. In other words, I do not confuse my access to these sites with cultural parity. I am also aware of my responsibility to capture and express the way that power relations both connect and separate the participant observer and the observed. I share an enthusiasm with Rabinow (2007, p. xix) for recording and writing about the ‘ethnographic present’ and not ‘airbrushing out’ the nitty gritty material details.
present in the daily lives of my ethnographic participants which have both symbolic and cultural meanings. In particular, I highlight the complex role that consumer branded objects play in the personal and professional legitimation of male advertising creatives.

**The advertising shift from New York to London**

One of the reasons the field of advertising deserves examination is because it goes to the heart of modernity’s preoccupation with relations between centre and periphery. Advertising is the invention of nineteenth century American capitalism with its primary purpose being to generate consumer interest and create demand for the surplus of products generated by mass production. Export markets were developed for the first time in the west because production exceeded the consumption capacity of domestic markets (Galbraith, 1969; Parker, 2005). Modern advertising emerged in the United States at the conclusion of World War II and was firmly established by the 1960s. This period has been called advertising’s ‘Golden Age’ when the work practices and values established in the offices of transnational advertising agencies were those of the white male corporate executive (Cracknell, 2011). This style of corporate imperialism deployed a masculinity constructed around what Elspeth Probyn (1993, p. 61) calls ‘the unremarkable norm’, a hegemonic model that was imposed and readily adopted across numerous industries. America may have invented the modern world of advertising but more recently Britain has refined it as a creative enterprise. As Kishore Chakraborti, Vice President, Human Insight at McCann, Delhi tells me:

> Advertising is an Englishman’s profession so we [in India] are trying to be as good as them or whatever they are doing is the benchmark. We are trying to replicate that so in India the more you can follow that, if you’re English that’s good, if you follow the kind of ads. (Interview: #14 McCann, Delhi)

**The process of ethnography produces the ethnographer**

This thesis is the result of the process that turns ethnographic observation into text. Although my fieldwork was conducted during 2013 and 2014 in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai, really it has been half a century in the making because it is a combination of personal history and field ethnography that requires a particular explanation. I draw on memory, personal written accounts, documents and images from the time
I first walked through the doors of the J. Walter Thompson (JWT) advertising agency at 40 Berkeley Square in London in 1965. This was the start of my own lived experience in advertising as an office mail boy making four rounds each day interspersed with time spent sorting and preparing for the next. I was shown how to sort the mail into the order of the offices on the floor to which I had been assigned. On my first round, on my first day, I found myself standing outside a door at the end of a long corridor. From inside I could hear Lennon and McCartney singing, ‘We can work it out.’ I knocked on the door, entered a large office and looked around for the in and out trays. There were five men and a piano in this space. Two of them were copywriters who shared the same surname, Thomas. One was Llewellyn Thomas, the eldest son of the Welsh poet, Dylan Thomas. The other, Alan Thomas went on to became chairman of the agency. Two of the other men were Ken Done, an Australian art director who enjoys a commercially successful career as a painter and Derek Hansen, a New Zealand copywriter who is now a successful novelist. The fifth person was an English art director who I will describe in more detail in chapter five, ‘Manmade’.

From my teenage years it has continued to be my ambition to see if I could get paid to use my imagination as a strategy to find my way in the world. My career as a copywriter and creative director in transnational advertising has partially fulfilled this ambition. Working as a creative director is very demanding as you are called on constantly by clients, management, account service, creative suppliers and the creatives you put together to form your creative department. There is little time for reflection about what you are doing everyday. This thesis provides the opportunity to look more deeply into a world that has always fascinated me and in which I thrived almost without thinking.

Being here and being there

While memory is usually seen as the accumulation and recording of personal lived experiences, I have come to use my memory as a form of ongoing fieldwork and a resource that runs alongside my daily ethnographic encounters. I recognize the fragility of memories and the danger of taking them to be a record of truth rather than glimpses that twist and distort over time. I agree with Kirsten Hastrup (1992, p. 117) that ‘fieldwork is situated between autobiography and anthropology’
because of the way it connects personal lived experiences with ‘a general field of knowledge’. A prescient warning on conducting fieldwork comes from the pages of the nature writer, John Baker, ‘The hardest thing of all to see is what is really there … I do not believe that honest observation is enough. The emotions and behaviour of the watcher are also facts, and they must be truthfully recorded’ (cited in Macfarlane, 2015, p. 1).\(^3\) I acknowledge that personal experiences during the course of fieldwork, particularly encounters with others must be accepted as confrontational to the self. Alternatively, those encounters can be viewed as ‘acts of symbolic violence’ because the opinions and responses of others are sought out rather than volunteered (Rabinow, 2007, p. 129). But it is the social and cultural worlds that are experienced between the self and others that provide the richness of the fieldwork and the opportunity for interpretation to take place in that ‘liminal space of the cultural encounter’ (Hastrup, 1992, p. 121; Tedlock, 1983, p. 323). The research process is what Probyn (2011, p. 682) calls the ‘folding of the selves’ which involves ‘the self of me, the researcher, in relation to the selves’ of my research participants.

When I entered those agencies where I would conduct my research it was my intention to generate knowledge by turning observation into meaning. However, learning what lies hidden in any culture is not revealed simply by entering it (Clifford 1988, p. 67). This circularity of experience and influence was recognized by Bronislaw Malinowski (1967, p. 119) when he described how fieldwork leads the ethnographer to the discovery of unique aspects of the other, whilst at the same time revealing unique aspects of the self.

I entered as a named and known observer seeking interactions with unknown and unnamed participants. Because the ethnographer enters the field and embarks on a personal adventure that is enriched by dynamic interactions and participation with others, he is invariably engaged in the compilation of his own biography. The words of Prasoon Joshi, the Chief Executive Officer at McCann, India who invited me to conduct my research in the Delhi agency, are prescient: ‘If you aim to be authentic, you have to borrow from your life, and your experiences, that is the only way to ensure authenticity’ (Tiwari, 2014). In other words, the process of ethnography produces the ethnographer as subject.
Nevertheless, I concede that my thesis contains different kinds of research and research experiences. My fieldwork cannot be taken as following the traditional anthropological approach which relies on equal and extended periods of time in the field. The main body of my fieldwork is grounded in Sydney and was conducted over a two-year period. This is the cultural environment in which I live and with which I am familiar. My research experiences in Delhi and Shanghai I describe as visits, each of one month’s duration, in societies that are new to me. However, my familiarity with transnational advertising agencies, creative departments and the principles on which they operate helped ameliorate the temporal imbalance while keeping me alert to significantly new and different cultural dynamics. I am sensitive to what Clifford Geertz describes as a ‘postcard experience’:

“Being There” authorially, palpably on the page, is in any case as difficult a trick to bring off as “being there” personally, which after all demands at the minimum hardly more than a travel booking and permission to land (Geertz, 1988, p. 23).

As Geertz (1988, p. 130) also points out my time ‘being there’ in the cultural settings where I conducted my research, also earns me consideration for ‘being here’ in the academy, the place that gets my ‘ethnography read … published, reviewed, cited, taught’.

**Interpretation and presentation**

The interpretation of fieldwork ensures that my data is not merely a record of actions, events and speeches but part of a complex process of getting the lives of my participants into the form of research known as a dissertation. While this process involves selective editing, it also places a burden of authorship on the ethnographer to respect different cultural environments. I propose that a way of exercising this responsibility is to stand and be counted by employing the first person.

Personal autobiographical history is presented in the past tense to distinguish it from the ethnographic present, which is the appropriate temporal construct to preserve the reality of those dynamic encounters between the ethnographic self and the participating other and helps keep my participants’ interactions culturally crisp.
At its largest the field from which the autobiographical data is drawn and in which the ethnography takes place is the almost boundless world of transnational advertising. In the same way that a photograph captures and records a moment in time and space, an advertisement compresses the world into units of consumption that speak in many dimensions of possibility. For example, among all the glitter and tinsel that is a childhood Christmas memory of mine is the annual broadcast in which an animated fawn skips over snow-topped roofs to lower a case of Babycham down the chimney to the delight of the family gathered in celebration below. This thirty second, black and white, 1960s television commercial brings together cultural tradition and consumption in ways that still speak to the child I was and the advertising creative I became.

Ethnographic activity in the field

The detailed analysis that comprises the main body of this thesis is drawn from forty-nine recorded interviews conducted across Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai between 2013 and 2014. In addition, I conducted more than twenty-four follow-up conversations on site with research participants who allowed me to take notes. These conversations were impromptu and opportunistic in the sense that the research participants were sometimes called away on agency business such as client meetings and creative reviews. This meant that some of these conversations took place over several days as and when the research participant became available again. I use edited sections from these recordings and notes throughout the thesis to reinforce the main text but also to convey the language and character of the responses. The actual names of the agencies and their clients have been used but individual research participants have been given a pseudonym to respect and ensure their privacy in compliance with the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) approval for this project (See Appendix 3). Pseudonyms have been assigned to reflect cultural usage. All Australian and Chinese research participants use English first names so have been given alternative English names. All Indian research participants use Indian first names so have been given alternative Indian names. The names of key agency and industry leaders who were part of this study have been used with their permission. When I first introduce edited quotes from a research participant I spell out their agency and job title together with an interview code that also identifies their agency and job title. Further reference to a research
Within the advertising industry the word ‘creative’ has traditionally been used as an adjective to describe an individual or a role. To nominate or appoint a person into a creative role, such as a creative director, is to vest them with the power and capacity to create. In advertising, as this thesis demonstrates, the creative role has strong male connotations suggesting that a creative means being a person who competes with others by activating and challenging their creative utility. The process of creating means to bring into existence something new and, as a result, advertising practitioners are preoccupied with creativity as evidence of competitive performance and the ongoing production of newness. In Sean Nixon’s interview-based study of London advertising culture, he noted that ‘producing new and original work was the central goal of advertising creatives’ (2003, pp. 74-75). In this emphasis on originality, advertising creatives also draw attention to a long established division within the ranks of advertising practitioners between those wanting to be associated with work that challenges advertising convention and those who accept that creativity is restricted by commercial practice. Recently ‘creative’ has migrated from adjective to noun that is now applied specifically to people who work in the advertising and graphic industries. As a result, a ‘creative’ is a specialist who conducts creative labour in an advertising creative department.\(^5\) It follows that the role of a copywriter, art director or graphic designer will be described generically as ‘a creative.’ I will use the pronouns ‘his’ and ‘him’ when referring to the practices, opinions and attitudes of advertising creatives unless the comments are specifically attributed to women.
What to make of the creative industries?
Advertising sits, sometimes uncomfortably, between commerce, art and culture. Recently, advertising has been described as one of the ‘creative industries’. The idea of ‘creative industries’ is not new but is associated with Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno’s *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1944).\(^6\) In it they argue that mass media reduces popular culture to a range of mass produced, consumable products so that the creative industries, such as broadcast and print media, can promote the easy consumption of cultural pleasures thereby seducing the masses into ongoing states of passivity and compliance. As many commentators have since noted, this line of thinking appears to deny the notion of individual agency in the practice of consumption.

With obvious connections to mass media, advertising has become one of the dominant creative industries. For example, the UK government’s Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS) lists advertising as one of ‘those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property’ (DCMS, 2001, p. 4). This positions advertising as part of a reconciliation between economics and culture in what is called ‘convergence culture’ that prioritizes connections with the media industries and seeks to change ‘the relationship between existing technologies, industries, markets, genres and audiences’ (Jenkins, 2004, p. 33). According to David Hesmondhalgh, this reconciliation fails because it is more an ‘annexation of the latter [culture] by the former [economics]’ (cited in Turner, 2012, p. 106). There continues to be a fervent debate within cultural studies as to the status of the creative industries with its critics arguing that:

As a topic for vocational teaching there is a minimal engagement with any theoretical tradition, there is only a secondary interest in addressing academic educational objectives, and the focus is on the production of technical skills and capabilities rather than the generation of knowledge or the practices of analysis (Turner, 2011, p. 690).

For my purposes I acknowledge that advertising is an industry operating within wider economies, at the same time it is a cultural producer performing within cultures. The
terms of trade on which advertising operates are based on the capacity of an agency to provide artistic and conceptual skills practiced by certain people for the commercial benefit of profit-oriented enterprises (Soar, 1997, p. 7). Therefore, the term that I prefer to use in this thesis is ‘cultural producer’. Advertising as a form of cultural production within cultural coordinates sits comfortably with how my research participants understand what it is they do. As Graham Fink, the Chief Creative Officer of Ogilvy, Shanghai puts it, ‘[We] have to be very careful because we are a big part of culture. What we do is a part of culture.’

**Cultural influences outside the agencies**

In this comparative study I have looked for patterns of similarity and difference in my ethnographic data relating to forms of masculinity indexed to creativity in the Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai cultural sites where my research was conducted. Socio-cultural spaces such as management services and the creative department, have porous boundaries through which people and information pass backwards and forwards. Similarly, the boundary between each agency and the socio-economic environment where they are located is equally porous. I am led to argue that the advertising agencies in my study in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai are located in socio-cultural environments that are dominated by men and male institutions. This external male dominance influences the behaviours and creative labour taking place within agency creative departments. In support of this claim, I offer three brief, personal observations recorded during the time I was conducting my fieldwork.

In Sydney, when I step out of the front doors of the M&C Saatchi advertising agency, I find myself in the heart of the city’s corporate and financial business district. At lunchtime a stream of men, and a few women, dressed in t-shirts, caps, shorts and runners exit the corporate towers and set off on their lunchtime exercise. Thousands of men wearing corporate slogans and company logos run along the main shopping streets, through the food courts, across the parks, past the Sydney Opera House, round Circular Quay. An hour later they are back in their glass towers, seated in front of their computers and the city returns to a normal working mode. In a working world where physical demands on the male worker are in decline I read the public lunch hour workout as a demonstration of physical preparedness that is
on stand by. A daily gendered performance that marks the commercial boundaries of the public sphere as male by default.

In Delhi, every day, *The Hindustan Times* carries the **htcity** section that covers important social activities taking place in the capital. On 15 January 2014, the paper carried a full page pictorial devoted to ‘the wedding of politician Abhishek Manu Singhvi’s son.’ A parade of important businessmen and male politician’s, including the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, came to bless the couple. This wedding is clearly man’s business indicated by the noticeable absence of women. In fact, only two women are shown among the nineteen men: the bride and the wife of an elderly Sikh. (See Figure 0.2) Amrit Dhillon (2014) puts this in perspective when she describes India as ‘a country steeped in foetus-to-funeral patriarchy’.

In Shanghai, when I enquire about the relationship between the genders, Enzo, the cultural adviser to the Chief Creative Officer at Ogilvy, recommends I visit the marriage markets in the People’s Park. Before I go there, I discover according to China’s National Bureau of Statistics that as a result of the introduction of China’s one child policy in 1980 there are estimated to be twenty million more men than women aged under thirty years. This imbalance is primarily due to the cultural preference for male babies and the widespread abortion of female foetuses (Hong Fincher, 2014, pp. 1-13). It could be expected that this imbalance would establish a premium social value on young women, but the Chinese government legislates official policy supporting the maintenance of the patriarchal status quo. The following announcement was posted in March 2011 just after International Women’s Day on the official website of the All China Women’s Federation:

> Pretty girls don’t need a lot of education to marry into a rich and powerful family, but girls with an average or ugly appearance will find it difficult. These kinds of girls hope to further their education in order to increase their competitiveness. The tragedy is, they don’t realize that as women age, they are worth less and less, so by the time they get their MA or PhD, they are already old, like yellowed pearls (Hong Fincher, 2014, pp. 1-13).

When I arrive at the People’s Park I find the marriage market and witness hundreds of parents displaying printed sheets on umbrellas arranged along the pathways summarizing the marriageability of their child. These are like standardized CVs
A POWERFUL WEDDING AFFAIR

Figure 0.2

Full page pictorial coverage of "the wedding of politician Abhishek Manu Singhvi's son." The language and presentation positions this as a male event. There are nineteen men featured in the pictures, but only two women, one of whom is the bride. The picture captions emphasise the manliness of the men in a socio-political setting that is clearly portrayed as men's business. For example: Man in Focus, Eye to Eye, Power Pair.
showing their child’s age, educational status and the parent’s contact details. If their child has studied overseas the flag of that country is included on the sheet. (See Figure 0.3) Only parents are present in the marriage market, their progeny are nowhere to be seen. Because of the population’s gender imbalance, I expected to see parents trying to marry off a surplus of sons but instead I estimate that ninety percent of the notices are looking for suitable husbands for their daughters.

Figure 0.3
Above: The marriage market in the People’s Park, Shanghai. Parents sit behind open umbrellas on which they present a summary of their child’s marriesability. This includes age, career and educational status together with contact details. The young people for whom their parents are trying to find marriage partners are not present at this stage of negotiations.

Right: The national flags indicate that the young person has gained tertiary qualifications by studying in that particular country.

Photography by Paul Friddy.
Obsession with brilliance

The thesis features five chapters that build a picture of the daily lives of male advertising creatives. In chapter one, Manspace, I return to the always already male gendered space that is the advertising agency in 1960s London. This is a hierarchical social structure run by men for the benefit of men. The women provide a decorative front while running the organizational systems and providing support services. Strategically located in public places like receptions, the decorative female provides emotional labour that emphasizes the difference between the glamour of the agency and a mundane office. Women in agencies at this time are largely Kantor’s ‘tokens’, subordinated to the male hierarchy. However, the role of the decorative female continues in current advertising agencies in ways that are identified through Erving Goffman’s dramaturgical sociology (1973).

Also, in this chapter I identify the creative department as the central space within the transnational advertising agency, in terms of function and power. This is the realm of the familiar other where symbolic demarcations such as dress and entertainment facilities identify the creative department as a space where the creatives work and play in spatial proximity to each other. Female creatives, like Hailey, a copywriter at M&C Saatchi, Sydney, refer to the creative department and advertising as a ‘“boy’s club” kind of industry.’ This is an appropriate metaphor since rank and compliance are strictly adhered to within organizational structures that explicitly or tacitly sanction particular behaviours. I introduce Mikhail Bakhtin’s (1984) theory of carnival as a way of understanding the creative ‘boy’s club’. This helps identify the creative department as a socio-cultural space where the construction and practice of a maverick masculinity is sanctioned and encouraged. Unlike the temporal restrictions that bookend a carnival, there are no time limitations placed on creative masculinity.

I present detailed descriptions of the physical spaces of the agencies in order to show how account service and creatives occupy liminal spaces between clients, each other and consumers. Michel Foucault (1979, 1986) has written extensively on issues of spatiality and I draw on his work to help understand various functions and applications of space. For example, how agency management uses panoptic surveillance of the creative department to gauge its productivity and to keep an
eye on what can be a volatile and unpredictable creative resource. This observation shows how the creative department collapses conventional class distinctions because it contains a mélange of creative talent selected regardless of different class categories. The chapter concludes by applying Foucault’s notion of heterotopic space to position the advertising agency creative department as an after 1990, post-web heterotopia of possibility.

In chapter two, Manbrand, I look at the construction of individual identity and the self-management of creative masculinity within what I refer to as a ‘creative habitus.’ Advertising creatives spend much of their time developing and managing their clients’ brands. At the same time creative practitioners adopt similar principles in managing their professional and personal identities. The management of their personal brand becomes an on-going personal project. I show how creative masculinity has changed over time and how this is reflected in the creative product. I argue that the new creativity in advertising, referred to earlier as the ‘Golden Age’, emerges from the west in the postwar period when a younger generation takes action to rebel against what they see as a predictable social order by demanding social change. Rejecting the idea of returning to pre-war social values and hierarchies, young people looked for newness and difference in areas like music, fashion, film and politics and advertising.

What emerged from this period in advertising is referred to as the ‘new creativity’, a style and approach that recognized creativity as a valuable resource to be exploited in support of the capitalist enterprise. A new wave of boutique agencies, such as Collett Dickenson Pearce (CDP) in London, broke away from the American transnational agencies to champion the ‘new creativity.’ From these boutique agencies a new generation of male creatives emerged, producing work that broke away from the idea of advertising as repetitive announcements to embrace a new approach seeing advertising as consumer engagement. These new players, identified as advertising creatives, built reputations and profiles based on the work they produced. These self-nominated creatives started industry organizations dedicated to the evaluation of creativity in advertising such as Design and Art Direction (D&AD) in London and Australian Writers and Art Directors (AWARD) in Australia. The sole purpose of these annual festivals was to judge and reward
standards of creative excellence. They had the effect of creating another ‘boy’s club’, outside the advertising agency and even more elitist. Here, membership is restricted to creatives who produce award-winning work only. As a result, the advertising ‘manbrand’ became synonymous with a creative identity and reputation that was linked to creative success. It was an egalitarian process with advertising creatives coming from different backgrounds, races, classes and cultures. Significantly, the creative product changed with the use of humour and pathos to create emotional touch points. Advertising was no longer judged solely on the dry and pragmatic communication of consumer benefits. Brands started to be talked about as having personalities and character. As established and newly emerging economies grew, this kind of advertising became the dominant form and was reflected in increased media and advertising budgets in many sectors.

The chapter moves from this historical perspective of individual creative identity to an examination of the ‘manbrands’ I encountered during my fieldwork in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai. Conducting a comparative study across three different cultural settings alerted me to see creative identity as a hybrid made up of ubiquitous transnational advertising melded with local cultural influences. These identities are also influenced by the socio-economic circumstances in each cultural setting. For example, in India, employment in advertising is very fluid and not as well paid as a decade ago. My research participants are looking for creative recognition so they can move to another agency as a way to get a higher salary. Looking at how different ‘manbrands’ are constructed and practiced in these different cultural settings contributes to my understanding of the way creative identities are managed.

In chapter three, Manpower, I look at the power relations and power games played out in agency ‘manspace’. I draw on Foucault’s (1980) theory of power that starts at the bottom of social structure to identify the dynamic and competitive activities that take place within these transnational advertising agencies. Re-entering the field of advertising as the familiar other it was as if the process of ethnography was rendering visible possibilities and desires that had previously been only partly visible to me. In Australia, India and China creativity has been identified as the new resources boom of the entrepreneurial economy. This relates to the intensity of the
ongoing, aggressive competition that takes place in creative departments. However, the value of creativity in the advertising economy has underpinned the terms of trade since the rise of the the ‘new creativity’ in the sixties.

I analyse the ‘manpower’ games that preserve and privilege male creatives despite there being more women than men in the agencies I have researched. The numbers have changed since account service departments have become female domains. I argue it is ‘manpower’ that positions masculinity as the default position for advertising creativity. This appears to be recognized by women rather than challenged and I note various strategies that female creatives adopt to work within a regime that systematically devalues their contribution.

I then draw on Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, a system of dispositions, to show how creativity is confidently embodied within the space of the ‘boy’s club’ and curiously, how insecurity becomes apparent when creatives move outside the comfort zone of the creative department. Creative ‘manpower’ is reinforced through language and I look at the use of military terms used by creatives to describe their world and what they do. This is a style of language used to construct the ‘boy’s club’ space in ways that privileges men and tolerates women. I use comments from female creatives to draw attention to the public displays of dominance and self-worth that some male creatives exhibit. The creative dress code is an important part of the ‘manpower’ game used to emphasize separateness from conventional forms of business attire.

The chapter concludes by examining the ‘power of the pitch.’ Pitching for new business is an ongoing, dynamic and critical process. The creative and financial health of an agency depends on being successful at winning new accounts. The ‘pitch’ is the crucible where competing creative ideas are put up against each other. The best creatives are put on to new business pitches so the internal competition to work on these projects is intense and carries high prestige. The pitching process can take months to prepare and months to decide and the implications for winning and losing accounts are considerable. Pitching is a key ‘manpower’ game with high levels of expectation and anxiety.
In chapter four, *Manxiety*, I look at how the working environment impacts on the creative worker. I use the term ‘*manxiety*’ to describe an ongoing state that accompanies the male creative as he goes about his everyday working life. I argue that although anxiety is not an affect, according to the complex web of human emotions categorized by Silvan Tomkins, it is a close relation. However, a key point of difference is that ‘*manxiety*’ has some positive aspects by placing the creative worker on notice that they are expected to meet high standards of creative originality and authenticity. ‘*Manxiety*’ is a constant because in the advertising environment winning is everything. Male creatives express concerns about having sufficient resilience and capacity to keep coming up with new ideas. This is most obvious when my research participants discuss the importance of industry awards for creativity that are points of reference for creative excellence. The benefits of becoming an award-winning creative are considerable. Apart from the prestige and status of being recognized within the agency and throughout the industry as someone capable of producing original work, there can be financial benefits. An award-winning creative can expect to receive offers from other agencies and counter offers from his current agency. Award-winning creatives are the nuclei around which agency management build their creative departments and will attract young talent to work there.

The agencies in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai all display their awards prominently in their creative departments. They serve as points of reference for creative success as well as visual incentives to achieve. However, for some creatives, whose work fail to win or is not entered into the award festivals, they symbolize failure and frustration. This leads to awards creating a division between the winners and those who feel their creative ranking is falling behind. The industry remains divided as to the value of awards with many clients arguing that advertising success can only be measured in sales or brand recall.

In this chapter I draw on the work of Lauren Berlant (2006) to try and understand the mutually dependent relationship between advertising awards and ‘*manxiety*’. The creative process is underpinned with optimism that can be interpreted as an attachment or a relational dynamic connecting the individual to a desired outcome. This forms conditions of possibility, one of which is to create award-
winning creative work that generates individual rewards and benefits. Optimism acts to keep the conditions of possibility open even in the face of overwhelming odds against success. Berlant (2011) refers to this state of precarity as ‘cruel optimism’ because what is desired lies beyond the control of the person desiring it.

As my participants demonstrate, advertising creatives compensate for the risk of failing to win awards by relying on their professional competence to produce creative products that meet commercial objectives. I refer to this alternative strategy as implementing affective risk management. ‘Manxiety’ creates tension between men and women in advertising. Female managers and account service executives adopt strategies to handle creative male egos when their work gets rejected and the notion of rejection varies according to different cultural settings. Attitudes to advertising divide over the question of its socio-economic importance. For the ambitious male creative who is chasing individual recognition through awards and professional performance, advertising is a serious business that communicates social benefits. For those who are not chasing awards, advertising is a nice way to earn a living but is comparatively unimportant. In Sydney, the hardened career professionals like to emphasise how physically hard the work is because it is conducted under constant pressure to meet deadlines. Hardness and toughness become the criteria for another level of exclusivity within the ‘boy’s club’. This contrasts with Shanghai, where creatives express loyalty to their extended teams and success and rejection are shared and seen as a collective strategy to keep face.

Chapter five, Manmade, concludes the main body of the thesis and focuses on the relationship between male advertising creatives and their creative product. For many of these men their relationship with advertising changes across their career from an exciting, glamorous occupation to a relentless and demanding preoccupation that is the ‘obsession with brilliance’ that titles this thesis. I take a micro approach to examine the intimate relationship between the creative and what he produces. To action this approach, I asked the most senior male creatives at M&C Saatchi, McCann Delhi and Ogilvy Shanghai to nominate examples of creative work that demonstrates their agency’s creative ability. As a result, I detail and analyse five creative case histories and comment on the significance of the
different cultural settings where the work is produced. During this chapter I note two significant changes that have taken place in advertising over the past decade. The first is the development of communication technology that has added different media channels of which the most significant is social media. This means that advertising creativity can now expand beyond the limitations of print, radio and television. The second is the decline of verbal communication as advertising enters what Joanne Finkelstein (2007, p. 219) call an ‘era of dense visuality’. I point out that this marks a change in the power relationship in creative teams between copywriting and art direction. I go on to draw out the significance of the rise of the art director and continue to look at the question of creative work as hard and soft labour. This analysis leads to looking at the creative as cultural producer, craftsman and perceptions of the cultural and artistic merit of his creative product. The chapter concludes by revealing the fundamental importance to male creatives of the visibility of their work and the response to it by consumers, colleagues, family and friends that rewards the emotional investment they have in their creative product. In this way, visibility of the work leads to the recognition and visibility of the creator.

The thesis now moves into the main chapters where personal history, ethnographic observations and fieldwork data are analysed and interpreted. The first step is to enter the socio-cultural space which locates the masculinities and creativity that are the focus of this study.
Young men in bow ties and suede shoes stride through the corridors, pretty, confident secretaries sit talking in clusters (pretty girls are very important for impressing the clients) ... Words like ‘creative’, ‘emote’, ‘subconscious’ are bandied about like merchandise. Even the notice boards have an extravagant theatrical atmosphere: ‘Dear Art Department, just to thank you for my lovely lovely rug’ (Sampson, 1962, pp. 586-587).

It was when I read these pages in Anthony Sampson’s *Anatomy of Britain* that I first learned of a workplace called an advertising agency. It was a light bulb moment for someone who had just left school and was desperate to avoid a life of perceived drudgery in an office. The advertising agency was the workplace I wanted to be in and this became a reality a few months later. It was 1965 and on day one, I opened the glass doors and entered the sleek, travertine-tiled reception of JWT in Berkeley Square, London. I was eager to be part of this very different workplace: the agency.

When people who work in advertising refer to ‘the agency’ they identify a world of difference by indicating what it is not, just as much as what it is. An agency is not an office and, strictly speaking, it is no longer an agency in the sense of representing and providing the services of another organization as it did once when selling space in newspapers and magazines.

**A place of genders and a gendered place**

It is clear to me now that when I stepped inside the agency to start my advertising career I did not enter a gender-neutral zone but an always already gendered workplace that I call a ‘manspace’. As a humble mail boy - there were no mail girls - in this hierarchical institution I had no social power or participatory status but enjoyed unrivalled access to everyone and every place in the agency. Crossing every departmental boundary, entering every office, picking up and delivering memos, documents and mail I got to know every occupant and learn what they
did. I was not disappointed by what I had read in Sampson’s book. There were
indeed young men in bow ties; copywriters who were English literature graduates
from Oxbridge, channeling Oscar Wilde and smoking aromatic tobaccos in
handmade, delicately curved meerschaum pipes whilst composing flowery
headlines championing the benefits of Britain’s biggest fast moving consumer
goods. Art directors, who learned their creative skills at the Royal College of Art or
Slade School of Fine Art and protected them with a precocious, anti-capitalist
belligerence suggesting that ‘creativity was simply the force that people who
made rules disapproved of’ (Garfield, 2010, p. 263).2 The few women in the creative
department were like lone she-wolves; smoking Sobranie Black Russian cigarettes;
sporting severe Vidal Sassoon five-point haircuts; wearing black Mary Quant outfits
with miniskirts; sashaying along the corridors with handmade leather bags casually
slung over their shoulders, emitting a breathy, vowel-extended, ‘Daaaaarling!’ to all and sundry - including the mail boy.

In the account service department, which manages the business relationship with
the agency’s clients, representatives boasted pedigrees stamped Eton or Harrow,
double-barrelled surnames, commissions from a regiment of guards and accounts
with bespoke tailors in Savile Row. This was network central, where that very ‘English
bourgeois culture, with its powerful educational, literary and social institutions, in
close contact with the actual centres of power’ prioritised luncheon appointments
ahead of producing advertising (Williams, [1958] 1989, pp. 3-14). And, as Sampson
correctly observed, pretty, slightly frosty, decorative debutantes, who went to
finishing school, were stationed in the receptions to purr, seductively the names of
the clients when they visited the agency. Today, the value of the decorative female
continues, as Wyatt, a creative director at M&C Saatchi, Sydney tells me, ‘There’s
nothing wrong with a pretty face in a meeting.’

Even today, physical appearance has strategic value for women to gain the
attention of male creatives and get work done when there are pressing deadlines
as Anushka, a Senior Account Director at McCann, Delhi, explains:

Women I feel can actually have ... an advantage. Who’s going to say no to
[a] pretty girl? So you can use it to your advantage if you want.

(Interview: #14 McCann, Delhi)
In this case the ‘pretty girl’ has been used to advantage but it is not always the case. Girija, the executive assistant to the General Manager in Delhi, tells me that girls will come to her in tears upset by male attitudes to women in the agency.

According to R.W. Connell (2005) this is an example of male dominance as a practice operating within an always already gendered space and consequently an expression of the subordination of women. On the other hand, the presentation of the ‘pretty face’ at a meeting can be seen as an act of compliance and acceptance of male domination within the advertising agency ‘manspace’, but one that is open to further male interpretation as Leslie McCall (1992, p. 846) writes:

An attractive woman who must interact with men at work may be perceived by heterosexual men as a distraction at best, incompetent at worst, or even a potential legal threat if she were to charge sexual harassment or sex discrimination.

In addition to the Sobranie smokers, there were women who ran things, women who got things done and women who kept things on track. Bluestocking graduates from Cambridge who were pioneering market research methodologies and establishing the new discipline of strategy and planning. Tough negotiators in the media department, doing deals with television networks. Bespectacled and bookish women in the information and records library quietly cutting and compiling news clippings into guard books based on the Dewey Decimal System that contained media articles about the agency’s clients, their competitors and relevant legislative changes. Goffman ([1959] 1973) himself could have caste these women in various roles applying his dramaturgical sociology. It seemed to me the Sobranie smokers were conscious of their theatrical, King’s Road femininities, performed for the benefit of the male gaze. I noted the ritualized subordination of the receptionists, meeting and greeting within the male gendered power structure. Also, the licensed withdrawal of the librarians, sanctioned by the protection of the always already male gendered agency.

Physically divided by floors, partitions, offices and departments, the agency was also socially and culturally divided by gender, class and power. And, the greatest concentration of power rested in the creative department, the nucleus of the
agency, drawing on support resources from all the other departments. It was a master and servant relationship. Internal departments such as account service, art buying, print and television production coordinating the outside specialists such as film directors, photographers, illustrators, casting agents, recording studios, composers all in support of the creative enterprise. A network of incompatible spaces and functions made compatible by the creative ideas generated from the creative department.

The agency was unmistakably a homosocial male parade ground located in public space: an organization that was clearly hierarchical and mirrored English social structure. The chairman and directors were men. The heads of all the departments were men. The client representatives included three male sitting members of parliament. The 11th Earl of Portland was one of the all-male television producers. Finally, at the bottom of the hierarchy were the mail boys. This was not an office; this was an agency.

**Inside the advertising creative department**

In all the informal discussions and formal interviews I conduct in my fieldwork in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai I ask my male and female research participants what gender would they ascribe to advertising. The answer, mostly immediate and always emphatic, is the same, every time: male. For example, in Shanghai I approach Allison, a Creative Director with a background in design and art direction. Originally from Singapore, Allison has been in Shanghai for twelve years and heads a creative group with a reputation for ‘doing the hip, young, up-to-date, teen stuff.’ Allison has purple streaked hair, hand tattoos, punk style jewellery and is wearing a T-shirt, shorts and full length black and white, spotted, rubber Wellington boots. Allison’s five-month old black poodle, Chewy, accompanies her to the agency and lies under her desk on a special cushion. With a strong creative reputation and unique personal style, Allison stands out in the Shanghai ‘manspace’ and answers my gender question without hesitation:

> Male. All over the world ... every time we have one of those creative gatherings, or meetings or forums or whatever, you know strangely you just see men. I mean literally most of them are men ... I mean we have photo sessions and it’s always men, men, men, men, men. (Interview: #2 Ogilvy, Shanghai)
In the office of Chakraborti (McCD/VP), I observe three framed photographs featuring the delegates who attended annual company conferences. In one of these, thirty people (twenty-six men and four women) are arranged like a sports team in a graphic representation of hierarchical status and power. Standing at the back is a row of male delegates. Sitting on chairs in the middle row are the senior men. Then, sitting on the ground in the front are the four women holding a banner announcing the next conference that reads: McCann Next Meeting in Goa.

Although senior management agrees that advertising is gendered male, there is often a pause before answering that is then followed up with a qualification to emphasize that their agency is a safe and supportive workplace where people of non-normative sexual preferences enjoy the benevolent protection of senior, heterosexual males. Tom McFarlane, one of the two ‘Toms’ who founded M&C Saatchi in Australia, explains:

I’d like to say its transgender [used in the sense of including all genders] but it’s male. I’m not being flippant but it's a fantastic industry for gay men and women as well in terms of non-judgmental, non-violence work.

(Interview: #5 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Individual sexuality has not been a central issue in advertising agencies, where the primary concern is to identify people with creative talent and strategic capabilities irrespective of their sexual preferences. All my research participants confirm the gendered default position for organized advertising work has been, and continues to be male. The side effect of male dominance in the workplace is the male position is hardly ever questioned; it is taken for granted. The re-examination and renegotiation of power relations and the source from which men draw their ‘patriarchal dividends’ does not serve the interests of the dominant males who benefit from them (Connell, 1995, pp. 135-160; Connell and Wood, 2005, pp. 347-363). By avoiding examination, any organization continues to be theorized as a gender-neutral space that social actors enter, behave and interact. This male-centric model is built around the premise that it is men who engage in ongoing, permanent, full-time, waged work carried out in the public sphere. Because male dominance in many work places continues to be the accepted norm, masculinity is largely invisible but still dominant, resulting in the marginalization of women. Linda
McDowell (1997, p. 28) writes how male dominance at work explains how women are ‘othered in the workplace’. Male dominance requires dynamic interactions between institutional structures and individual agency to construct what Connell calls hegemonic masculinity, which is generally agreed to represent the exemplary and culturally appropriate version of masculinity at a particular time and place. As Connell (2005, p. 29) writes:

Definitions of masculinity are deeply enmeshed in the history of institutions and of economic structures. Masculinity is ... extended in the world, merged in organized social relations. To understand masculinity historically we must study changes in those social relations.

Full-time, long-term, waged employment is the Fordist foundation on which male dominance in the workplace is built, but it was short-lived and fanciful, lasting for only three decades between 1945 and 1975 (McDowell, 1997, p. 14). In advertising, the 1960s heralded what is referred to as the creative revolution and marks the start of advertising’s ‘Golden Age’ that is the focus of Andrew Cracknell’s intriguing history, The Real Mad Men (2011), where the author identifies the all male, ‘handful of renegades’, who changed advertising forever.3

Jeremy Rifkin (1996) points out that work has always been, and will continue to be, even for the majority, irregular and uncertain which helps account for the impact of increasingly flexible, casualized and feminized work. Whilst the history of employment in advertising supports Rifkin’s claim, my research suggests an important change has taken place so that instead of employment being determined by the employer, it is increasingly determined by the employee. By this I mean that men plan their advertising careers using agencies as short-term stepping stones rather than looking to them as places of long-term employment. This suggests that self loyalty is prioritized over the idea of company loyalty and it is masculine cultural capital and its exchange value that allows them the self-assurance necessary to do this. Harsha, was receiving career-planning advice from his peers only six months after completing his MBA and starting his first job in advertising as a Project Manager in McCann, Delhi:

They do say ... you only have a short span in an advertising agency, urging me to keep on job switching. If you’re here because there is no upgrade
promotions coming so soon in advertising agencies, so what they say, you need to be in the company for a year and a half. You will resign as a Project Manager, join some other agency as a Senior Project Manager, be there for a while, you understand. So you need to switch to get the designations.

(Interview: #5 McCann, Delhi)

The organization of commercial life in the new cultural economy, of which advertising is an important part, is complex and involves a transnational world where meanings and symbols flow through networks of ‘connectivity and interactivity’ and across borders and boundaries. Rifkin (2000, p. 138) draws on Karl Marx’s ([1844] 1975) famous phrase in summarizing this complexity as one that appears ‘murky and everything that is solid begins to melt.’

It took feminist writers such as Jeff Hearn and Wendy Parkin (1987), Rosemary Pringle (1989) and Joan Acker (1990), to challenge the gender neutrality of workspaces, instead seeing them as embedded with gendered meaning and structured by the ongoing gendered interactions that take place there. The idea that workspaces are always already gendered through historical and continuing gender practices puts the spotlight on male domination and the privileges men enjoy from their patriarchal dividends. I come to learn that men appear gender blind to their social domination and privileges as Bourdieu (2001) discovered in his ethnography with the Kabyle tribe in northern Algeria where masculine domination is so deeply entrenched in social practice and the unconscious that its existence is obscured.

**Entering cultural sites in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai**

My personal advertising history not only gained me entry, but also accelerated my acceptance by the men and women in the agencies where I conducted my fieldwork. By comparison, Sean Nixon (2003, p. 113), who has written extensively on advertising, records his difficulty in getting research participants to comment on gender relationships within the creative departments in those London agencies where he conducted interviews. This could reflect changes in the industry as well as a reluctance to open up to outsiders. I was able to be present and participate in daily agency activities such as meetings, reviews and presentations both within and outside working hours. But I was looking to discover more about the creative advertising space and the males who occupy it than I learned through all my years...
working in the industry. I wanted to establish a more intimate, subjective and ethnographical understanding of this culture rather than providing a distant and purely theoretical account. To achieve this, I had to re-enter the agency ‘manspace’ where I had once been an insider. Only this time, as I opened the glass doors, I entered the world of the familiar other, that space where the ethnographer shifts between the familiar and the unfamiliar looking to identify and make sense of distinctions and differences. I reminded myself that becoming a participant observer requires me to join the three agency communities so the social interactions in which I take part, the conversations I have, the questions I ask and what I observe become the fieldwork that leads to ethnography. I was aware that my thesis contains different kinds of research and research experiences because of the varying lengths of time I was able to spend in my three cultural settings. However, these periods were of sufficient length so I could appreciate the values and practices that characterize each setting, while allowing me to share the lives of the people I was observing and converse with them on their own terms (Gellner and Hirsch, 2001, p. 1).

The English influence is well established in Sydney advertising where many senior creative men are from England or have spent time in London agencies. Young creative teams are quite open about their ambitions to work in London and regard this as a rite of professional passage that will elevate their status and symbolic capital from a local to transnational standing. In Shanghai, the reference point for creative standards is London and international success at the Cannes Lions awards confirms international recognition and reputation. Graham Fink, Chief Creative Officer, Ogilvy, China enjoys an international reputation that was established in London where he became in 1996 the youngest President of the prestigious D&AD. Shortly after his arrival in Shanghai, Fink led a team of young Chinese male creatives to win the Grand Prix award for outdoor advertising at the 2012 Cannes Lions.

Having established the advertising creative department as an always already gendered ‘manspace’, I will now take the reader into this space in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai before analysing similarities and differences across these three cultural sites.
McCann, Sydney.

The agency is located in Royal Naval House, a nineteenth century building in the heritage area of Sydney known as The Rocks. The agency is going through a rebuilding stage to re-establish its creative reputation as well as lost market share. The entrance is off a laneway, through sliding glass doors and down a gently sloping steel floor through a fluro-light tube with the dimensions of a subway tunnel. It feels like a Dr. Who set and leads to the reception. When I arrive the British performer Adele is singing ‘Someone Like You’ on a large television screen. Victoria, the General Manager, meets me and escorts me up the stairs to the agency and shows me to a desk in the creative department. She takes me to an all staff area where regular Monday status meetings are held. About twenty-five people are gathered here and I estimate the average age to be under thirty with a gender ratio of approximately sixty per cent female and forty per cent male. The room is a communal chill-out space with a pool table and a large fridge stocked with Coca-Cola soft drinks and mineral waters. Coca-Cola is a long-standing international client of this agency. I receive a warm welcome and several staff members volunteer to be interviewed.

The offices are open-plan and divided into the creative, account service, planning and strategy departments that spread round the central glass walled offices occupied by management and heads of departments. A separate and specialized creative team works on healthcare brands. The fit-out is a hybrid style dictated by the requirements of heritage protection. Air-conditioning ducts and strip-light fittings are picked out in bold, primary colours that stand out from the Victorian interior. One meeting space is raised up from the main floor by a few steps and has bright yellow walls and is called The Dump Bin because it shares the same colours and dimensions as industrial bins found outside construction sites. The agency credo, ‘Truth Well Told’ is displayed as a large circular graphic on the wall behind a Foosball table. (See Figure 1.1)

As the staff arrive they go straight to their desks to switch on their large screen Apple computers. As these boot-up they go to the refreshment centre returning with coffee, tea or water to kick start the day. My spot on the end of a long, unpartitioned desk is alongside a junior creative team comprising a male copywriter.
and female art director both in their first jobs in advertising. I remain at my desk allowing the group to get used to my presence while I observe the human traffic patterns and take notes. There are quiet enquiries and exchanges between people about their social activities. It is not until mid-day that energy levels rise and I hear a loud, ‘Shit, fuck!’ that I know I am in the creative department of an advertising agency.

When creative and account service discuss and review their ideas they move away from their desks and into various chill-out zones. Here, the men drape themselves over the seats or stretch out on the sofas while the women sit upright, alert and attentive. The men get up and wander about, but the women remain at their computers and only leave for a specific purpose. In this way the men mark their territory, coming across as owner-occupiers of the creative space, asserting their power advantage over the women who present as ‘other’ and accepted as visitors. There is a nervous and ongoing tension in the agency that signals the determination and intensity of the management and senior staff to rebuild their agency.

M&C Saatchi, Sydney

The agency was started in Australia in 1996 by Tom McFarlane, a creative director and Tom Dery, a managing director who had worked together at Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB). Like most agency beginnings it was a humble and risky start operating from a hotel room. Eighteen years later M&C Saatchi is one of the largest and most successful agencies in Australia. The head office in Sydney is located in a beautiful 1930s art deco heritage building in Macquarie Street that was formerly a retail bank. (See Figure 1.2) The entrance is marked by high metal doors designed to convey a sense of security and solidarity. The interior features marble floors and tiled walls in cream and brown tones creating a warm glow that continues up to high ceilings. In the reception area the name of the agency is displayed in bold, black letters, half a meter high on the wall behind the reception desk. This is a typeface with testosterone called Grotesque 9, that is ‘straightforward and manly’ with each letter a ‘strong and unmistakable symbol’ (Garfield, 2010, p. 118). The same bold type spells out the agency credo, ‘Brutal Simplicity of Thought’. (See Figure 1.1)
The young woman behind the glass-topped desk is not a receptionist, but a concierge, partly hidden behind her large Apple desktop computer and a vase of long-stemmed lilies. I am expected and given an all-access security card so my privileged status as a member of the advertising community allows me to go anywhere in the agency at anytime. I am also given a printed map of the agency titled: ‘Where the f#@! is everyone?’ I find the creative department on level three just beyond ‘Creative Workflow’ and opposite ‘Digital Design and Development’. Opposite the concierge and across the corridor is the agency café. This is a large space with high, curved benches and leather upholstered bar stools. The agency’s current television commercials and web content are projected in a constant loop onto the wall opposite the entrance. A range of current magazines and newspapers are available from a rack on the wall. At the far end of the café is a fully equipped kitchen with a wide stainless steel counter on which is displayed the daily menu of foods and snacks prepared by fulltime chefs. The café is subsidized
Figure 1.2 M&C Saatchi, Sydney
Photography by M&C Saatchi and Paul Frady.
but is not open to the public. On Friday nights a range of gourmet dishes prepared by the resident chefs is provided in the agency bar for all staff and clients.

The building has a quiet gravitas in contrast to the casually dressed advertising people who work here. The creative department is located in the old banking chamber, a long hall with a large, floor-to-ceiling window at one end reminiscent of an altar window in a church. Beneath it a large open desk area extends across the width of the hall where the male creative directors sit in two rows facing each other in an arrangement similar to a Victorian partners’ desk. The absence of a female creative director is not lost on the other female creatives in the agency as Katherine, a senior copywriter tells me:

All of the people sitting at the top table, at the disciples’ table are men. It’s like the last supper that table, there’s not a single woman there.

(Interview: #7 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

This a large creative department with some eighty copywriters and art directors in partitioned spaces along each side of the chamber. A very long, raised table runs down the centre of the hall with plenty of bar stools. At the end of this table, opposite the big window is a big, fully equipped café size espresso machine. The staff can select from a range of coffee beans and teas at any time and the constant hiss of steam-heated milk and the smell of fresh ground coffee spread throughout the hall. A mezzanine floor runs around three sides of the chamber and it is up there that the two founding partners and the chief executive officer are located in clear glass walled offices. Their female, personal executive assistants sit outside each office. From this vantage point on the mezzanine level management can see what is going on in the creative department below. Overall there is a calmness, almost a tranquility broken every now and again with bursts of laughter. The women from account service move in and out checking the progress on their projects, bringing back comments from the clients and briefing in new work. Impromptu discussions are held at the long, raised table. There is a quiet confidence, a sense that everything is under control.

McCann, Delhi

It is winter when I arrive at Indira Gandhi International Airport in Delhi. As I walk into the main arrival building a familiar soundtrack starts to play in my head. It is as if the
first track on the second side of *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band* had been on pause since 1967, only to continue when triggered by the visceral sounds and smells of India. The familiar slides and bends of the sitar, the sound texture of the tabla, the swirling Khamaj (क्षम्ज) parent scales of Hindustani music, all combine to recall George Harrison’s lyrics; ‘You’re really only very small, and life flows on within you and without you.’ Flows of communication, colour and movement become the subject matter of my Indian ethnographic experience edited to a Beatles’ soundtrack where ‘the knott[ing] becomes progressively more inextricable’ and India becomes a knotting together of the cognitive and the affective (Levis-Strauss, 1974, pp. 377-8).

When I arrive at the McCann agency, I discover it is a walled, guarded compound in the Balaji Estate in the Kalkaji district. (See Figure 1.3) The unmade street has no footpaths so dusty cars and scooters are crammed into every available parking space. From this point onwards it is a street slum. Makeshift shelters made from scrounged materials such as plastic sheets and product cartons huddle together around the walls of the compound. Discarded packaging from products bought by the vast Indian middle class is reused as housing for the lowest class. Naked children play in the street and women cook on open fires. I enter the estate through the boom gate operated by two uniformed guards. The four-storey building is in a poor state of repair. The entrance to the offices is at the end of the complex by way of stairs. There is a lift, but it is not working. In the lift-well a team of workers attack the concrete with hand held hammers and chisels. The same team was still repairing the lift when I leave Delhi some weeks later. The McCann advertising agency is on the third floor with access through a glass door to a modest reception manned by a uniformed security guard and his assistant. I am greeted courteously. Access to the main office is by thumb print recognition that opens two more glass doors, one on either side of the reception desk. This part of the security process is waived for me and every time I arrive the uniformed guard activates entry with his thumb print, escorts me to my office where he opens the door and switches on the light in a daily ritual of handing over a prepared and ready space.
The main office is unremarkable and very different to western expectations of a glamorous agency. It is long, low ceilinged and stretches the full length of the building. Small offices occupied by senior people run down either side of the floor. These offices enjoy the only source of natural light. The centre of the office is crowded with chest high partitions dividing it into small working cubicles. There are at least two hundred people working on this floor. Half way along, side-by-side are the male and female toilet facilities. In the men’s section there is one cubicle and three urinals for the entire floor and whilst clean, are basic, old fashioned and damaged. Outside, two young men stand on duty wearing matching blue and white striped shirts. They clean the toilet facilities and mop the office floor several times a day moving between and through any corridor gathering with neither party appearing to notice the other. Opposite the toilet block is the only copying machine on the floor that is run by the copy wallah who is part of the leasing deal. The copy wallah operates and maintains the copier. He receives the original from you; produces the number of copies you request; then hands the original and the copies to you holding them in both hands as a sign of respect and being careful to ensure they are the right way up for you to read. The copy wallah then sits down at a small table and enters by hand the details of your request and his fulfillment of it.

A team of men deliver food and tea to individual desks throughout the day and into the evening. The kitchens operate from an alcove where three cooks prepare rice, curries and paratha breads in what is a busy, hot, noisy and derelict looking space. The owner of the kitchen business sits at a desk writing up the orders and preparing the chits. A left-over banner from the previous autumn festival of lights, wishing ‘Happy Diwali’ hangs above the kitchen door. The food is simple and good and arrives in my office in small plastic bowls on a tray. The handwritten account comes at the end of each week. Outside my office a simple glass wall cabinet houses the agency’s creative awards. I am located directly opposite the office of Pujarit, the Executive Director who enjoys a large air-conditioned space. Access to Pujarit is only possible through Girija, his female executive assistant. If the appearance of the offices is unremarkable, the atmosphere is the opposite. Outside, you are enveloped in the street sounds of the city. There is no escape from the ongoing, relentless cacophony of cars, autos, scooters and bicycles; horns, hooters, bells, street sellers. It is a surrounding wall-of-sound. Inside, an office version
of this plays non-stop. Here, the voices of men and women build into a crescendo, a cacophony that responds to demands and enquiries. Music, video, television commercials, mobile phones are playing and ringing continuously. The only option is to listen to something specific and turn up the volume. The soundtrack of the street merges into a different arrangement inside the agency.

Ogilvy, Shanghai

It is summer when I arrive in Shanghai. The Ogilvy agency is located on the twenty-sixth floor of a gleaming, seventy-storey glass tower on the edge of the elegant, low level, tree lined French Concession. (See Figure 1.4) It is the only building of its type in the immediate vicinity although a large vacant block of land next door suggests it will soon be joined by another. Entering the air-conditioned comfort of the soaring foyer brings relief from the heat and high humidity outside. A Starbucks Coffee franchise is doing brisk business. It is quiet and people queue patiently for the lifts watching the news channel on a television screen. Inside the lift there are two more screens playing different programmes. One channel shows President Xi Jinping endlessly shaking hands with foreign diplomats and visiting heads of state. The lift stops at level twenty-five and the doors open to reveal the black and white offices of JWT, a direct competitor to Ogilvy but part of the same parent WPP Group. One level up and I enter the red and white offices of Ogilvy. The reception is expansive, light, marbled and cool. Success is reflected in the luxury of unoccupied space with a dramatic, white, spiral stairway leading to the floor above. I had been in email contact with Helen Wang, Talent Resources Specialist and our meeting is warm, open and friendly. Wang gives me a security pass and takes me on an agency tour that includes several levels. Each floor spreads around the central lift well with floor-to-ceiling glass panels on the outside. There is excellent natural light and the ceilings are quite high. This office has over five hundred people and in place of partitions there are rows of wide benches where they sit opposite each other behind Apple desktop screens. It is peaceful with a quiet hum of efficient activity. There is no calling out so to talk with a colleague, even if they are only a few desk spaces away, means getting up and going over to them. The team leaders sit at separate desks by the window. The very senior people have separate offices. Everyone is part of a team. Unlike the agencies in Sydney and Delhi there is no in-house catering. Instead, orders are placed with a range of outside caterers and the food, neatly
packed is delivered to a designated spot and a text message lets you know it has arrived. The whole agency is ordered, tidy and immaculately clean. In the men’s toilet a notice in Mandarin and English announces:

- How to prevent bird flu.
- Wash hands before you touch your exceses [sic]
- Keep your place ventilated.
- Don’t touch dead animals.

Ogilvy, Shanghai fulfills the expectation of a transnational advertising agency housed in gleaming, glossy surroundings and elevated high above the consumer world.

**Places and spaces of creative work**

In arguing that the advertising creative department is an always already gendered ‘manspace’ I have, up to this point, left an interpretation of this space to the imagination. Now I want to look at how the built environment, grounded in space and time, shapes and is shaped by the people who work in it. In the west, cultural producers, such as advertising, have shown a preference for moving out of glass office towers, associated with corporate America, and into renovated churches and post-industrial warehouses associated with Europe. Whilst this change can be linked to the combination of high rentals and falling revenues resulting from lower negotiated media fees, it also identifies a move towards reinventing discarded industrial spaces and seeing them as three dimensional opportunities to demonstrate creative utility and test creative capacity. There is a general belief that if an advertising agency looks creative, it might very well be creative. So a living demonstration of creativity in real space augurs well for clients who are looking to commission creativity for use in temporal space, such as television commercials or outdoor posters. However, the question of gender relations in a working environment remains largely under-researched (McDowell, 2004, p. 328).

A common criticism of advertising practitioners is they live and work in environments disconnected from the socio-economic worlds of the consumers to whom their advertising messages are directed. Looking at the proximity of location to consumers is one way to discover the haecceity of the agencies themselves.
The agency in Delhi enjoys the closest proximity to consumers because it is embedded in the Indian urban cultural and consumer landscape. As I have pointed out, some of the city’s poorest live right up against the walls of the compound where the agency is located and the surrounding area is a mélange of tightly packed lifestyles and accommodations including street shelters, free standing houses, apartments and commercial enterprises. Each of these categories breaks down into sub-categories such as the one-man-business tailor, trading in the street whilst running his sewing machine from electricity stolen from the nearest power pole. Another category includes businesses based in western style, air-conditioned offices. Within hours of my arrival in Delhi I make this entry in my field notes, ‘India is amazingly accepting of circumstances and events.’ My observation is corroborated by Pujurit, Executive Director, in the white, air-conditioned splendor of his corner office: ‘People accept the hand that life has dealt them. I don’t know how many gods we have, but we have eleven different Indias.’

This ever-changing cultural kaleidoscope is accompanied by constant noise and the blended smells of dust, fumes and spices. The ambience of the street permeates the walls of the agency so that inside the workspace there is also the constant hum of human activity accompanied by the blended smells of smoke, incense and food. I see evidence of diverse cultural practices such as the fresh rose petals strewn around the base of a statue of the elephant-headed god, Ganesha. Chakraborti (McCD/VP) explains why he places burning incense in his office under a picture of the mother goddess Durga: ‘Ganesha is the god who dispels bad things and is the god of business, and Durga keeps things calm.’

Since noise surrounds Indians everywhere, it seems appropriate that where humanity is at its noisiest and most relentless should be the place where people practice the personal and tranquil arts of meditation and contemplation. A number of desks in the creative department display posters featuring witty, western calls for calm such as, ‘Keep calm and have a pint’ or ‘Keep calm and call Batman.’ Here, in the main body of the office mental space is prized because physical space is denied. On some days, and for no official reason, a woman will choose to wear a beautiful, coloured sari or the traditional salwar kameez. The male creatives stay with the western casual look; T-shirts with new age graphics, jeans and leather
jackets emblazoned with English Premier League football teams such as Manchester United or Liverpool.

The idea of private space is not possible in the street and only possible in the agency where seniority is rewarded with a small office in which ubiquitous symbols of the advertising lifestyle are displayed such as electric guitars, sound systems and memorabilia. Corridor conversation attracts the attention and participation of others who may not be involved in the project concerned. It seems that physical space is incidental to the social interactions that take place within it. Curiosity becomes a cultural practice so that any human activity attracts others to observe and participate. For example, when my auto-rickshaw driver stops to ask directions, male bystanders gather round to listen and offer advice.

In Sydney, both agencies are located in heritage-listed buildings in the central business district. McCann are working hard to rebuild their business. The intensity of this effort is embodied in the comparatively small number of people working there. By contrast, there is a feeling of authority and success over at M&C Saatchi in their splendid art deco bank building overlooking the tranquility of the Botanic Gardens. Here success is reflected in the blue-chip list of clients, the gravitas of the building itself and the size of the staff. The agency is surrounded by the visible prosperity of a thriving central business district. Government departments, banks in gleaming glass towers, international hotels and the stock exchange. Old steps lead down to the ferries at Circular Quay, the iconic Opera House and the coat hanger span of the Sydney Harbour Bridge. However, the consumers, who form the target audience for both these agencies tend to live a long way off in the outlying suburbs.

In Shanghai, I step out of the lift and into the corporate branded world of the Ogilvy agency to be greeted by a strategically placed quote from the founder, David Ogilvy. (See Figure 1.1) This is more political slogan than rallying cry for the free market:

"Raise your sights! Blaze new trails! Compete with the immortals!!!"

It is hard to distinguish between departments because everyone is casually dressed. A few even wear board shorts and thongs. Wang tells me the gender ratio is seventy
percent female and thirty per cent male. However, numerical dominance is not reflected in power relations where most team leaders are men. The women appear more conservative but the overall impression is a youthful, western, teen style that is almost childlike. This is reinforced by the way many of the women’s desks are decorated with stuffed toys, balloons and ribbons that resemble a young girl’s bedroom while men’s desks display gaming graphics, transistor figures, plastic superheroes and communication technology. The decoration of personal space at home as well as in the office as a form of companionship speaks to the cultural loneliness ‘specific to the single-child generation’. Toys, mobile phones, technogadgets, animate or inanimate objects become ‘metaphors of companionship’ (Wang, 2008, p. 239). Indeed, a ‘room of one’s own’ symbolizes the comparative luxury enjoyed by the recent urban Chinese family. Young Chinese are culturally marked as children until they leave home to get married and most stay with their parents until this time (Chua, 2010). By way of contrast to displays of newness I can see no sign of traditional Chinese culture anywhere. Enzo (OGS/ECA) explains that the generation born in the 1980s, of which he is one, has very little experience or knowledge of Chinese history before the country ‘opened up’ to the west because it was government policy not to teach pre-revolutionary Chinese history in schools. When Wang tells me the average age in the agency is only twenty-seven, this helps explain why Disneyland appears to trump Chinese dynasty as the new cool. The visible points of reference are everything western and everything new. What I am witnessing is a workplace demonstration that has connotations of contemporary western ideals of youthfulness where young people are exercising freedom of choice within a Disney ‘concept of China’ (Black and Driscoll, 2012, p. 198). Following these descriptions of physical spaces in transnational advertising agencies, in the next section I take a more theoretical approach to analyzing them.

**Circularity and liminal spaces**

In Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai I find that each agency and each creative department is a ‘manspace’. This is despite the increasing number of women in advertising, and even where there are more women than men in a particular agency. Nevertheless, there has been a significant change in the account service department that was once the most male gendered space in an agency but which is now predominantly female. When I ask why this has happened I am told it is the
result of declining agency media commissions and women’s superior organizational skills. In other words, women are cheaper and better organized. I see this in Sydney and Shanghai and notice the change taking place in Delhi. This creates a spatial separation between account service and creative forming two dynamic, mutually dependent, liminal spaces. Account service occupies liminal space between the clients and the creatives providing day-to-day contact with clients, delivering briefs for the creatives to work on and managing the approval process. The creatives occupy liminal space between clients and consumers where they produce the creative ideas that are presented to those clients. The dynamics of the working relationships between all the parties is like an ongoing, figure-of-eight flow of problems and solutions. The advertiser provides communication problems to the agency and the agency responds with creative communication solutions for the advertiser. (See Figure 1.5).

The gendered power relations between the ‘manspace’, that is the creative department, and the evolving ‘womanspace’, that is the account service department, reflect the perceived roles of men as active, initiators and creators and women as organizers and emotion managers. In her seminal workplace study, Arlie Hochschild (1993, p. 258) describes this as women’s capacity to ‘develop a compensatory sense of affective agency’ that is evident in the way the women in account service describe their role as managing, organizing and supporting the creatives. In some cases they provide additional guidance and advice to nurture the creatives, as Evelyn, one of the two female Managing Partners at M&C Saatchi, Sydney explains:

My other role is one that [CEO] calls ‘pastoral.’ So there’s a bit of an in-joke about Sister Evelyn and that’s really the broader responsibilities around the people in the agency … and making sure that each and every one of the people that we invest in … have the most gratifying, mutual relationship and working relationship here for the time that they’re with us.

(Interview: #2 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

This is an example of how the organization of sexual difference, based on Western philosophical ideals of reason where male and female are seen to be complimentary opposites, has been imported from the private sphere into the public workplace. The complementarity results in the formation of a ‘single moral
being’ where ‘he becomes more perfect as a man: whereas the woman becomes more perfect as a wife’ or, in this example, a commercial wife (Lloyd, 1984, p. 76; Petersen, 1998, p. 22).

Figure 1.5: Diagram showing the advertiser, account service and creative departments as liminal spaces and the steps whereby information flows through these spaces as the creative process assembles meanings and symbols in the form of creative concepts. When account service obtains approval from the client the steps are repeated as the concepts are produced and then channeled to the consumer through selected media.

Sweatshop, sanctuary and sports ground

The creative department is a complex mixture of discipline and diversion. It requires discipline to produce creative work that is on brief, on time and on budget. But this is not a world of regular working hours, rather a world of whatever hours it takes to get the work done, remembering that advertising does not pay overtime rates. Jackson, a creative director at M&C Saatchi, Sydney tells me he worked twenty-two weekends in one year because, ‘There is an understanding that when it’s game on, you’ll be there.’

The sense of drama and importance used to describe creative work relates to the status of the advertising practitioner in their particular cultural setting. It is as if advertising deadlines and production pressures determine a ‘permanent state of emergency’ that becomes the rule (Thrift, 2000, p. 674). The temporal pressure of producing creative work on time helps prevent it from following the category norm and ‘from becoming corrupted by a hegemonic view’ (Grabher, 2002, p. 249).
Sydney, where status and remuneration are relatively high, descriptions of the demands placed on the individual tend towards melodrama. Wyatt (M&C Saatchi/CDC) likens the pressure of work to a state of emergency:

“It’s not a job, it’s a life twenty-four hours a day. I am on call twenty-four hours a day ... There are many things coming at you that you have to prioritize ... And, it makes it a very, very, very fast moving environment that is not to the taste of many people that enter it. They think that it’s going to be one type of business and it is actually, it is controlled chaos.” (Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

However, in Delhi, where the status of advertising and remuneration levels are much lower, the main concern amongst young people starting their careers is simply the ‘brutal hours.’ Much creative work takes place at night because they wait during the day for account service to return from client meetings and prepare the creative briefs. This means that creatives spend long hours in the agency and for some of the time the creative department becomes an hedonic playpen, a type of recreational centre. Long working hours are made more comfortable when agencies provide additional facilities. In M&C Saatchi, Sydney and McCann, Delhi, fresh food is available from subsidized, in-house kitchens. In Sydney there are chill-out areas with comfortable sofas and espresso machines; recreational equipment such as pool and Foosball tables, dart boards, ping-pong, and pinball machines. The minority number of men dictate who can play with these ‘boy toys’ by physically crowding around, restricting access and turning them into small, homosocial centres of male exclusivity. This helps explain why they are largely ignored by the women and reconfirms the territory as ‘manspace’. In addition, there are showers, lockers and cycle racks. In other words, in advertising there is a strategic blurring between work and leisure that is common amongst cultural producers. Andrew Ross (2003, p. 161) writes about the ‘hip-hop heaven’ he discovers in Razorfish that promotes itself as ‘a full-service digital agency at the intersection of creativity, media and technology.’

In the new economy, these more humane, democratized workplaces employ a form of workplace seduction to offer more casualized, self-managed working environments that confuse traditional work-class distinctions. Ross (2003) argues that the provision of free facilities such as food and relaxation areas are a form of sweat shop exploitation, common in cultural producers where employees spend longer at the workplace and return many additional productive hours of unpaid overtime. In conversation
with Noah, a creative director at M&C Saatchi, Sydney he confirms how facilities and benefits lead to extra hours at work and a ‘casino mentality where there are no clocks and no windows.’ This creates a temporal disconnect that separates the worker from the outside world where ‘young [female] suits hang around to eleven at night.’ Noah tells me ‘the industry exploits talented young women’ who stay back working long hours only to become disillusioned and replaced by another intake of young, energetic, enthusiastic females into account service.

**Space and the creative child**

Another way of looking at the creative department is through the lens of Mikhail Bakhtin’s (1984) cultural theory of carnival, which opens out a different perspective of power relations and masculinity. The theory suggests social control is maintained by defining a specific social space and time where sanctioned nonconformist gender practices are permitted. The combination of controlled space encourages eccentricity and acts as a social safety valve so individuals can suspend behavioural norms, cross barriers of social class and status and become part of a sanctioned collective. I interpret the creative department as such a space, an always already gendered carnivalesque space that is home to an oppositional discourse that gathers together language, behaviours and gestures to act as cultural signage relevant and meaningful for the time and place where they are practiced (Buchbinder, 1994, p. 36). Already referred to as a ‘boy’s club’ this ‘manspace’ displays ‘locker room’ tendencies where the competitive, ‘laddish culture of creative departments’ is practiced (Gregory, 2009, p. 324; Klein, 2000). A basic part of the laddish culture is the use of banter to attack another creative’s ideas in a way that establishes the superiority of the attacker’s work. This can be an aggressive, macho tactic of self-advertising that promotes the individual creative as much as his work. Alternatively, banter can be toned down to a friendly verbal joust between trusted members of the dominant culture (Gregory, 2009, p. 329). This view of maverick creative masculinity in advertising is not hegemonic because it challenges a ‘singular monolithic masculinity’ that in transnational business is constructed and practiced by ‘an elite group of socially dominant men’ (Beasley, 2008, p. 86). At the same time creative masculinity enjoys the protection of the patriarchal system giving it a certain invisibility because its self-evident status requires neither comment nor explanation (Beasley, 2008, p. 86). In other words,
privilege is largely invisible to those who benefit from it because this invisibility reproduces the inequalities that are circumscribed by gender (Kimmel, 2005, p. 182). This leads me to argue that the creative department collapses traditional notions of class so, for example, in London and Sydney copywriting is no longer exclusive to privately schooled, university educated Anglos but has opened up to different classes and racial backgrounds. Because membership to the ‘boy’s club’ is granted on creative merit it is more of a masculine collective with some similarity to a men’s shed.19 These are exclusionary social spaces that encourage productive homosociality where men can do things, practice old skills and learn new ones. This is where the artisan and the craftsmen gather to make stuff in a male sanctuary that provides space for leisure activities and the display of trophies and memorabilia. Whereas the creative department is not as gender exclusionary as a men’s shed it continues to be male dominated. (See Appendix 1 for gender ratios in Australian advertising agencies) Every agency has a trophy cabinet in the heart of the creative department where creative awards are put on display. These campaign medals are symbolic, visual representations of public success and peer recognition.

Authorized behaviours are an essential part of the sanctioned ‘manspace’. Male creatives often have a Peter Pan quality where play and a childlike curiosity are seen as necessary credentials for producing innovative creative work. This ‘essential juvenility ... crucial to performing the roles of art director and copywriter’ are accompanied with an expectation, verging on entitlement that they will be indulged (Nixon 2003, p. 105). Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) accepts ‘essential juvenility’ as a prerequisite for being an effective creative:

We’re children really. I think we’re kids. I actually don’t see myself as a guy in his forties I still see myself as about nineteen. I think advertising people to be any good have to have that sense of wonder at everything. They have to be enthusiastic about computer games, interesting technology, science, crazy shit, comics, books, interesting things. (Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Graham Fink (OGS/COO), invited to deliver a TEDx talk in 2014, opened with this observation, ‘Picasso said that all children are artists, the problem is how to remain an artist when you grow up. I’ve managed to remain a child as I’ve grown up.’20
Females in account service recognize the need ‘to keep young male creatives in a “child-like state”’ where this condition is valued as a creative resource (Nixon 2003, p. 150).

Spaces within spaces

As part of management practices all agencies apply a degree of panoptic surveillance to ensure their creative resources, which can be disruptive and troublesome, are protected and continue to be productive. For example, in the M&C Saatchi bank building in Sydney the three key executives who control the agency, including the two founding partners, have clear glass wall offices on the mezzanine level overlooking the creatives in their partitioned spaces in the converted banking chamber below. This is a physical representation of the panopticon described by Foucault (1979) where the many, housed in specific, individual spaces can be overseen and observed by the few. Significantly, this ongoing silent observation is a form of control where the observed are never sure how many observers there are. Tom Dery, a founder of M&C Saatchi in Australia and now Global Chairman, takes me on a walk around the mezzanine balcony, stopping to look down into the creative department at the long, central table. He tells me, ‘That bench is the most important place in the agency. It’s where people meet, gather, discuss. It’s the heart of the agency.’ The focus of this panoptic view in the agency is the dynamic and highly competitive creative space below where ongoing, volatile gendered power relations take place. (See Figure 1.6)

Another spatial perspective that has clear implications for embodied advertising creatives is what Foucault argues is a form of dynamic resistance that takes place once they are located in, and authorized, by the department. Suddenly what makes power strong is used to weaken it so that ‘after investing itself [power] in the body, finds itself exposed to a counter attack in the same body’ (Foucault, 1980, p. 56). Advertising creatives embody this resistance in various ways such as taking work home or outside the departmental space, or putting on headphones so they can listen to their own music while they work. I argue this is a form of boundary setting whereby creatives establish a personal body space, a private space situated within a sanctioned public space.
Figure 1.6
Panoptic view of M&C Saatchi, Sydney creative department.

Photography by Paul Friskey
I have argued the advertising agency has a set of liminal characteristics, both temporal and spatial, creating spaces within the agency as well as between the advertiser and the consumer. Given the experiential and spatial aspects of an advertising agency I want to examine the advertising workplace, particularly the creative department and its idiosyncratic characteristics spatially rather than functionally.

Space is determined and identified by actions and practices that ‘orient it, situate it, temporalize it and make it function’ (de Certeau, 1988, p. 117) In other words, space is a practiced place and a place of practices. This opens the creative department to being considered as a space that is other, a place linked to many other social sites ‘but in a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invent the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect’ (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). In a lecture delivered to an audience of French architects in 1967 titled ‘Des Espaces Autres’, Foucault set out to examine the significance ‘of other spaces’ where he conceptualized these spaces as heterotopias. Although Foucault avoids providing a definition of a heterotopia he does provide a number of examples and principles by which they can be identified. For example, Foucault shows how a child’s imaginary space is a heterotopia where real play space is transformed into an imagined space shifting between other imaginary spaces and temporalities for the duration of the child’s imaginings (Davis, 2010, p. 662). Drawing from my ethnographic data, this example can be applied to the creatives in their creative departments where childlike curiosity, imaginings and behaviours are seen as necessary credentials for producing innovative creative work. Real creative space is a relational space which has meaning only in relation to other real or imagined spaces. Foucault refers to heterotopias as ‘these quite other sites’ and identifies the mirror as possessing heterotopic qualities that offers ‘a sort of mixed, joint experience’ (Foucault, 1986, p. 24). By looking in the mirror, which exists in reality, a person discovers an absence from the place where they are because they see themselves in a space that is other. There is a flow between the real, which is the mirror, and the reflected image of the self and its connection to the space that surrounds it, and the unreal which is other and over there.
The idea of the mirror as a heterotopia opens up a different perspective of the creative departments and the creative participants I experienced in my ethnographic fieldwork. Advertising creatives no longer work on drawing boards and layout pads rendering their ideas by hand. Technology has made traditional graphic craftsmanship redundant. Instead, they each have computer screens and keyboards. I argue this technology can be seen as a form of two-way mirror, a space that is other. Looking into the screen, the advertising creative can connect to what is out there in the form of information and stored knowledge which is then manipulated into concepts made up of symbols and meanings that when printed off enter real creative space becoming part of here. The computer screens in advertising creative departments can be interpreted as individual heterotopias which fits with one of Foucault’s principles where ‘the heterotopia is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible’ (Foucault, 1986, p. 25).

Considering the advertising agency as ‘a space that is other’, when international offices are opened as part of global expansion, a network is developed where information flows into the agencies and creative products flow out through media channels. This speaks to Foucault’s observation that ‘our epoch is one in which space takes for us the form of relations among sites’ (1986, p. 23). In this way, the advertising agency functions like a cultural junction box receiving input and creating output and all the while being ‘linked to slices of time’ (Foucault, 1986, p. 26). Conscious of past relationships with consumers, the advertising agency produces and promotes conditions of possibility that can only be realized in the future. There is an inferred optimism in these conditions of possibility that they will create an altered state that is progressive.

Foucault sees heterotopia as a spatio-temporal idea associated with ‘slices in time’ (1986, p. 26). As Davis writes ‘heterotopias are a window onto heterochronies – spaces where periods of time are captured’ (2010, p. 667). This is appropriate when considering that advertising agencies assemble symbols and meanings into compressed time packages to suit the commercial ‘slices of time’ available from traditional broadcast media. When these flow through the ‘intensitivity of a media-scape’ the global aspect of the cultural industry, of which advertising is a producer,
becomes as much a temporal consideration as a spatial one (Lash and Lury, 2007, p.14).

As I have described, male advertising creatives are grounded in a physical space identified as the creative department. This is an authorized site, a produced space where ongoing processes and performances of commercial creativity are encouraged, expected, even demanded. When male creative advertising bodies work in this space they have access to resources that support the creative enterprise of which the most important are the women in the account services department who manage the creative processes. As I have mentioned, creatives also enjoy access to technological resources, such as desktop computers installed with specialized software connecting them via an intranet to secure data, providing client and product backgrounds, creative briefs, consumer research reports, calendars, reference to past advertising, television commercials and online content. In addition, creatives have access to external resources via search engines, the web and social media platforms. But creatives, and creative processes, are not constrained by the physical boundaries of the creative department any more than the work of the academic is constrained by the space of a university department. What is fundamental to the creation of both advertising and academic ideas is having access to information and the channels through which ideas can be expressed and distributed. For advertising creatives, the means of expression fall into two stages, pre and post-production. Pre-production uses technologies to help creatives develop and visualize their ideas for review by their creative directors and account managers before they are revised and refined for presentation to the clients. When advertising ideas are approved and have been produced, the means of expression enters the post-production stage where media channels are selected to connect the final creative product with the designated target audience. Yet, creatives are authorized, even indulged to move into and out of the physical boundaries of the creative department in order to continue the creative process. For example, I observed an Indian creative team working at M&C Saatchi, Sydney who would take their laptop computers into the agency café to continue developing their ideas in a noisier environment more akin to an agency in India. Personal communication devices like smartphones and tablets give creatives the flexibility to continue working from locations outside their creative departments.
Having authorized access is another of Foucault’s principles where heterotopias ‘presuppose a system of opening and closing’ where permission is obtained through specific practices that orient the space that is other.

**Spaces of possibility**

Referring to creative departments and personal communication devices as macro and micro sites identifies the different relationships that flow between these sites. In ‘Des Espaces Autres’, Foucault (1986, p. 22) focuses on issues concerning space as the cause of the ‘anxiety of our era’ that take for us the form of ‘relations among sites’. He argues that links between space and time are experienced as ‘an ensemble of relations … a sort of configuration’ (Foucault, 1986, p. 22). Time is not so much a lineal progression for Foucault as a ‘distributive operation’, a filing system that records human activity and requires a filing cabinet by way of located space. It is worth noting that ‘Des Espaces Autres’ was delivered nearly a quarter of a century before online technology and personal communication devices became available to advertising creatives, or anyone else for that matter.

Foucault credits Gaston Bachelard (1994) whose phenomenological analysis shows that space is not all of one type and neither is it empty. Instead, there are many and varied spaces that are occupied with subjectivities and consciousness. When Bachelard (1994, p. 61) writes, ‘It is better to live in a state of impermanence than in one of finality’ he acknowledges the importance of change, a belief supported by Foucault and other philosophers such as Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1981, 1994). But it is how Foucault (1986, p. 23) develops his argument that points to how we can analyse departmental space and media space when he says, ‘we do not live in a space that claws and knows [sic] at us … in a kind of void … we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another’.

Foucault (1986, p. 23) was interested in real sites acting as ‘a kind of effectively enacted utopia’ that, although they appear to be outside other conventional sites they are located in reality. In the context of this thesis I argue for what I call ‘heterotopias of possibility’, where, the imagination is called on to configure what might be possible before any form of human agency can set about realizing the
possibility. This provides a good explanation of what creatives do and what drives them to do it.

In the following quote, Arjun Appadurai (1996, p. 31) refers to ‘fields of possibility’ that in my argument I identify as heterotopias of possibility:

The image, the imagined, the imaginary – these are all terms that direct us to something critical and new in global cultural processes: the imagination as a social practice. No longer mere fantasy ... no longer simple escape ... no longer elite pastime ... and no longer mere contemplation ... the imagination has become an organized field of social practices, a form of work ... and a form of negotiation between sites of agency (individuals) and globally defined fields of possibility ... The imagination is now central to all forms of agency, is itself a social fact, and is the key component of the new global order.

The advance and rapid growth of electronic media has added spatial dimensions and accelerated the speed with which modern, global processes take place. It can hardly be disputed that electronic media influence the ongoing transformation of everyday discourses, placing a temporal distance between the person viewing an event and the event itself. Distance is an essential Foucauldian principle that identifies a heterotopia where the viewer is encouraged to experiment with all sorts of self-making in different social and cultural settings and amongst different people.

As I have discussed, Foucault describes the particular temporal characteristic by which heterotopias are ‘linked to slices of time’ as a ‘heterochronie’. By way of example I am confident that Foucault (1986, p. 26) would have identified Facebook as a prime heterotopic site where ‘the idea of constituting a place of all times that is itself outside of time and inaccessible to its ravages, the project of organizing in this way a sort of perpetual and indefinite accumulation of time ... belongs to our modernity’. Facebook and other forms of social media have opened up to advertising in order to realise both the creative and revenue potential.

Referring back to heterotopia as an ‘other space’ where access is permitted only to authorized people, Facebook and other social media sites, like personal blogs, satisfy this principle by offering an authorized ‘system of opening and closing’. These
heterotopias of possibility located in cyberspace accommodate personal and family genealogies, photo albums, movies, letters and other memorabilia that flow into and through personal communication devices to be added to, commented on and exchanged. Available in many forms such as television, computers, smartphones and tablets, electronic media incessantly flow through, what Appadurai (1996, p. 4) calls mediascapes, and into everyday lives so that self-imagining becomes an integral part of the changing, reconstructing, everyday social project. The newly democratized imagination moves out from specifically sanctioned cultural spaces, such as art and cinema, that are practiced and policed by the socially authorized, and into the day-to-day discourses of ordinary people across different cultural spheres. Ordinary people make decisions based on information they receive, interpret and distribute through electronic media. Some of this information is prepared by the creatives in advertising agencies which directly challenges Marshall McLuhan’s (1962; 1964) theory of retribalization where members of the new age live in a ‘global village’ created by the mass media. Instead, the overlapping of social spheres has led to a sense of displacement, a feeling that Joshua Meyrowitz (1985, p. vi) calls ‘no sense of place.’ This aligns with Deleuze’s view of the world as rhizomatic, where alienation, disconnection and psychological distances between people are more in keeping with the social world as we experience it (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p. 29).

In contrast to the accumulation of time, as in Foucault’s example of the museum as a heterotopia, is the dispersal of time ‘in its most fleeting, transitory and precarious aspect’ (Foucault, 1986, p. 26; Miller, 2015, p. 4)). In the context of advertising, time is dispersed through broadcast media so, for example, television commercials can be seen to be spatio-temporal spaces of possibility. It follows that advertising, and the creatives who produce it, are part of a new cultural economy that has no socio-political centres, but instead there are shifts and flows that should be considered in terms of mutual possibilities (Appadurai, 1996, p. 29).

**Conclusion**

The main focus of this chapter is the complex and important relationship between gender and space and in particular the ‘manspace’ known as the creative department. There are aspects of the creative department that reflect a
homosocial playground, sometimes referred to as a ‘boy’s club.’ This is an always already male gendered space at the heart of a male gendered industry. Creativity is a valuable, comparatively scarce and exchangeable resource that is located in the creative department, exploited by the creatives who work there and transformed into the work they produce. I argue that the creative department ‘manspace’ is taken as the default location for what constitutes creative practices in advertising. I have looked at the creative department as a liminal space through which communication problems and creative solutions flow between the agency and its clients. There is a tension within this space where masculine cultural capital gives agencies their competitive edge at the same time providing individual creatives with exchange value and negotiating power to move within the industry.

The ethnographic fieldwork I conducted in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai showed different cultural relationships with space and how external cultural influences flow into agency creative spaces. This allowed me to explore the creative department as a multi-purpose space with highly competitive work practices. By using Bakhtin’s theory of carnival, the creative department is seen as a male gendered space that sanctions and encourages eccentric behaviours in the pursuit of producing original creative work. Then, using Foucault’s notion of panoptic observation I have shown how management is able to keep an eye on the creative department that can be a troublesome resource.

Applying Foucault’s (1986, p. 23) concept of heterotopic space, that he sees as ‘a kind of effectively enacted utopia’ located in reality, I argue for what I call ‘heterotopias of possibility’. These indicate a spatio-temporal relationship where male creatives use the imagination in ‘a field of dreams’ to configure what might be possible which in turn provides and explanation for what they do and helps understand their motivation for doing it.

In the next chapter I look at how male creative identity is constructed and practiced within the ‘manspace.’
MANBRAND
THE SELF-MANAGEMENT OF CREATIVE MASCULINITY

In the 1960s Terry Hamaton, the head of the art-buying department at JWT in London wore immaculately tailored, Edwardian style suits featuring long-waist jackets with flared cuffs and pipe-cleaner-slim trousers. His was a unique style that re-imagined the Teddy Boy through the skills of the bespoke tailor. In Melbourne, internationally acclaimed designer and illustrator, David Lancashire, would include somewhere in his final artwork a toadstool that had obvious phallic connotations when it was decoded by the viewer. The more conservative the client, the more pleasure he would get when these erotic symbols appeared undetected in national print media. Bart Pavlovich, an award-winning Australian art director, favoured specific cuts from the Bembo and Bodoni fonts to accentuate headlines so his work had a recognizable, typographical style that identified him as the creator. Several directors of television commercials have been known to include themselves in crowd scenes in their own productions. All these personal, Hitchcockian touches became part and parcel of male advertising practices and have become filed in the industry’s myth-making archive like hallmarks recording date, place and details of author, authenticity and craftsmanship. Each identity is a project of the self, an assemblage that became a ‘manbrand’ that I encountered and was part of my lived experience of advertising.

In the last chapter I described the spatial context of the creative department as an always already male gendered ‘manspace.’ In this chapter I explore what I am calling the ‘manbrand’ – a descriptor of what we could call a ‘creative habitus’ which reproduces certain forms of non-economic capital and represents the individuated embodiment of larger social structures. The concept of the brand has been the subject of widespread academic investigation and theorization presented in marketing, sociology and cultural texts (d’Allesandro, 2001; Frow, 2002; Lury 2004, 2009). The notion of the personal brand is also found in self-improvement literature that advises ‘white-collar middle employees to present themselves as
brands’ by making ‘personal brand equity evaluations’ (Lury 2004, p. 35; Peters, 1997, 1999) Among this range of literatures across various disciplines, an acceptable and general description of a brand is an assemblage of symbols and meanings that are managed in order to generate economic and cultural value. Since creatives spend their everyday professional lives involved in the construction and management of their clients’ brands, this form of identity creation and management is familiar to them, which explains why so many of my research participants describe themselves as having personal brands. However, this point of view is not shared and tends to divide along gender lines. My female research participants describe having personal profiles which relate to their use of social media in contrast to the men who talk about their personal brands in relation to their careers. Ella, a Strategy Planner at Ogilvy, Shanghai describes this as the difference between female sharing and male withholding:

Women [are] more about sharing and they [are] willing to share their thoughts. Especially … social media … some women post like some emotional photo. The male won’t do that stuff. (Interview: #4 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

In Delhi, Yashika, a creative director takes this a step further ascribing the conscious management of the personal brand as a male exercise in self-promotion and career management:

I think men are more conscious [of it]. I mean the people I’m thinking of are men … Career consciousness, wanting to strategize and project a certain image. (Interview: #3 McCann, Delhi)

It is the juxtaposed opinions of my female research participants that guide me to identify advertising creatives as ‘manbrands’ who occupy ‘manspace’. In this chapter I introduce some of the ‘manbrands’ that I have known and worked with over time. I recall and describe composites of creatives drawn from personal history and memory before introducing current creatives from my ethnographic fieldwork. Together, they mark major changes that have taken place in advertising from ‘new creativity’ in the 1960s through to the post-web (after 1990) world of the present day creatives who were my research participants in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai. In so doing, I make use of anecdotes, but do so with caution as Meaghan Morris (1990, p. 15) advises, ‘anecdotes need not be true stories, but they must be functional in a given exchange.’ I then introduce examples of advertising creative work to
illustrate the different eras discussed in the text. My argument seeks to understand how self-presentation of creative masculinity is echoed in the work of these creatives.

The creative habitus

Advertising is a dynamic, commercial practice that centres on the commodification of creativity. If we look at the advertising agency’s hierarchical structure; the demarcation between service departments and the creative department, and consider the complex, ongoing web of relations and dynamic actions we locate the creative habitus. This is where the skills, behaviours, myths and beliefs that shape the perception of advertising as a specific field of activity, drive its actions and perpetuate its practices. I draw on the work of Pierre Bourdieu ([1984] 2010, 1997) who understands the social world to be made up of overlapping, interconnected fields where certain actions are endorsed. The creative habitus is where advertising practitioners learn, embody and practice the rules of the game. The habitus can be modified slightly over time but the core remains the same ensuring the reproduction of class levels and values.

I also draw on the work of Grant McCracken (1986, pp. 71-84) and his analysis of the structure and movement of cultural meaning. It is his notion of cultural mobility and the transference of meaning that helps to understand the meaning of ‘manbrand’. One of the instruments of meaning transfer is symbolic action in the form of ritual. The ritualized patterns of behaviour and practices in advertising are a form of social action that ‘affirm, evoke, assign, or revise the conventional symbols and meanings of the cultural order’ (McCracken, 1985, p. 78). This explains how cultural influences are transferred onto the ‘manbrand’ and why I was able to observe differences in ‘manbrands’ in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai. But first, I return to Britain to put in context the socio-political circumstances that gave rise to the ‘new creativity’ and where the 1960s advertising ‘manbrands’ emerged.

Angry young men

In 1945, the first action of the British postwar voter was to throw out the Winston Churchill coalition caretaker government that had led them to military victory and install his deputy, Clement Attlee as Labour Prime Minister.¹ Change was in the air
and by the 1960s, the first generation born after World War II, later to be labelled baby-boomers, set about testing the transformative power of their civil rights even before reaching their majority. It became clear they were not satisfied with maintaining the status quo, just to be caretakers of pre-war values. A new anti-hero, working class masculinity was cutting across class lines to stretch his muscles in new wave British cinema. Audiences were confronted with the escapist, anti-social fantasies of Tom Courtney in *Billy Liar* (1963). They were shocked by Richard Harris as the confused and sexually exploitive professional rugby league player in *This Sporting Life* (1963). They witnessed the new heterosexual promiscuity as cheeky cockney Michael Caine charmed the pants off lonely, middle class women in *Alfie* (1966). And, in what has become the cult movie of the sixties, David Hemmings fascinated as the strangely aloof, free spirited London fashion and advertising photographer in *Blow Up* (1966). These were new expressions of a maverick working class masculinity against a backdrop of experimentation and change.

Middle class Britain was outraged when young male, subcultural gangs, the Mods and Rockers, fought with deck chairs and flick knives on the pebble beaches of Brighton and Hove during bank holiday weekends. These clannish conflicts about competing, muscular masculinities provided the opportunity for the press to fan the flames of moral panic (Cohen, 1972; Hebdige, 1979). Sixties popular music divided young people either into fans of the lyrical and psychedelic sounds of the Beatles or the pelvic-grinding sexuality of The Rolling Stones. It was also a visually challenging decade when the Union Jack came became a symbol of generational rebellion to be spray painted on the roofs of Mini Coopers and printed onto tea towels. Hair grew longer, skirts grew shorter, the voice of youth grew louder and the ‘new creativity’ in advertising was taking centre stage.

**Dedicated followers of fashion**

In the previous chapter I described how my early days in advertising were spent at JWT in Berkeley Square in London’s West End. It was here that I mixed with the many men and few women in the creative department because, as a mailing boy, I had access to them. Looking back, I can separate the creatives into two class groups. The older group started their careers post World War II in the early 1950s when copywriters came from lower middle and working class backgrounds having left
school to become trainees in large retail stores working in advertising and merchandising departments writing press advertisements, catalogues and brochures. Some started out in journalism, working in small local newspapers. I recall one copywriter who took a regular one-hour lunch break, usually a Ploughman’s lunch with a pickled onion and two half-pints of bitter. Sometimes he would meet up with a male journalist friend but often lunch was spent alone studying the racing form in the Daily Mail. He would be back in his office to complete his day’s work and would leave just before five o’clock to catch his commuter train back to the suburbs. He came from a generation that learned routine and discipline from his two years in national service and was used to following orders. He arrived on time, followed the brief and when he completed his work would leave it with one of the girls in the copy typing pool who put it on agency letterhead ready for the next stage of production. The agency used him, and others like him, as hack writers to pump out the unglamorous stuff. There was a lot of it: specialist trade advertisements, brochures, catalogues for industrial clients, the panel copy on Kellogg cereal packets.

When I was promoted to ‘Traffic Manager’ I became responsible for tracking and organizing the flow of projects through the creative department in preparation for presentation to the clients. Once approval had been given I would process the work for final production. In carrying this out I collected the manila folders with the briefs and finished copy and went looking for an available ‘visualizer’ to lay it out. Visualizers were different from art directors and came from print trade houses and magazine publishers where they had been trained in basic typography and graphic design. In contrast to the rather casual copywriters they were neat, meticulous, anal, sitting on stools at angled drawing boards using a draughtsman’s ruler to mark out the exact measurements of magazine spaces and type sizes. They hand-rendered headlines and set about illustrating each advertisement so it became an accurate representation of what it finally would look like. The visualizers talked in trade-based jargon that was full of typographical terms like ‘ems’ and ‘ens’, ‘picas’ and ‘kerning’, ‘widows’ and ‘orphans’. They were print and typographic tradesmen familiar with print production, four colour process, separations and proofing. They tended to treat paragraphs of copy as blocks of grey rather than sentences with meaning.
The new creativity

If this older generation of copywriters and visualizers were aware of the ‘new creativity’ that was moving in from Madison Avenue, New York they did not show it (Nixon, 2015, p. 8). They had jobs in advertising, but they were not of advertising. It was as if there were two agencies in one because at the other end of the corridor a younger generation of creatives ‘faced west and worshipped’ the creative revolution and its leader, Bernbach in his New York agency DDB (Nixon, 2015, p. 2; Boase, 1993). This revolution was embraced with all the sixties enthusiasm for experimentation that the younger generation was demanding because it offered an alternative to traditional, hard sell American advertising that was based on the repetition of rational, unique selling propositions. Instead, the ‘new creativity’ produced work based on a belief that advertising could be used to stimulate feelings and emotions in addition to product benefits. A hallmark of DDB’s work was that it was witty, engaging and also ‘intimate, conversational and colloquial in style’ (Cracknell, 2011; Walding, 2002).

However, it would be misleading to suggest that the creative revolution heralding this new advertising had equal influence throughout London advertising. JWT was preoccupied with refining the ‘science of selling’ and cautious about the appropriateness of the ‘new creativity’ for packaged goods, or the sensitivities of domestic budgets and the British housewives who controlled them. For example, JWT’s series of television commercials for OXO featuring Katie and Phillip as the young, middle class married couple perpetuated conservative, middle class, stereotypical roles. The immaculately dressed, well spoken and cosmetically correct housewife prepared dishes for her hard working, bread-winning husband adding cubes of beef extract to her cooking to add ‘richness and flavour’ and ensure it ‘gives a meal man appeal.’ A long running series of television commercials presented a social dualism based in the public and private spheres. This was a classic representation of hegemonic masculinity where male led strategies often resulted in the subordination of women (Connell, 2005). In the dialogue, Katie was often subject to subtle, English style put-downs delivered with dry humour. For example, in one commercial, Katie and Phillip are dining at her parent’s place when, in an Oliver Twist moment, Phillip asks for more. His mother-in-law queries if her daughter is feeding him properly at home and Phillip replies, ‘Oh, you know the
usual thing, bread and scraps and the occasional packet of chips.’ This subordinating statement is endorsed with a knowing, conspiratorial wink from Phillip’s father-in-law leaving Katie to reclaim her domestic authority by serving ‘one of Phillip’s favourites’ back in their own home.

Meanwhile, an industry revolution was taking place within JWT led by Stephen King, a philosophy graduate from Oxford and the director of consumer research. King was pioneering the role of strategy and planning as the basis for developing creative concepts also aimed at the long-term retention of clients. King’s idea championed the interests and voices of consumers in the development of advertising rather than merely amplifying the preconceived opinions of the client. This marked the beginnings of the advertising agency triad that is made up of account service, strategy and planning and creative and brought together the business, scientific and artistic logics of advertising to work in a form of collaborative and productive antagonism (Grabher, 2002, p. 248).

Agency management and client representatives were white, upper middle class men, very often with military backgrounds. However, the younger copywriters and art directors often came from two different social classes. Copywriters typically were from the middle class, recruited from Oxford and Cambridge universities where they had taken English literature degrees. They then had to pass the agency’s Copywriting Test that purported to identify the applicant’s ability to imagine, create ideas and compress language into commercial broadcast lengths and print media spaces. (I share with Salman Rushdie the dubious distinction of having failed the JWT copy test.) Because the private education system in the UK did not rate art and design as real subjects it was unlikely to produce advertising art directors who often came from working class backgrounds. In London, art directors trained at art colleges where they studied graphics, design and particular skills like illustration and photography.

A common and lasting criticism of advertising is that it devalues the social importance of art and creativity because the establishment views it as not a real job, let alone a profession. This concern is raised by my research respondents in Delhi.
and Shanghai and reflects the perceived status of advertising as an inappropriate career. As Jaldev, a copywriter at McCann, Delhi explains:

I was a science student and I went for marine engineering, so I wasn’t too good at it so at the end of the second year I walked out of it. So I didn’t complete it and here was a complete dilemma, my parents thought I was going to be a marine engineer, uniform, good money, so that didn’t happen. (Interview: #6 McCann, Delhi)

However, in sixties London, creativity was becoming increasingly valued in advertising agencies as a valuable, competitive resource albeit it in limited supply. As a result, good salaries and good creative work became passports to class migration and self-invention as an early “manbrand.” One of the innovations pioneered in Madison Avenue that was being taken up in London was bringing copywriters and art directors together to form dyadic creative teams in shared offices. These they decorated in bizarre ways that identified them as creatives and reflected the work they produced. Importantly, their roles became defined so that the copywriter worked to ‘develop the claim of the campaign’ and the art director would visualize its public appearance (Grabher, 2002, p. 248). Successful creative teams changed the nature of creative employment because they worked together over many years, often in different agencies since they were headhunted as a productive unit.

As I delivered the office mail I would hear new music genres being played in the creative department. The Mersey sound from Liverpool; the surf sound from California; Phil Spector’s Wall of Sound from Motown and the cool, blue trumpet of Miles Davis. Radios were tuned to Radio Caroline, the first commercial pirate station broadcasting from the refurbished Danish ferry MV Fredericia moored off Felixstowe. Entering these offices gave me sensory experiences such as the calming incense from burning joss sticks, the toasted tang of Turkish tobacco or a meditative raga from Ravi Shankar’s sitar. Radical behaviours very different from the conservatism of management became signifiers of the creative ‘manbrand.’

Distinctions between copywriter and art director started to meld into the ubiquitous ‘creative’ as each member of the team contributed to the development of
creative concepts beyond their specializations of words and visuals. A distinctive, embodied advertising ‘manbrand’ was beginning to emerge and there was a swagger and confidence in the creative department as they experimented with fashion and diverse cultural influences. I recall seeing creatives in crushed velvet fashions from the ‘Biba’ boutique in Church Street and in antique clothes from ‘Granny-Takes-a-Trip’ in the King’s Road. Young, creative masculinity was breaking away from entrenched class positions and social expectations sanctioned in the creative departments of advertising agencies. These young men looked to be identified as ‘creatives’ in what was a new embodiment of gender indexed to creativity. Male creatives were embodied proof of the satirical observation of Ray Davies, the lead singer of the Kinks that ‘Everywhere the Carnabetian army marches on, each one a dedicated follower of fashion.’

With few exceptions, the creatives were male, gregarious, noisy, easily distracted and would play games and pranks during the quiet times. I read this as sanctioned, commodified rebelliousness intended to differentiate the creative ‘manbrand’ from their conservative management. Interestingly the games can be divided along class lines. For example, the middle-class game of cricket was played in the corridors with cello-taped balls of paper and rulers for bats. Working class darts was favoured in other offices. Childish pranks were played on unwitting account executives and younger women like dabbing gobs of art gum onto a telephone headpiece then laughing hysterically when somebody picked up the receiver to feel a sticky mess pressed into their mod hairstyle. I remember lunchtime poker games which gave low paid mailing boys the chance to win some money off highly paid creatives. In particular, I recall an account executive from a wealthy, aristocratic family losing a lot of money at poker to a working class art director. These were all male, homosocial encounters conducted with a sort of schoolboy naughtiness sanctioned within the carnivalesque boundaries of the creative department. In contrast, the few female creatives came from fashion or journalism to work mainly on ‘female’ products such as food, washing powders and personal hygiene products that the men referred to disparagingly as ‘white mice accounts.’

Agents, representing new breakthrough photographers like David Bailey and Terrence Donnovan, made appointments with the art directors to show their clients
the latest Vogue and fashion assignments featuring the first supermodels Twiggy and Jean Shrimpton. Commercial artists would show how they could adapt mainstream art styles for commercial campaigns such as the rediscovered art nouveau illustrative style of Aubrey Beardsley; the cut and paste assemblages of pop artist Peter Blake fresh from his success with the iconic front cover of Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band; the cartoon naiveté of Roy Lichtenstein. The new creatives were building their authority and investing their cultural capital as arbiters of public taste.

**Slow, arrogant and expensive**

But in Fitzrovia, on the other side of Oxford Street and in a far less salubrious building on the corner of Howland and Whitfield Streets, a more concentrated and radical version was happening at the newly formed CDP agency. Here, under the eccentric direction of John Pearce, a wartime Lieutenant Colonel, the legacy of Bill Bernbach helped shape the management, agency structure and most importantly the creative work. CDP heralded the arrival of the independent creative agency or boutique that challenged the hegemony associated with transnational branding and universal advertising associated with the large US agencies (Grabher, 2002, pp. 246-247; Lash and Urry, 1994, pp. 138-142). Nevertheless, advertising projects became increasingly managed, created and produced through transnational agency networks and global communication groups like JWT, Ogilvy and Mather, McCann Erickson, Leo Burnett, Young and Rubicam and Foote Cone and Belding.

As I have mentioned, it was not unusual that much of London advertising management of that time had a military background from either World War II or from national service. Well disciplined and socially connected they were seen to be ideal managers who could lead and manage the younger creative men who were recruited for their talent and initiative. For example, Michael Cooper-Evans (1966), who became the Managing Director of JWT Europe, had served as an officer in a Regiment of Guards and enjoyed a reputation outside advertising as a gentleman-racing driver and published authority on motor sports. It followed that, given strong male leadership, creatives would willingly go over the top to advance the cause of creative excellence in the face of overwhelming odds and conservative clients. The creative department at CDP was organized into creative
teams of young twenty-something copywriters and art directors who were encouraged to produce work that reflected the agency’s uncompromising attitude to advertising. They set out to challenge traditional internal and external management relationships. Encouraged to produce outstanding creative work the CDP creatives built a reputation for being ‘slow, arrogant and expensive’. Once their creative work met the requirements of the brief, the account executives were not allowed to alter it or allow it to be altered by the client. This challenged the traditional relationship between account service and the client that had been based on a blend of selling and negotiation and, instead, produced advertising that entertained and engaged the consumer. CDP’s attitude was underlined by their managing director, John Pearce who famously fired the agency’s biggest client, The Ford Motor Company just because they would not accept creative work that had been agreed within the agency. Here was management prioritising creativity over client revenue and as a result the new creativities had a champion in Pearce who played and won an important power game on their behalf. Pearce demonstrated integrity and commitment to a principle; pride in his people and their work and honour in the way he behaved. The ‘new creativity’ was backed up by old style masculinity and this gives a glimpse of where the male arrogance that fueled the agency came from. Amongst the young creatives were names that would influence advertising and the wider culture such as the academy award-winning film director, Alan Parker who said this of his CDP creative colleagues of the time:

The copywriters were an odd bunch, middle-class Jewish with little or no academic qualifications (Charles Saatchi, Paul Weiland), Anglo-Americans (John Salmon), Oxbridge (Robin Wight, Tony Brignull). And myself. As John Pearce remarked when I wrote my first Harveys Bristol Cream ad, ‘We’ve spent years putting this product on a pedestal and you come along and sell it off a barrow.’

Charles Saatchi would start his own agency in partnership with his brother, Maurice and build it into the biggest advertising agency in the world. David Putnam, a young account executive would go on to produce movies such as the Oscar winning Chariots of Fire (1981). I remember travelling in the crowded London Underground where I was drawn to the narrow line of posters in the curved space above the windows which had become a showcase for the ‘new creativity.’
these small spaces between mundane notices for temporary employment services were creative gems that displayed visual and verbal games played on behalf of popular brands like Cadbury’s Fruit & Nut. I can still recall, without the need to look it up, this witty, Pythonesque doggerel from CDP for Cockburn’s Port:

Said King Charles to his Court, "I enjoy a good port, but it must be a wine that’s just right."

Said a courtier game, "If I tell you the name of the best, will you make me a knight?"

The king nodded his head and the courtier said, "Cockburns Port is the port for a king.

But remember to say it without the CK." And they all cried, "Long live Harles the Ing!"

This new generation of creatives – all men - were of the advertising culture and of the changing cultural environment that was going on around them. They were engaged in this world outside the agency and part of a fundamental change taking place in the creative approach to communication. Up to this point traditional advertising pushed messages onto consumers based on the assumption that what a company could produce was what consumers would need. With the increased use of market research, advertisers were starting to ask consumers what they were looking for and then commissioning production to make products to fulfill that need. The older generation of creatives that I have described were part of the ‘push’ era of advertising. But the new generation of creatives, experimenting with the ‘new creativity’ were producing work that reduced the cultural distance between advertiser and consumer. Stiff advertising stereotypes and repetitive clichés were being replaced with real people from across society, speaking in everyday language that had not been homogenized and culturally cleansed. The OXO couple, Katie and Phillip, were eventually recast as a working class family whose success saw them migrate to the middle class in a series of commercials that ran until 1999. They became so culturally embedded that when Lynda Bellingham, the Canadian born actress who played Katie died in October 2014, one of the commercial television stations re-broadcast one of her most popular OXO commercials that Christmas as a memorial to her. This new style of advertising was built around a reflexive approach to creativity where campaigns were designed to
react to economic and cultural events as well as to the campaigns of their competitors (Grabher, 2002, p. 247).

**Australian advertising in 1970s and 1980s**

In 1968 I moved to Australia as a ‘ten pound Pom’ with a limited folio of work and high hopes and started my creative career in Melbourne as a copywriter. In 1968 Australian advertising at this time was more obviously male than in London. Women were hardly represented in the creative department and at Masius, Wynne-Williams, where I first worked and there was only one woman in account service who was employed to look after ‘female’ accounts. All the other women in the agency had support roles such as receptionists, telephonists, secretaries and typists. Many of the creatives had worked in London as part of the traditional Australian rite of passage, returned home and were familiar with and excited by the ‘new creativity’ they had experienced in the creative hot shops that were changing the advertising landscape. But Stephen King’s strategy and planning revolution had not yet arrived which meant that Australian advertising was largely conservative, dominated by clients, male account service and agency management. However, at Masius, Wynne–Williams, the ex-army chairman, Len Reason looked to introduce a new focus on creativity and originality. The creatives who led this charge were like gun-slingers engaged in an ongoing power struggle between conservative management and clients. They set about establishing their creative authority with the same take-no-prisoners approach they heard about from London agencies like CDP. Their argument was that since clients did not know the answers to their communication problems (otherwise they would not appoint an advertising agency), when a creative concept fulfilled the brief and solved the problem it must be the right and should be approved and produced.

This highly competitive and uncompromising attitude established creative authority at the heart of the agency because it justified the agency’s reason to be in business. The attitude was clearly gendered male and part of a masculine hierarchy in which creative masculinity was elevated and account service masculinity was subordinated. But the pool of creative talent was limited and movement between agencies was increasingly common which drove up salaries and forced management to come up with creative remuneration packages that included
personal benefits such as a car, an entertainment allowance and overseas travel. This financial flexibility was made possible by the media accreditation system in Australia and the tax deductibility of entertainment expenses. Accreditation was really a self-protecting insurance policy run by the Australian media so that an agency would be accredited if it could demonstrate a trading record of financial stability and hold two months of average billings in a cash reserve against bad debts caused by client non-payment. Once accredited, an agency was entitled to a standard ten percent commission on all media it booked and could also negotiate and charge service fees in addition to media commissions. Since the industry average service fee was 7.5 percent this meant that an accredited agency could count on a minimum revenue stream of 17.5 percent on the total billings of its clients. At the same time, The Australian Taxation Office operated a Fringe Benefits Tax allowing all entertainment expenses such as restaurants and in-house agency bars to be tax deductible. It is important to understand this because it explains why Australian advertising was profitable and creative salaries were high. The ‘boy’s club’ had money to spend, the advertising lunch was a social fact and the ‘manbrands’ were having the time of their lives.

For those creatives who felt restricted by the conservative dictates of their management and clients there were two options: go freelance or start a creative boutique. The creative boutique focused on creativity alone, free from the trappings of a full service agency such as media and account service and they attracted the attention of smaller clients who were competing with market leaders and looking for a competitive point of difference. Sometimes the big brands would give a creative boutique a project to see what they could do and also to keep their major agency on their toes. So there was intense competition between all levels of the advertising industry as the boutiques set out to prioritize creativity. Part of the creative confidence at this time, some would say arrogance, was a resistance by creatives from having their work tested by market research. It was felt that the blunt instrument of market research was being used to eliminate creative risk and bludgeon innovative ideas into clichés. It became a creative ideological issue and a sign of respect in the ‘boy’s club’ when creative ‘manbrands’ defended their work against what they saw as the dumbing down of their ideas through concept testing, described as ‘death by focus group.’
There was a raw-boned confidence, almost a defiance about the Australian creative ‘manbrand’ of this time as if the strong, independent pioneer had left the country and come to the city. Advertising was a White Anglo Saxon Protestant (WASP) led cohort that promoted the heterosexual male as aspirational and dominant. Women were subordinated to the domestic sphere and multiculturalism to the suburbs. The advertising that attracted attention and won creative awards mostly conformed to these stereotypes, and was often openly sexist and unashamedly heterosexual. Critics argue that advertising creates and reproduces stereotypes particularly through its representations of women and minority groups. This leads to a general failure to recognize changes in gender relations and social roles (Belch et al 2012, p. 66). Women during this period are often portrayed as self-obsessed, preoccupied with beauty, domestic duties and motherhood (and sadly for the most part, this remains true today). This leads to perceptions of women as passive, deferential, lacking in intelligence and who are marginalized for seeking independence and personal achievement. Men, on the other hand are stereotypically shown to be constructive, powerful and independent with a drive to achieve. Stereotypes tend to get laid down early so that advertising targeted at children, for example, tends to show the reproduction of similar gender relations as those for adults (Brett & Cantor, 1998; Courtney & Whipple, 1984; Englis et al, 1994; Ford & La Tour, 1996).

In terms of gender power relations in Australian advertising of the 1980s, stereotypes promoted a hetero-normative hegemonic masculinity that dominated the public sphere at the same time subordinating women to the domestic sphere. In 1975, two advertising larrikins, Alan Morris and Allan Johnston, broke away from transnational agencies to start their own agency, Mojo. Their advertising became well known for its use of gender stereotypes and the jingle style that used a rhyming and rhythmical structure similar to the traditional Australian bush ballad. Their advertising was straight from the shoulder and spoke directly to the consumer. They were also direct in the way they spoke about themselves as ‘a brilliant creative agency full of Aussie can-do spirit and the guts, intuition, charisma and the larrikin humour of its founders.’

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For example, in a campaign for Meadow Lea (1975-1992) margarine housewives were shown serving food to their male family members and serenaded with a sing-along jingle that declared these women ‘ought to be congratulated’. This representation of hegemonic masculinity is accompanied with a subtext that suggests the stereotypical housewife ‘ought to be subordinated’. The subordinated position was relatively uncontested as Marlow and Swail (2014, p. 81) remind us that ‘just by not being men, women are positioned within deficit and are deemed problematic.’ In another campaign, men who worked hard all day deserved the reward of a beer and were encouraged to down ‘a Tooheys or two’ at the end of it. Mojo urged the sports loving Australian nation to support Kerry Packer’s rebel cricket competition with the jingoistic “C’mon, Aussie, C’mon!” The Australian comedian, Paul Hogan, rescued from a working class job as a rigger on the Sydney Harbour Bridge, via a new talent television show proved to be very successful in persuading overseas visitors to Australia with the promise that he would ‘slip an extra shrimp on the barbie.’

Mo and Jo built an agency with a reputation for hard work and hard play. As Tim Phillp, a former copywriter recalls, ‘The routine was to start the day at seven thirty, get your head down and come up with some memorable campaigns by one, go to lunch, finish by four and be pissed by six.’ This working class routine demands the demonstration of a durable masculinity that positions the creative ‘manbrand’ as a reliable tradesmen arriving on-site early in the morning, ready to put in a hard day’s physical labour no matter how many beers he consumed after work the previous day. The connection between manual labour and creative work was explained by a London advertising creative, keen to dispel the hedonistic label associated with creative work: ‘We still need to remember we are labourers, you know, we do a trade’ (Nixon and Crewe, 2004, p. 143).

The infamous advertising lunch was strictly an all-male affair but after work the young women in the agencies would join them at one of the pubs: The Station Hotel in North Sydney and The Druids Hotel in South Melbourne. The young advertising men were there to bond and boast. The young women, who were seen as a sexual resource, were there to pose and preen. In London the big agencies treated their local pubs as their own territory whereas in Australia, because it was a smaller
industry, people from competing agencies would gather in advertising hotels to socialize. If the London advertising culture was seen to be ‘laddish’, the Australian advertising culture was the land of the ‘larrikin.’ These communal, public social spaces were what Goffman ([1959] 1973, p. 40) calls ‘front regions’ where men socialized and networked in order to be recognized and endorsed as authentic, legitimate advertising creatives (Giazitzoglu and Down, 2015, p. 2). But times were changing as movements for social and gender equality began to gain support and traction. The first Sydney Mardi Gras parade was held in 1979 calling for an end to discrimination against homosexuals in employment, housing and public life, an end to police harassment and the repeal of all anti-homosexual laws. The hard-edged larrikin style of Australian advertising was giving way to a more creative, sensitive expression associated with what has been called a metrosexual masculinity that was more creative and culturally aware.

So far in this chapter I have drawn on memory and history to identify class based masculinities in advertising creative departments in London and Australia. I have identified the class differences between the copywriter as the dominant partner in creative teams and the art director providing visual support. However, this dynamic change and is discussed further in chapter 5, Manmade. I have outlined some of the masculine fun and games to indicate a sanctioned rebelliousness that is harnessed to produce creative work that supports the commercial purposes of advertising. This shows how creatives accumulate cultural capital that allows them to understand the unwritten rules of the game and transmit power and privileges between generations. I now move from history and memory to ethnographic observation of the ‘manbrand’ drawn from my fieldwork in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai to examine whether these thematics hold across cultures. I look at transnational advertising agencies and to what extent these impact on local, lived masculinities and how the ‘manbrand’ works in different contexts.

**Manbrands in Sydney**

M&C Saatchi is the great Australian advertising success story of the last twenty years and the Sydney office is its showpiece. My first impressions when I enter the creative department, which is housed in the old banking chamber, are its size and openness.
Everyone in this space is on display. There is nowhere to hide, no doors to close in what I have described already as a form of panoptic surveillance. Everyone is seated in front of large screen Apple computers. Many are wearing headphones so they can listen to their own music as they work, but also to create a private space delineated by an invisible barrier. It is hard to distinguish between those with a copywriting background and those who are art directors because computers neutralize the tools of trade so there are no felt ‘squeaker’ pens or tilted drawing boards, no layout pads and no drawing. Instead layouts and visuals are prepared on screen and then printed out from a bank of printers. But a general rule of thumb suggests the art directors are more stylish and brand conscious in their choice of clothes. It is a fine line since the creative uniform is consistently a T-shirt, jeans and sneakers and mostly black. So it becomes a question of distinguishing one designer’s black from another designer’s black but to the discerning eye there is a ‘manbrand’ look. Lauren, a senior account manager at McCann, Sydney explains how she can identify a male creative in Sydney:

Clothes. Bags, like whatever your laptop goes in. Hair. A lot of grooming going on. Yeah, from what I’ve seen. Like perfectly trimmed beards. Skin care. The guys in advertising are a little bit more conscious of that. The rimmed glasses. I can usually spot an ad agency person from like a street away. You can just see them. Especially in the CBD they just stand out. Skinny jeans in various colours, chinos, but well fitted, they’re not all baggy. Buttoned down shirt or a T-shirt with a scarf. But all kind of well known brands that are just the right colours. Very in, very trendy. (Interview: #5 McCann, Sydney)

I cannot see games like corridor cricket being played here. They belong to an era where private space was an option, a place of offices with doors. But, a childlike enthusiasm is regarded as an essential part of being a productive and long lasting creative. This generation of creatives is busy all the time, every day. Here are row upon row of embodied ‘manbrands’ working in their always, already manspace. In my imagination the hierarchy of these ‘manbrands’ are transformed into supermarket shelves where products are differentiated by price and function. At the very top is the Executive Creative Director, Lincoln who has an understated, low key approach to his ‘manbrand’ that I read as only possible because of his considerable reputation and status. This is evident when he tells me:
My kids who’ve got friends who might be studying advertising or something Google me and go, “Shit, I had no idea your dad was that important.” And I like that. My brand is a humble brand that contains an ego that enjoys that being fanned, but it would be off-brand of me to be too proud.

(Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

The top shelf ‘manbrands’ are the creative directors seated together at the top table. They have been matured over many years and are the product of accumulated skills and experience. They have known the adrenalin rush of winning new accounts and experienced heightened levels of anxiety following rejection and failure. They are disciplined to work fast and to meet deadlines preparing concepts that fulfill the requirements of the briefs they receive from their female account handlers. They are used to producing creativity on demand and are committed to the agency philosophy and practice ‘brutal simplicity of thought’. This is an important part of the M&C Saatchi creative habitus put in place by Maurice and Charles Saatchi, published in a book and taken up by their successors throughout their transnational agency network. In the introduction they write, ‘This book celebrates moments when Brutal Simplicity of Thought changed the world, and proved that nothing is impossible’ (Saatchi, 2011, p. 3). There are then forty-three examples – all from men – of breakthroughs and inventions that have improved and simplified people’s lives. The Australian edition starts, ‘It is easier to complicate than to simplify … ‘Brutal Simplicity of Thought’ is therefore a painful necessity.’ I suggest this is a very male-centric credo that is taken up and embodied in the agency ‘manbrands.’

Having reached the status of creative director they have a number of creative teams working under them and ensure they approach their work in the same way. Some enjoy reputations enhanced by the industry awards their work has received whilst others have reputations based on consistency. Amongst this group are the last of those who went into agencies as juniors or trainees without going to university. These are the silverbacks of the creative tribe, the survivors, the competitors. They are also advertising’s oral historians passing on the industry myths and legends and hoping to add to them.
For example, Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) tells me that, ‘My identity as an adman is extremely important to me.’ He recalls how he got into the industry at seventeen after being on the dole, spending whatever money he had on train trips to London to knock on the doors of advertising agencies. Wyatt describes sleeping in the back of an art director’s car to save money during which time he wrote, ‘hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of ads getting knock-back after knock-back until I got in.’

As part of Wyatt’s cultural capital this story claims ‘special conditions in order to become myth’ as it passes ‘from a closed, silent existence to an oral state’ (Barthes, 1984, p.1). Now that he has succeeded and established himself as an award winning creative director in a transnational advertising agency his success and awards form an important part of his cultural capital:

Now it seems there are a hundred awards and what they’ve done has devalued the award and every man and his dog have got you know, gold, silver and bronzes coming out their bum. I mean it’s not the currency that it used to be. Look don’t get me wrong to win something at Cannes or D&AD, which I would say are the two most important, is an enormously satisfying thing and it does propel your agency into, it gives your agency a creative reputation and that is no bad thing. (Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Amongst the other ‘manbrands’ in the agency some are on the rise, competing with other creative teams for the big brands and the big projects. They are acutely aware of what concepts and ideas other creative teams are producing and are pushing for television work and online films. They want to work on campaigns rather than projects. They want the ‘big stuff’. They are confident of producing award-winning work if they only get the chance. Then there are other ‘manbrands’ who will go no further. Their names will never be called out at award ceremonies because they produce solid work rather than ‘hand shakers.’ Some of these ‘manbrands’ will lose their competitive edge feeling they have become ethically compromised and will eventually leave the industry. Others will settle into a journeyman role and be content to be known for their reliability and steady, but unspectacular work. There would have been no place for the journeyman ‘manbrand’ in the DDBs and CDPs of the sixties, or in the creative boutiques of later years but in the complex structure of transnational communications groups they are essential to the industry but often a disappointment to themselves.
Finally, there are new ‘manbrands’ being tested to see if they can be one of the very few who succeed. They are tertiary educated, highly computer literate, tuned into social media and often will have graduated from AWARD School which is an industry run training programme to find young people from any background with creative potential. These early career creatives are attracted to advertising because it is glamorous, fast moving and offers them the chance to do ‘something different and be creative’. They are enthusiastic, energetic and anxious to be given any task. They have awards in their eyes and work all hours to try and win them. Whilst they dream of campaigns they have yet to discover the daily grind of the mundane and the essential. They check the online sites like Mumbrella and social media several times a day to learn who has done what, who has moved where and the entry and closing dates for various upcoming award shows.

Manbrands in Delhi

On my last day in the agency in Delhi I am asked by Ranbir (McC/VP) not to leave until I receive a DVD he feels I should have. He has sent Saba (McC/PA) to the market in Nehru Place and when she returns she hands me a copy of Inkaar (2013). This is a Hindi film in the Bollywood tradition complete with song and dance scenes. Inkaar, which translates as Denial is a love story set in a transnational advertising agency. Rahul, the handsome and successful head of the agency and his creative protégée, Maya fall in love and consummate their affair at the Goa advertising festival. Maya is ambitious and my research participants call ambitious Indian women ‘sheranee’ [टिग्रेस] tigress. Things go wrong between the lovers and a misunderstanding turns into a case of sexual harassment. The agency sets up a committee to investigate, headed by an older Indian woman, always shown wearing a sari, who represents the powerful ‘auntie’ role in traditional Indian family structure. The committee cannot make a decision but the film ends as the couple resolve their misunderstanding. Rahul is the consummate representation of Indian manliness as he rises above testing circumstances in triumph to take charge and go ahead.

Chakraborti (McC/VP) tells me how important it is to be, like Rahul, ‘a man with shoulder’ who is reliable, trustworthy and resilient. He explains that the pursuit of manliness in Indian advertising and Bollywood is very similar. Both are worlds that
trade in the imaginary and ‘very often they depict how an ordinary person can be transformed into someone heroic, larger than life’ (2012, p. 206). It becomes clear to me that Indian advertising and Bollywood pursue parallel interests as advertising creatives, like Prasoon Joshi (McC/CEO) write film scripts, and film stars like, Amitabh Bachchan, appear in advertising campaigns. The notion of celebrity and the ‘manbrand’ is apparent in this confirmation from Kashish, an Associate Creative Director:

   Everybody in advertising tries to build a brand of their own. Everybody wants to be a Prasoon or a Piyush Pandey. Everybody wants to get to that level of recognition and yes, we know what we are creating, a brand for ourselves.

   (Interview # 11 McCann, Delhi)

Watching commercial television during my time in India I see countless commercials featuring Bollywood actors, musicians and dancers. At this time a McCann campaign for Nescafe featuring well known Bollywood musicians was running on air. Anushka (McC/SAM) confirms the mutual Bollywood-advertising fascination:

   They [creatives] know celebrities by first name. These things matter to people ... Yeah, I know friends who’ve got pictures with every celebrity they’ve shot with, it’s on their Facebook ... It’s kind of like an award.

   (Interview: #14 McCann, Delhi)

The association between advertising and celebrity is much greater in India than in Australia and, from what I was able to see, in Shanghai. In trying to understand this I observe and note from what my research participants tell me that Indian creative ‘manbrands’ have little personal, physical space in the office, in the streets or at home. So they do what generations before have done, they retreat to idealized, imagined space that traditionally was found in religious practice and the Sanskrit epic, the Mahabharata that featured the complex relationships and lives of the gods and goddesses. There is no escaping this imagined world in India, it is in the sites, sounds and airwaves of everywhere, everyday life. However, for the creative ‘manbrand’ idealized space is realized though his imagined creative product and through his symbolic association with Bollywood. This distinguishes the Indian creative habitus where the creative strives heroically against the odds to embody the ‘man with shoulder’ and to have his ideas approved and produced and himself recognized as the creator. In this way, his creative cultural capital is fundamental
to the construction, self-promotion and management of his Indian advertising ‘manbrand’ as Chakraborti (McCD/VP) confirms:

Everybody is trying to now come up and project themselves as a sort of brand. For a creative guy it is important but if you go to Facebook and other places you will find that even if you don’t have anything you try to pull out something from your archive and put it. (Interview: #12 McCann, Delhi)

There is a famous demonstration of dynamic interaction featuring ping-pong balls placed on a large number of mousetraps all set within a confined space. When one additional ping pong ball is randomly tossed into this ordered, silence it sets off a chain reaction as all the mousetraps snap into action launching the ping pong balls in a blur of energy, collision and noise. When the account executives return to the agency late in the afternoon with their clients’ instructions they prepare creative briefs for their creative teams which sets off the chain reaction. Work begins late and continues into the night. The sound level drops, energy levels rise and crackle into purpose and urgency. The Indian ‘manbrands’ mimic the ping pong demonstration as the creative briefs transform them into molecular energy, colliding, ricocheting and sparking off each other.

At first, these Indian ‘manbrands’ appear to me to be random and confusing but after a few weeks I start to understand that one man’s chaos is really another man’s order. Bodies colliding and ricocheting off other bodies in cultural space creating meanings and symbols, assemblages and identities. However, I also appreciate the Indian ‘manbrand’ is torn between tradition and modernity. This is a generation that wants to make independent decisions and yet many will enter into traditional, arranged marriages. Raji, a creative director in art, tells me the younger generation has degrees of flexibility outside the rigid arranged marriage system. However, there are powerful, influences to get parental approval and families still rely on horoscopes using a traditional Kundli thirty-six point scale of compatibility to find suitable marriage partners for their children. They create advertising that promotes lifestyles and trappings to a new middle class, but most of them do not earn enough to participate in it. They seek stability in their careers yet their ambition drives them from agency to agency to advance their careers and get better ‘designations.’ They claim to be basically atheist and ambivalent towards the many Indian gods
and goddesses but they sprinkle fresh rose petals around the base of the elephant-headed god, Ganesha that sits in a central position in the office, to dispel bad things and promote business. They work what they describe as ‘brutal hours’ and decorate their cramped working spaces with aphorisms extolling westernized virtues of calmness.

The ‘manbrand’ in Delhi turns out to be very different. Very obviously he is not a white Anglo brand despite taking part in advertising with its white Anglo background. The Indian ‘manbrand’ is a curious mix of Indo mysticism and Anglo practicality. Until quite recently much of the advertising for multinational brands produced by transnational advertising agencies in India were remakes of western concepts. White commercials with brown skins. However, liberalization of the Indian economy that started in 1991 saw the beginnings of a colloquial, Indian style of advertising that recognized its cultural heritage. (This is discussed in more detail in chapter 5, ‘Manmade’.)

The Indian ‘manbrands’ I encounter in McCann, Delhi appear to be a hybrid of east and west, straddling the dichotomies mentioned above. Indian creatives, like those in Sydney and Shanghai, look to London as their point of reference for creative standards and style. Tenu (McCD/CDC) and Raji (McCD/CDA) show me their Cannes Lion award winning work for Penguin talking books. Beautifully illustrated and art directed this campaign has a classic English style to it, incorporating a subtle, compelling visual pun and tracing a visual heritage back to the famous Heineken posters that came from CDP in the 1970s. (See Figure 2.1) My discussion with Tenu (McCD/CDC) takes place on his last day at the agency before he takes up a senior position with another agency on the strength of his reputation that has been enhanced with his recent industry award for the Penguin talking books campaign. Applying Bourdieu’s (1984) theory of non-economic capital, Tenu (McCD/CDC) has utilized the exchange value of his social capital to advance his ‘manbrand’ through the advertising network.

This profile of Prabhakar, an Executive Creative Director at McCann, Delhi is drawn from my fieldwork notes after our interview and provides a good summary of the Indian advertising ‘manbrand.’ Prabhakar is busy, energetic and gives the
impression of a man in a hurry, a man of action. It was difficult to arrange the interview and when it took place ended up one of the shortest. His style is quick and authoritative. He often starts his answer before the question is finished being asked. As soon as he hears the direction it is heading, he starts giving his answer. He coughs throughout the interview. His office smells of cigarettes and the window is open, indicating that he smokes at the open window rather than going to the designated smoking room. His office is quite small by western standards but has the trappings of an advertising man - electric guitar in stand, visuals on the wall above the desk. Quite sparse, but definitely a male advertising creative space. Prabhakar is switched onto his role and the agency world. When I start the interview and ask him to describe what he does he replies promptly, ‘OK. I’m a writer.’

Figure: 2.1


McCann Worldwide, Delhi, 2013.
Manbrands in Shanghai

In Australia I had discovered the concept of wén [文] and wǔ [武] as oppositional, but complimentary Confucian philosophical indicators of Chinese masculinity. Wén represents the cerebral, educated scholar and wǔ represents the physical, courageous warrior (Louie, 2002). On my arrival in Shanghai I soon realized that this Confucian model is not the only one and notions of contemporary Chinese masculinity are in a constant state of flux navigating between tradition and modernity, individual agency and collective responsibility. Michael Griffiths, the Director of Ethnography at Ogilvy, China describes this tension as a search for balance as China transitions from a production to a consumer economy where consumption and identity have been seen as politically problematic (2013, pp. 10-14). I should point out that in India a similar dichotomy exists in the form of the warrior monk who represents the ideal traditional expression of manliness and masculine Hinduism that is also contested by contemporary socio-economic change (Banerjee, 2005).

Nevertheless, the wén [文] wǔ [武] idea was in my mind when first I looked out from the Ogilvy agency over the Xuhui District and across Shanghai. It is hard to comprehend there are more people in this Tier 1 city than the total population of Australia. The elevator lifts me up from anything authentically Chinese at street level and takes me to the new China on the 26th floor with views towards the west. When I enter the creative department I see one of the biggest advertising ‘manbrands’ of them all, a floor to ceiling picture of Chairman, David Ogilvy in a red timber frame. I cannot help but see this as a reminder of the Chairman Mao ‘manbrand’ looking out over Tiananmen Square.

During my time in Shanghai I rely on Enzo (OGS/ECA) to provide some cultural grounding so I can try and understand this ‘manspace’ and the ‘manbrands’ in it. I ask Enzo about wén and wǔ and his reply is direct and emphatic, ‘Here it’s all wén, no wǔ.’ He explains that Chinese parents put pressure on their children to study, get good marks and go to university. To ensure they achieve this, physical activity, like sport, is dropped because it distracts from study. As a result, parents put emphasis on wén so their child can become the knowing, intelligent scholar. Enzo (OGS/ECA) explains how the agency structure is based on teams. Everybody is a member of a
team and individual loyalty is to their team because, when the team flourishes, the individual flourishes. Enzo (OGS/ECA) describes how ‘the agency is like a village with separate family houses.’ The importance of being part of a team is confirmed by PR executive, Jason who has recently arrived from Taiwan, ‘I want to be considered to be part of the team. I think that’s important to me.’

I am now able to see how the ‘manbrands’ are collected into teams and how titles are used to identify a place in the team’s hierarchy. Titles are very important and ensure you contact the right person in the right way. It is hard to distinguish the creatives from the other disciplines represented in this vast open plan office where several hundred workers are located. My first impression is that everyone is casually dressed, very casually dressed. A sea of Disney, Pixar and anime images on T-shirts. I can see four eyes staring at a desktop screen fixated by what is taking place there. One pair of eyes are those of a gender-bending Sakimichan hero screen printed onto the front of a T-shirt, the other pair of eyes belongs to the wearer of the T-shirt. Enzo (OGS/ECA) helps me understand the emphasis on the present and newness because for a long time the government banned teaching Chinese history in schools. I discover that the idea of having and managing a personal brand in Chinese advertising is conflicted as Graham Fink (OGS/CCO) explains:

So we are all brands, all very individual brands and I think that’s important that individuality comes through, which is quite interesting in China where it’s all about fit in, don’t stand out. (Interview: #9 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

The conflict becomes clearer when Enzo (OGS/ECA) explains how Chinese creatives find it difficult to take up the flexible, fluid, conceptual thinking that advertising wants from them. For example, if an individual is asked to undertake a task such as coming up with an idea, it follows that when they do come up with an idea, they have completed the task. Then, when a review of the work is conducted and the idea is criticized for being wrong or not very good, the individual takes it that they are being told they are ‘wrong’ or ‘not very good.’ This helps to understand the importance of the collective, the team and the sensitive path that Fink (OGS/CCO) treads as he encourages individual creatives to think conceptually and tangentially. To help me understand this literal, black and white way of thinking Enzo explains that the very first lesson in English taught at school focuses on the greeting, ‘How are you?’ To the Chinese there is an expectation to reply giving
comprehensive information about their state of health and wellbeing. It is puzzling that in English there is little expectation of information and the only response is a return question. ‘Fine thanks, how are you?’ He tells me of a young man in village who falls down a well. He calls out for help and two men come to his aid looking down at him. ‘How are you?’, one of them calls out. ‘Fine thanks, and you,’ says the young man in the well. Reassured, the rescuers walk away.

Similar to Sydney and Delhi the reference point for creative excellence is English advertising. Fink selects a recent piece of work to illustrate the progress being made by his Chinese creatives that features a promotional campaign to encourage Chinese tourists to visit England. It is a clever piece of reverse colonialism where the visitors are encouraged to rename famous tourist sites and events giving them Chinese names. For example, Pall Mall is renamed The Queen’s driveway.’ (See Figure 2.2) Remembering that advertising is still relatively new in China, this suggests that the Shanghai ‘manbrands’ are still getting used to the creative habitus and learning to accumulate more westernized social capital.
Conclusion

The advertising creative ‘manbrands’ in the locations I conducted my research combine universal elements of transnational advertising that are influenced by their cultural surroundings. This can be seen as the glocalization of the ‘manbrand’ that identifies differences and distinguishes the creative habitus where certain forms of non-economic capital are reproduced. In this way, ‘manbrands’ represent the individuated embodiment within the social structures of the transnational advertising where I conducted my ethnographic fieldwork.

In Sydney the creative 'manbrand' is strongly individualistic and the individual uses the generic descriptor, ‘I’m a creative’ to declare his membership of the ‘boy’s club.’ This appears to be defensive as he fights to preserve an Anglo hegemonic masculinity that is being chipped away by increasingly varied multicultural influences.

In India the creative ‘manbrand’ practices a constrained individualism at the same time using a definitive descriptor, ‘I’m a writer’ to define his status that is still tied to traditional representations of gender and class that are culturally embedded.

In Shanghai the creative ‘manbrand’ is part of a practice where team membership is valued and uses a collective descriptor, ‘I am a team member.’

So far I have established the creative department as an always already ‘manspace’ and in this chapter I have looked at the male creatives who occupy that space. In the next chapter I build on this by looking at the ongoing competitive power games that are played by male creatives as they go about their daily professional lives.
In 1947, Frances Gerety, a young female copywriter at N.W. Ayer & Son, Philadelphia had just finished a long day creating a series of print advertisements for her agency’s client, De Beers Consolidated Mines. When she headed for bed exhausted, she remembered she had forgotten to create a strap line\textsuperscript{1} for the campaign and quickly scribbled something down on a scrap of paper. When Gerety awoke the next morning she checked what she had written and read, what Advertising Age\textsuperscript{2} magazine would call, the best advertising slogan of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century: ‘A Diamond is Forever’.

The De Beers company was founded in 1888 by the British businessman Cecil Rhodes who established a monopoly that controlled the diamond workings throughout South Africa. In 1926 Ernest Oppenheimer was elected to the board and consolidated the company’s global monopoly of the diamond industry until his death in 1957. De Beers became involved in numerous controversies as Oppenheimer manipulated prices, orchestrated antitrust activities and endured accusations that he withheld industrial diamonds from the United States war effort during World War II.

Oppenheimer’s powerful control of the diamond market was matched by strategic manipulation of the consumer. Prior to the 1930s the engagement ring featured rubies, sapphires and opals as tokens of affection, however, clever positioning ensured the plentiful diamond superseded these far more rare gemstones as the symbol of love and commitment. De Beers persuaded consumers to hold onto their diamonds by thinking of them as family heirlooms. This had the effect of reducing the aftermarket where jewelry gets recycled through second hand sales, at the same time increasing the demand for new diamonds. De Beers introduced new concepts to continue their ‘forever’ theme such as the ‘eternity ring’ to be given as a gift to reinforce lasting affection and appreciation. The ‘trilogy ring’ where diamonds symbolize the past, present and future. The ‘journey ring’ that features
diamonds of increasing carat weight and size to represent love growing over time. The ‘right hand ring’ that a woman buys for herself as an act of self-appreciation and to celebrate her independence.

De Beers maintained its industrial power by affecting the supply of diamonds, the market, the consumer and human emotion. When Marilyn Monroe sang ‘Diamonds are a girl’s best friend’ in the 1953 hit movie Gentlemen Prefer Blondes, it can be interpreted as a statement of female sexual power and independence.\(^3\) (See Figure 3.1) However, it can also be interpreted as a demonstration of hegemonic masculinity subordinating women and identifying them through the symbolic wearing of diamonds to show they are claimed property and no longer available in the sexual marketplace. Controversy continues to be part of these male power games such as the trade in ‘blood diamonds’ that are mined in warzones and traded for the purpose of supplying weapons to insurgent forces.\(^4\)

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**Figure 3.1**

Gentlemen Prefer Blondes (1953), 20th Century Fox. Marilyn Monroe as Lorelei Lee in the nightclub scene singing the hit song ‘Diamonds are a girl’s best friend.’
The advertising agency is often caste as a Machiavellian puppet master manipulating the dynamic power relations with consumers by pulling the strings that control their responses and behaviours. While this is a role that is contested by advertising practitioners and their clients, what is uncontested is the matrix of fluctuating and complex power relations underlying all advertising activities. Some of these are external to the advertising agency, such as between the agency and their clients. Business people are often dismissive of advertising perceiving it to have lower status than whatever it is they do. As Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) recalls:

The people in banking think it’s [advertising] all a load of bollocks. Marketing guys, they know marketing people from within their companies and they don’t earn as much. They don’t have as much power. They’re not that important. (Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Manpower in the manspace

In chapter one I identified the always already male gendered ‘manspace’ that is the advertising agency in general and the creative department in particular. It is in this socio-cultural space where the male creative ‘manbrands’ are located and go about their business. Power relations within an advertising agency are dynamic because of the tensions caused by ongoing change. However, trying to analyse and understand power from a top down approach will miss what I have identified as a matrix of fluctuating and complex power relationships. To help analyse these dynamic tensions I draw on Foucault’s theory of power which starts at the bottom of social structure, ‘the micro-level as local relations of force’ rather than the top, ‘the macro levels of hegemonies’ (Lynch 2011, p.19). Foucault (1980, p. 141) suggests that power is omnipresent in all social interactions, as he put it, ‘it seems to me that power is ‘always already there’, that one is never ‘outside it’.

What interests me are the dynamic and competitive activities that take place in this space and what Bourdieu refers to as the ‘rules of the game’ by which ‘manpower’ is played inside the agency between the triad of account service, strategy and planning and the creative department. In addition, particular attention needs to be made of the power relations within the creative department itself. According to Bourdieu (1984, pp. 212-215) the purpose of playing the game is to build networks of relationships that constitute social capital for the creative and
economic capital for his agency. Different games are played according to the social space and the player’s position in the hierarchy. In the advertising agency the creative department is high on the hierarchy and the ‘social space defined by strong social capital’ (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 215). There is a traditional arm wrestle between account service and creative that reflects two different mind sets. Account service manages the organization and business of the account taking responsibility for the client relationship, developing marketing and creative briefs, determining and controlling budgets and getting the creative work out of the creative department and to the client for approval. As a result, account service power is built on client relationships. To put it simply, without clients there is no agency because without account service forging strong relationships with clients based on trust and performance there will be no creative work commissioned. The creative department counters this argument by claiming that without quality creative work there will be no clients, because the creative product is the very reason that clients appoint the agency in the first place. The result is power relationships conducted in a state of ongoing, fluctuating tension constantly tested by advertising practices. This is most evident when major campaigns and new business pitches are being prepared as well as in subtle, day-to-day exchanges. For example, I detect a friendly, competitive element in this exchange between a female account executive and a male creative director on their way to the espresso machine in the M&C Saatchi, Sydney agency:

She: “Not wearing Gucci today?”
He: “No, wearing-in some new sneakers.”

The air is full of ongoing verbal jousts like this that focus on personal appearance, rumours and gossip as well as the work at hand. These are little competitive encounters that flare and fizzle in seconds that keep the participants on the ball and active in the game.

The power of creativity
Creativity has been identified as the new resources boom of the 2010s. The United States has moved towards a knowledge-based economy as the success of companies such as Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Airbnb indicate. In September 2015, Malcolm Turnbull, the newly appointed prime minister of Australia, declared,
‘The Australia of the future has to be a nation that is agile, that is innovative, that is creative’ (Merkel 2015). However, this is nothing new for advertising agencies where individual creativity has been recognized as a valuable resource since the ‘new creativity’ of the 1960s and they continue to exploit and trade in it successfully. In China this is more recent, as Enzo (OGS/ECA) tells me how the Chinese government is trying to move from what he calls ‘the copying culture’ to an ‘innovative culture’. In a society that increasingly recognizes creativity as a valued form of symbolic capital and soft power, those individuals who can demonstrate creative originality and capacity will be highly rewarded (Bourdieu, 1977). Again, this is not new to advertising where the creatives have commanded the highest salaries since the rise of the ‘new creativity’.

What I am interested in here are the ‘manpower’ games played in the creative department ‘manspace’ that preserve and privilege men individually and collectively. Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) confirms there are more men than women in his creative department:

Absolutely there are more men than women. There are probably four to one ratio of men to women. There are no women in creative in the most senior positions ... I actually got asked this by B&T or AdNews this question funnily enough, just three weeks ago. My response was, well there is someone in the industry, who I won’t name, he said, ‘Well we all know why, it’s because they’re [women] not very good at it.’

(Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

The persistent imbalance in favour of men in creative departments around the world continues to be a contentious issue that is beginning to draw serious attention and criticism. During the time I conduct my fieldwork a variety of reasons are given for the dominance of male creatives in advertising. This comment from Ritisha, a female creative director at McCann, Delhi identifies blatant gender bias and prejudice, ‘I have heard of some creative directors who don’t hire women ... There’s this guy, Nakul who doesn’t like to hire girls so I hear. [He’s] a creative director here in this office.’ Other explanations, based on personal opinion, can be quite emphatic as Hunter, a male creative director at Ogilvy, Shanghai declares, ‘The men definitely they have more sense of the imagination’.
However, gender bias and prejudice alone do not provide satisfactory explanations for the dominance of male creatives in advertising. I argue that the creative ‘manspace’ harbours a bias in favour of male creativity because of the always already type of creative thinking advertising endorses as appropriate creative practice. This leads me to believe that advertising is the default male position for what constitutes creativity. Advertising creatives strive to come up with the ‘Big Idea’ held to be the epitome of creativity. The marketing reason for the ‘Big Idea’ is to differentiate a brand from its competition in a unique and authentic way. The personal reason for a creative is to be known for producing work that is associated with a particular masculinity indexed to creativity. I am struck by the similarity between creative, and surfing manliness in Clifton Evers Notes for a Young Surfer (2010). The tightness of the surfing ‘crew’ and the bonds between creative teams indicate both are intent on searching for a form of perfection. For the surfer it’s the perfect wave, for the creative it’s the ‘Big Idea’. They are both homosocial ‘boy’s club’s with their own initiation rights and codes of behaviour that are sanctioned and where deviance is punished (Evers, 2010, pp. 9-10). Punishment for the creative comes when their work is rejected and it fails to be produced and appear in the media.

The centrality of the belief in the ‘Big Idea’ is shared throughout the different cultural settings in which my fieldwork was conducted. As William Mazzarella (2003, p.112) writes in Shovelling Smoke; ‘Ostensibly, the role of the ‘Big Idea’ was to bridge creative intuition – manifested as startling images – and the “facts” of the market, as expressed in market research.’ David Ogilvy, the founder of Ogilvy and Mather, was never afraid to place advertising at the highest level of human achievement and importance and was quite convinced that big ideas come from the unconscious. This is true in art, in science, and in advertising’ (Ogilvy, 1983, p.16).

The advertising creative has a vested interest in the notion of the ‘Big Idea’ because this separates his individual ‘manbrand’ from his competitors. In addition, innovative creative work stands a chance of winning an industry award which adds to higher individual status and higher salaries.
In a conversation with three young female account service executives at M&C Saatchi, Sydney, Lucy expresses a preference for working with male creatives and goes on to explain that, in her opinion, female creatives generally will think of a creative solution and then think around it to see how their work can be adapted for different circumstances and alternative media. In contrast, male creatives focus on coming up with the ‘Big Idea’ as the foundation for all activity and that any additional requirements and adoptions will take care of themselves. Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC), who claims not to favour any particular type of creative work, goes on to state a clear preference for the ‘big stuff’:

I like stuff that people talk about, that gets attention, that’s obviously right for the brief, um, that’s going to be fun to make. So no, I don’t have any particular thing that I would rather make. I’d rather make the big stuff, that’s what I like to do. I don’t like the small things I like to go for the big brief, the risky brand campaigns ... because they’re bigger. You know there’s so much more to deal with if you’re dealing with music, sounds, directors, social Facebook. They’re much bigger things.

(Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

When he presented his TEDx Talk in 2014, Fink provided this definition of creativity: ‘Ideas can come from anywhere. Creativity is looking at the same thing as everybody else and seeing something slightly different’ (Fink, 2014). This approach is often described metaphorically as ‘thinking outside the box’ where ‘creative solutions are reached via consideration of perspectives that diverge from norms’ in order to challenge the status quo (Cropley, 2006, p. 392). But the ‘manpower’ that privileges a male style of creative thinking is endorsed within the always already gendered ‘manspace’ of the creative department and practiced because of ‘men’s propensity to assert their autonomy’ (Proudfoot et al, 2015, p. 1751).

The young females that I meet and interview accept that the advertising industry is undoubtedly masculine and look at me quizzically when they say this as if I would ever think that it can be otherwise. However, there are situations when male dominance causes them concern and disappointment. In a conversation with account managers Lucy (New Zealand) and Caroline (Ireland), they recall an all staff meeting where the management provided an update on the progress and general direction of the agency and also introduced new staff members. All the
new appointments were men. Finally, a chart was presented to indicate the positions that had been filled and the one position that remained vacant. This was represented by a gendered silhouette of a figure similar to the ones you find on toilet doors. The remaining position was shown as a male figure that Lucy took to mean that management had already decided this position would be given to a man and remembers asking herself why a woman could not fill this position. However, these two women seem relatively unperturbed by this and accept male dominance as a given socio-cultural fact and something to be managed rather than questioned. This does not mean these women see themselves as subservient because female account executives regard the male creatives as a gendered renewable resource to be exploited strategically in order to build better client relationships. As Caroline declares, ‘It’s good to have a bit of testosterone floating around the place.’

Lucy explains that when the relationship with a female client becomes a bit strained she takes along a male creative to explain the work and, based on his male creative authority, the problem goes away. Lucy recalls a recent situation when she had presented a new direction for a telecommunications brand that the female client was having difficulty accepting but when she introduced this client to ‘Golden Boy’, the male digital designer behind the new branding concept, the problem disappeared. Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) is acutely aware of male selling power. He likes selling his own work to clients and relies on his reputation. ‘You sell it before you enter the room because you bring enthusiasm and excitement to it.’ Wyatt believes that presenting and selling creative work to clients is like putting on a show that clients look forward to.

Ritishal, a female creative director who started at McCann, Delhi only a few days before our interview, adopts the female strategy of utilizing male creatives as a resource to be deployed telling me that, ‘women have to be clever in other ways apart from their work.’ Ritishal explains how female creatives often have to justify the entry of their work into the award festivals where work from males is favoured. This is also supported by Chakraborti (McCD/VP) who writes in his book Listening Eyes: Making notes from many Indias, that women deploy ‘hints, signs and symbols’ to protect their position and gain some form of control (2012, pp. 94-99).
Male power games and female creatives

So what is it like to confront the man games being played in the creative ‘manspace’ if you are a woman? There appear to be two strategies that female creatives adopt. The first is to ‘man-up’ as best they can. When I meet Hailey (M&CSS/C), a copywriter in the male dominated creative department at M&C Saatchi, Sydney, she is wearing a short black lace dress. She has blonde streaks in her hair that is tied back in a casual, gathered style. Her nails are an immaculately manicured bright red. Hailey (M&CSS/C) is alert, confident and looks me straight in the eye. She works with Peter, a male art director and clearly takes the lead in this partnership. Hailey (M&CSS/C) says openly that she uses her sexuality to ‘play the girl’ and protect and advance her position, emphasizing this does not mean sleeping her way to the top. To keep herself in the game, Hailey (M&CSS/C) says she adopts a survival strategy to, ‘Dress like a girl and have a foul mouth!’ Hailey (M&CSS/C) is concerned that ‘women in advertising get harder [over time]’. She tells me her father has mentioned to her that socially she has come to be tough on men. It is hard work and Hailey (M&CSS/C) constantly comes up against male resistance and has experienced senior male creatives avoiding putting her work forward for presentation to clients. On one occasion she was asked by a male creative director what she thought of Susan Hoffman – known as the Pocket Rocket - who is the executive creative director at Wieden+Kennedy, Portland, USA and regarded as one of the top creative directors worldwide and well known for her award-winning work for Nike. ‘She’s female. That’s fucking gold!’ Hailey (M&CSS/C) responded. To which the male creative director replied, ‘You know you’ll never earn as much money as I will.’ Hailey (M&CSS/C) was taught early in her career that she should be ‘prepared to kill your babies’ and continues to compete because, ‘I really love coming up with ideas.’ However, she remains realistic about the ‘manspace’ she works in and the ‘manpower’ she encounters describing advertising as a ‘boy’s club’ kind of industry’ where she could be ‘at the top but never equal.’ Hailey (M&CSS/C) explains that ‘as soon as I say I’m a feminist it seems that I’m not equal’ because ‘being equal means being a part of the ‘boy’s club’.’

The ‘man-up’ approach to female survival in creative departments and advertising agencies is also adopted in the other two cultural sites where I conducted my research. In Delhi the women I interviewed explain how they have to become
'sheranee', the Hindi word for a tigress, in order to acquire the strength to face the male opposition and protect their ideas and opinions. When I check out ‘sheranee’ with other people in the agency the women are delighted at my discovery of the term and agree enthusiastically. When I ask Anushka, an account manager in Delhi, if she would describe herself as ‘sheranee’ she laughs and says quietly, ‘Yes! Yes, I’m pretty aggressive and in charge.’ However, when I ask the young men in the agency they are somewhat circumspect about the idea of the advertising tigress and choose to dismiss it as apocryphal.

Yashika, a female creative director at McCann, Delhi is taking over a creative team from a male creative director. She explains how the process of manning-up can polarize opinions:

> A lot of women who have done well and gone on to be very senior actually are respected and have managed to get ahead because they have adopted a more male attitude. And they are respected but not always liked. Aggression is a value that is admired. Definitely amongst men, definitely amongst Indian men. Women? Sometimes, sometimes not. In fact, I tell you, so my boss who quit, the person whom I was working under earlier, could be very aggressive when it came to dealing with servicing [account service] for example, and his team loved him for that because you felt kind of someone was there batting for you. And so once he’s gone I’ve sort of stepped into his shoes because basically the day to day running of the work I’m the one doing that. And my style is very, very different from his. I’m not an aggressive person. (Interview: #13 McCann, Delhi)

When I am in Shanghai I am told that the women of this city are notoriously strong and independent and that Mao Zedong always tipped his cap to Shanghainese women in deference to their formidable reputation. Allison (OGS/CDA) has no doubts about the strength of the women in this city, sometimes referred to as ‘dragon ladies’:

> In cities like Shanghai ... Chinese woman are so outspoken. Here is the physical threat to men. I mean like serious, woman are like tough in Shanghai. But strangely, as just a creative director you learn a lot about woman. Local woman, they’re tough, man they’re tough. (Interview: #2 Ogilvy, Shanghai)
Enzo (OGS/ECA) tells me the colloquial term to describe an ambitious woman is ‘green tea bitch’ [绿茶婊] because she appears innocent, like green tea, but inside she is a bitch. Female independence and confidence comes through despite a very different attitude towards young women taken by the Chinese government. Rather than elevating the independent status and social value of women and despite the gender imbalance brought about by the one child policy, any female who remains unmarried beyond the age of twenty-seven is classified by the Chinese government as shengnu [剩女], left-over woman. The independence of the young Shanghainese woman is brought home to me by Graham Fink’s (OGS/COO) personal assistant, Petula. When I ask her about the ‘shengnu’, Petula waves her arms to indicate the hundreds of women in the office around us and says defiantly: ‘We’re all shengnu here, so marry me or leave me alone!’

The need to control men in advertising is something that is mentioned often by the women that I interview and talk to. Sometimes this is seen as utilizing women’s inherent attributes and skills as better organisers and managers who are needed to keep things on track leaving men to the imaginative and creative aspects of advertising to which most female participants claim they are better suited. I am introduced to Stella, an account executive at M&C Saatchi in Sydney, who expresses this point of view not as a hard and fast observation, but as a pensive, ruminative consideration. Stella had just returned from Dublin where she represented Sydney in the annual Rose of Tralee festival. I am told many of the agency staff gathered in the agency café to watch the international television broadcast of this annual festival where the Rose of Tralee is crowned having been selected for her attributes to be ‘lovely and fair’ and for her personality. However, Stella’s physical attributes are not lost on the males in the agency and I am reminded of what Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) said to me in the staff café, ‘There’s nothing wrong with a pretty face in a meeting.’ Stella describes her account management role as ‘part teacher’, which involves representing her client’s point of view to the creatives, and ‘part personal trainer’ where she cajoles and encourages them throughout the creative process to bring out the best from them.

On my first visit to M&C Saatchi, Sydney I am met by Holly, the Executive Assistant to Lincoln, the Executive Creative Director. “Hi, I’m Holly and I look after Lincoln.” When I ask Holly if Lincoln needs looking after she replies, “I didn’t think so, but then
I went away for a month!” The need for male creatives to be managed is also recognized at the top level, as Evelyn, one of two female managing partners at M&C Saatchi, confirms:

Totally! I think it’s a bit of a cop-out actually ... somebody had said to me earlier in my career in guiding me about making sure that this had been done, that had been done to get some creatives to a shoot or something, and it was like, I was a bit sort of aghast by that because I was thinking well they’re adults, they know what to do. If they can’t turn up, and the advice was, ‘You don’t understand, their heads are just not in that space.’ You know they have to be given the instruction manual to find their hat, type of thing. If you don’t have all of that detail, even if you physically give it to them, check them and it’s because they work in a different hemisphere. Hopefully where their heads are at they’re in ideas.

(Interview: #2 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Creative males relying on females to manage and organize their professional lives is common and senior men in agency management and creative in all three cultural sites in which I conducted my research have female executive assistants. Agency managements are complicit in this gendered division of labour. In Sydney the creative founder of M&C Saatchi, Tom McFarlane, has a trusted gatekeeper outside his glass walled office who manages his meetings and appointments. In Shanghai, Stephanie receives a phone call from Graham Fink (OGS/COO) to alert her to his arrival. This enables her to prepare his tea, place it on his desk so it is drinking temperature when he gets there. In Delhi, Ranbir, the Head of Strategic Planning has a female personal assistant, Saba in the open plan maze outside his office. When I ask her if she has seen the exchange of emails between myself and Ranbir I am surprised when she says, ‘Oh, no. I don’t have access to his email.’ In most cases the men talk about ‘being managed’ or ‘looked after’ as if varying degrees of dependence and helplessness somehow confirms their level of importance and status. Knowing their lives are being managed leaves them free to attend to the big issues knowing that the finer details are being taken care of by confident and efficient women.

M&C Saatchi, Sydney has two female managing partners which reflects the change from male to female dominated account service that has taken place
over the past two decades that I have discussed earlier. These two women are the most senior account service people in the company and manage the agency’s two biggest accounts, a national retail bank and a telecommunications company. One of them, Evelyn, explains the dual roles that she and others in account service play:

In account management ... you are pulled at constantly. You have two-way demands. You have the client demands and you have the internal demands ... So if in delivering a brief to creative and it’s not what it should be, we’ll soon know it ... and you could have the same criticism from a client so you’re sort of caught between these two clients. We have internal clients and we have external clients. (Interview: #2 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Creatives see the creative department as not only the nucleus of the agency but the raison d’être for its very existence. Early in my career and before moving onto the creative side of advertising, I was a junior account executive at Masius Wynne-Williams in Melbourne. The creative director was Lionel Hunt who later co-founded The Campaign Palace that became internationally recognized for its award-winning creative work. Hunt kept a tally board in his office on which he recorded the successes and failures of individuals in account service to ‘sell’ his ideas to the clients. The ticks and crosses against the list of names symbolized the supreme power of creativity within the agency.

Olivia, one of the two female managing partners at M&C Saatchi, Sydney tells me of a more recent example of similar behavior aimed at maintaining male supremacy in the creative department:

I've seen previously in an agency in Melbourne where ... the MD, who was a male, thought it was amusing to put up the ideas that had scored and the ideas that had bombed out which was almost like classic ridicule. You know put a sandwich thing over the poor guy’s head, right, and it was a woman who went in and went, ‘Pull it down!’ ... But interestingly that’s the kind of culture that agencies do kind of breed. (Interview: #1 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Maintaining the high status of the creatives above all others in the agency is often practiced with a casual disregard that can cause friction and division. Ritishal
(McCD/CDC) describes, in no uncertain terms, how the assumption of creative superiority in male creatives is embodied:

[Male creatives behave as if] they know it all. [This is demonstrated by the way they walk] It’s a strange walk, almost vulgar, self-important and pompous. They get into loud music and they speak loudly. Foul language is a mark of virility ... Advertising has an effect on men of total desensitization.

(Interview: #3 McCann, Delhi)

Walking the walk and talking the talk

I concur with Radhika’s observation about the embodied presentation of the creative male because it is evident in their physical presence as they move within the ‘manspace’ in a way that suggests this is their natural habitat and where they are most confident, almost proprietorial. I observe that when they move outside the ‘manspace’ and into other areas of the agency, like a meeting room, their body language changes. There is a reversion to a degree of formality where the swagger is dialed back and they become a little wary and circumspect and conscious of being observed. Their casual uniform that covers the advertising body seems a little out of place in meeting rooms as if the ubiquitous T-shirts, jeans and sneakers are made uncomfortable amongst the stiff formality of suits and ties. I have an image of a male pupil being called into the headmaster’s office where he knows he has to be on his best behavior and cannot wait to return to his classmates to discuss his ordeal. So, when the creatives do return to their familiar ‘manspace’ the swagger returns, the shoulders relax, the casual uniform is once more in company with others and the speech volume goes up. Bourdieu reminds us that ‘the way people treat their bodies reveals the different dispositions of the habitus’ so that by partnering embodiment with habitus the body takes on and reproduces the habitus of the field in which it performs (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 127; Wainwright and Turner, 2004, p. 101).

Although I am on the look out for subtle signs and changes amongst the male creatives it is the juxtaposed comments from the women I interview that sharpen my ethnographic pencil. For example, in my field notes I record my first impressions of Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC), identified by two women in the creative department as an example of an ‘alpha male advertising man.’ We meet in the M&C Saatchi café to arrange a time for our formal interview. Wyatt is a one hundred per cent full-on
advertising man and loud and proud of it. He takes himself and his profession seriously carrying himself with confidence, almost a physical swagger. He approaches me with purpose, determination and confidence. He sports designer stubble, white T-shirt under a white shirt worn outside faded blue jeans. Wyatt says that if you enter advertising you have to do so with absolute commitment.

My observations of male power in agency life have been heightened because of time spent away from agencies and I see things differently because of my new role as the familiar other. For example, Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) is physically imposing being tall with powerful shoulders and a deep chest from his rowing days at university. Lincoln has a personal ritual that embodies his authority over the creative department. He sits at the ‘top table’, that I have mentioned before, with his male creative directors around him. The only female at this table is Lincoln’s executive assistant who sits next to him. When he arrives in the agency in the morning, Lincoln brings to his desk a large glass jug of fresh tap water. When he is thirsty Lincoln stands in full view of his creative department, lifts the jug by the handle and drinks straight from the side of it. It is a quiet, visible, symbolic gesture of unmistakable male power and authority. However, Lincoln exercises his authority in quiet and unassuming ways that leave his creatives in no doubt as to where the power lies. In my field notes I record two creative reviews that Lincoln invites me to attend. The first is with an early career, male creative team who are showing Lincoln their initial ideas for a security campaign for a communications client. The young team, Ethan (copywriting) and Sean (art), has only been at the agency a few weeks so Lincoln uses humour to put them at ease. Ethan starts to explain one idea:

Ethan: ‘Most jobs do background checks these days.’
Lincoln: ‘We don’t.’
Sean: ‘That’s how we got here.’
Lincoln: ‘I wish I had.’

The lighthearted exchange bounces between the parties but the hierarchy and power relation is clear and distinctly male.

The second review is with a more senior, mixed gender creative team. Hailey (M&CSS/C) is the spokesperson for the team and is quite up front and authoritative
and ‘presents as a woman who has established herself in a male agency.’ Hailey (M&CSS/C) presents her team’s ideas and I record in my field notes that Lincoln ‘guides, simplifies, clarifies. He acts quietly, calmly like a traffic cop who is on the side of the drivers. Benevolent. He shuffles the concept sheets into groups to be worked on, discarded, combined’. I ask Lincoln how he manages to go from team to team constantly reviewing and he replies: ‘I love it. Especially when I can draw attention to the potential in an idea that they haven’t seen.’ I interpret this as power exercised as respect in the form of giving back to others. This view on power and respect features in Evers’ guide to young surfers, which as I have mentioned, runs parallel to the idea of male creative teams in advertising. ‘Respect can be about an exchange where you do not impose your own expectations or worldview on others’ (2010, pp. 140-141).

In Shanghai I observe another power exchange based on mutual respect when I ask Graham Fink (OGS/COO) why he is in China and he tells me, ‘[I]t’s much more about giving. I didn’t come to China to take; I came to China to give.’ Fink’s mission is to improve the creative product of the Ogilvy agency and he has impressive credentials as well as healthy credit balances in both his cultural and symbolic capital accounts to suggest he will be successful. Asian markets are ‘looking westwards and worshipping’ in their efforts to produce high quality advertising creativity (Nixon, 2015, pp. 1-20). Applying the Mauss theory of gift giving we can see that ‘the ruse of selfless one-sided giving ... involves self-interested expectations of reciprocity’ (Belk, 2010, p. 727). Because of his position in this transnational advertising agency, the ‘gift’ of Fink’s talent and reputation are really obligatory for the creatives in the Shanghai agency, and self-interested where reciprocation is expected in the form of improved standards of creative work (Levi-Strauss, 1949/1967). Social theorists have been divided over the idea of the pure gift that is given with no expectation of receiving something in return. Marcel Mauss and Bronislaw Malinowski argue that in every gift there is an expectation of reciprocity (Mauss, 1925/1967; Malinowski, 1926). However, a belief in the pure gift, that ‘may include sharing and counter-sharing’ with only a vague expectation of something in return is supported by Marshall Sahlins (1972, p. 172). I argue that this interpretation of the pure gift, even when it is laden with power, is appropriate when considering what Fink brings to the Shanghai agency.
Male behavior within the borders of the creative department serve to define the territory and authorize what goes on there. At the first briefing I attend at McCann, Sydney two young female account managers are briefing Dan, a male art director, on a series of magazine advertisements for a healthcare client. Dan arrives some time before the meeting and goes straight to his desktop computer to login and watch the highlights of an overnight English Premier League soccer match. Reluctantly he tears himself away from the soccer to attend the briefing. The women are well organized and have all the information ready to provide background reference as well as precise details of the task and when it is required. They are neat, well dressed and alert. Dan lounges back in a sofa chair and listens, in a rather disinterested way, at the same time nodding to confirm the pressing deadline. During the briefing, Bob leans back and yawns as his t-shirt rides up exposing his belly to the young women. ‘Yeah, OK, but I’ve got to eat first.’ Sometime later Dan tells me that his previous agency was very ‘blokey’ and the men there were ‘right arseholes’ but admits that he, ‘Sort of miss it a bit.’

The contrast between the well organized female account service and the casual disdain of the creative male is reflected in the following comment made by Evelyn (M&CSS/MP):

Women have, again in my experience, that are more detail minded, more fastidious, they have a tighter attention span. I think they are definitely, they are generally more perfectionist where guys tend to be near-enough-is-good-enough and how soon can I get out of here?

(Interview: #2 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

The McCann, Sydney office is open plan where various disciplines such as creative, strategy and planning, and account service are grouped together. It is part of the power game and status of being an advertising creative that everyone else in the agency comes to see them in their territory and all briefings and discussions take place in the creative department. Female account service managers have conditional entry to this space where they are expected to be deferential, reflecting their subordination to support role. Their presence in the creative department is restricted to professional purpose rather than socializing. There are three female creatives here; Laura, a junior art director; Kate and Petra, also art directors, working on healthcare products. They remain at their desks throughout
the day only leaving for sanctioned breaks and meal times. In contrast the male creatives, whatever their status, get up, move around, sit, lie and stretch out on the sofas, or drape themselves over the chairs. They tear off pages from large layout pads as they develop ideas and concepts. Discarded pages are crunched into paper balls and tossed in the general direction of the waste paper bins. Those that miss are left where they fall repeating the same casual behavior I observed back at JWT in London. At the end of the day the furniture has been moved around, there are paper cups and empty plastic water bottles on desks, coffee tables and across the floor. Abandoned pizza boxes, noodle packs, wooden chopsticks and used napkins are strewn across the working surfaces. There is very little housekeeping here. This is left to the overnight cleaners who will return the ‘mens club’ to order ready for the members to return the following day.

Back at M&C Saatchi I observe Wyatt (M&C CSS/CDC) and his art director partner Jackson (M&C CSS/CDA) experimenting with a new 3D viewer. Wyatt wears a mask that makes him look like a scuba diver out of water as he moves his head up and down and from side to side. To everyone watching his mask is a black screen, but behind it Wyatt is witnessing amazing scenes that we can only guess at by the expletives that punctuate his experiences. ‘Shit! Fucking amazing!’ Other male creatives are gathering around and eventually get to try the 3D viewer for themselves. In my interview with Wyatt a few days later he explains:

I spend my life coming up with funny ideas that will make people laugh or make people surprised and the only reason I can do that is by reading a whole lot of interesting stuff, playing a lot of computer games and staying right up on the latest technology and doing a fuck load of social Facebook and playing games. That’s the life I have to immerse myself in to be able to put myself in the mediums that people are in.

(Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Talking the talk

I have mentioned the passing banter and explained the explicit ‘Shit, fuck!’ that confirmed my arrival in the creative department of McCann, Sydney. It is appropriate to consider how, in addition to being embodied, the ‘manpower’ games are expressed because, in addition to walking the walk, the creative male talks the talk. The industry has adopted military terms to describe what it does and
the processes it employs. It could be claimed that this goes back to 1877 when James Walter Thompson bought the Carlton and Smith media agency in New York and renamed it after himself. Thompson was a military man and had served onboard the USS Saratoga during the American civil war. Every JWT office around the world carries a gilt framed portrait of J. Walter Thompson in his uniform as Commodore of the New York Yacht Club. (See Figure 3.2) I have mentioned the military background of some of the leaders in advertising in London during the 1960s but this was not limited to there. The biggest advertising agency in Melbourne was United Services Publicity established by an ex-army officer Harper Wilson to provide employment for ex-military veterans from World War II. It later merged with the Benson agency from London to become USP Benson.

![Figure 3.2](image_url)  

J. Walter Thompson, founder of the international advertising agency in 1877 that bears his name and Commodore of the New York Yacht Club. This portrait is displayed in every JWT office.

It is from early times that the military term ‘campaign’ is used to describe the planned advertising activities undertaken by an agency on behalf of its clients. As Tom Dery, the Global Chairman and founding partner of M&C Saatchi Sydney tells me:
There is a vocabulary that applies that’s come up as a result of the early nineteen hundreds when this thing started and people started thinking scientifically about things like market share, that’s still used today.

(Interview: #9 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

The text books and instruction manuals that features advertising and marketing promote what they refer to as ‘scientific thinking’ that is often expressed in military language as these titles illustrate: Marketing Warfare (Ries & Trout, 1986); Positioning: The Battle for Your Mind (Ries & Trout, 2001); Guerilla Marketing Excellence (Levinson, 1994); Brand Warfare: 10 Rules for Building the Killer Brand (D’Alessandro, 2001). The books by Ries and Trout have sold millions of copies and contain chapters detailing case histories under headings such as ‘The cola war’, ‘The beer war’ and ‘The burger war.’ The front cover of their book Marketing Warfare shows the authors dressed as US Generals being driven down Madison Avenue in a military armoured vehicle. It is as if General George S. Patton meets the American consumer.

However, what interests me in this chapter is not the language used to describe what advertising does, but the language and metaphors used by the people who work in it to describe their world and what they do. I argue that military terms are used to help construct a workplace that privileges men and typically tolerates women. For example, listen to how Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) describes what he does and the ongoing daily dramas he faces. (As you read this imagine the opening credits to an episode of the television show MASH with the helicopters bringing in the wounded and the doctors and nurses crouch-running to check on them.)

The way I describe it is triage. It’s like a triage. It’s a military hospital and the way triage works is you divide jobs and people into three. Those who are going to die, those that need your immediate attention and can probably wait a little bit and those that if you don’t help them right now you’re in trouble. So that’s how you divide the jobs up. So you’re always working on the thing that is the most critical to you, the agency at that one time. So you just have to shuffle things around. That, that’s controlled anarchy. So we’re working on multiple things which means you have to switch your brain on and off to deal with a completely different set of problems. Sometimes in a one-hour period you might be doing two or three things and on top of
that you’ve got the presentations, you’ve got the pitches, you’ve got the internal politics, the external politics. (Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

We can read here that there is an inherent sense of drama that is injected with hyperbole to draw attention to the importance of temporal and spatial events. While the female account managers employ their organizational skills to manage and progress projects, the male creatives see themselves solving an ongoing series of dramas and crises.

You have the inevitable, what I call the brush fires. The brush fires can be as simple as a new client that’s come in that wants to be unpleasant, piss his territory. (Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

This is a very traditional way of assigning men to the dangers and dramas of the public sphere whilst subordinating women to support roles in the private sphere. Male creatives see themselves fighting on the front line with the females ready to provide support services, administer care and offer encouragement. This argument has been used to explain why there are so few women in creative departments in general and only three percent of creative directors in particular (Dishman, 2013).

I guess it’s the argument people use about putting women on the front line, that the fundamental difference between men and women is that men have an inherent aggression and that aggression sees them through. They can switch off their nurturing side and caring side and they can go for the jugular and absolutely go for the kill when, maybe women can’t do that as well. And that sounds horrifically old fashioned but maybe that’s it, otherwise I’d see a hell of a lot more women out here.

(Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

On the surface these war games are being fought primarily to win new accounts, hold on to existing ones and convince clients to adopt the agency’s creative work as solutions to their marketing and communication problems. By way of justification and on a number of occasions, I am told that agencies do their best work when under pressure and in times of crisis as William, a Sydney creative director, explains, ‘It’s warfare. When you get in the trenches together it’s then you find your real friends’.
Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) takes the military connection further and recalls management meetings where military analogies have been used to explain the agency’s direction and purpose:

This agency has actually structured itself has quite literally ... on military terms. I remember meetings where Ben, the ECD [Executive Creative Director] has actually stood up and held up a book on Vietnam [Vietnam War] and was talking about the command structures. You know, we obviously have the captains, we have the grunts we have ... we are fighting day to day. And, it is quite ruthless and you do need to structure yourself and there will be weak links. There will [be] people who get, you know, who will get PTSD [post traumatic stress disorder] and they can’t handle it. You know there are casualties that fall along the way. And so, it is an enormously tough, an enormously tough environment ... which can be quite shocking for those who enter it. Especially nowadays, you get into it and don’t seem to realize they have to have a particular type of ... I guess the way that police, nurses and soldiers have to switch off when they get home. I think we do, otherwise it just stays with you. (Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

These war games are played to establish and maintain the superiority and dominance of male creatives. Gender strategies are used to ensure that the creative department ‘manspace’ remains the default position for creativity in advertising. These strategies can take the form of deliberate, bureaucratic declarations that officially effect the status of women in both work and private life. Following time spent in China, Eden Collinsworth (2015, p. 17) confirms the official classification of the leftover woman in China but reveals a harsher and more judgmental description for a Chinese woman who remains unmarried beyond the age of thirty-five as ‘the ultimate leftover and spiritually flawed.’ Within the agency world in Sydney, Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) tells me that because of the constant demands and pressures faced, the advertising agency is not able to accommodate four day working weeks and flexible hours for women, so that a woman who has a baby ‘returns after pregnancy a slightly devalued employee.’ In Delhi, I discover that agency personnel work what they describe as ‘brutal hours.’ This results in creative staff often working into the small hours and, although the agency provides taxis to get their staff home the traditional Indian family structure that revolves around the father as head of the household, disapprove of their
daughters working late and as a result disapprove of the industry that requires their daughters to work late.

The female creatives and account managers I interviewed do not share these dramatic military analogies to describe their world and what they do. However, they are very conscious of the power game that male creatives play and their public display of dominance and self-worth. Katherine has been a senior freelance copywriter at M&C Saatchi, Sydney for a number of years and prioritizes the balance between her work and family as a single mother. She has written into her terms and conditions of employment a guaranteed six weeks annual break so she can maintain the social contacts she and her children established in a French village when they lived there. Katherine keeps a distance between her and most of her work colleagues and it is from this vantage point that she makes her observations and forms her opinions.

Oh, there’s a lot of bragging goes on. A lot of ‘Here’s my latest.’ And a lot of chest beating and running around and telling everybody. You know telling twenty people about a piece of work. That’s one way of doing it. And perhaps it’s more competitive for those guys, who knows? (Interview: #7 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

This raises the question of self-promotion which female creatives and account managers recognize as a significant difference between men and women in advertising. Self-promotion is accepted generally as being necessary but also as something that men are much better at as Katherine explains:

The few who do it very noticeably and very regularly are very loud about it. They are good at their job ... The two loudest I can think of are both good at their job. Very good at their job. In both those cases, both of the people I am thinking of, have a very obvious need to be recognized and congratulated and it’s all about me, all about me, all about me. But there’s a very obvious need, like a child showing off, that you would recognize in a kid. (Interview: #7 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Katherine points to a recurring theme, that male creatives have childlike behaviours and needs such as the need to be the centre of attention and the need for recognition that is fed by the hierarchical structure and the agency culture that
promotes competition amongst its staff. The creative ‘manspace’ is a cultural site for staging competitions and games. Some of these are gender based such as the ranking of women in the agency by the men. Sarah, a television producer at M&C Saatchi, Sydney tells me that some men in the agency have a ‘Top Five’ that is an unwritten list of the five hottest women in the agency that the men discuss and compare. The women see this as pathetic, childish behavior that they dismiss with a knowing roll of the eyes whilst continuing to get on with their work. Sarah mentions it, not because it is a serious issue, but because it indicates the men who participate in this gender game are indulging in a form of ‘chest beating’ while ‘behaving like little boys and need to grow up.’ Sometimes gender games are played out in the male creatives’ work such as a television commercial for the male body spray Axe Blast I see while I am in cricket mad India. The commercial features three international cricketers in their one-day playing uniforms stretched out on banana lounges beside a pool. A bikini clad young woman walks by and the cricketers rate her on their smart phone cricket scoring app. Because they cannot agree on a score for her, one of the cricketers, Chris Gayle from the West Indies, makes the umpire’s signal that the decision be referred to the third umpire and they laugh. A voice over accompanies the very unsubtle product promise that appears on the screen: ‘Score more with Axe Blast.’

Other agency games are more predictable and ubiquitous such as the foosball and snooker tables and the dart board that are standard recreational equipment in creative departments. This is certainly true in the McCann and M&C Saatchi agencies in Sydney as well as Ogilvy, Shanghai. However, in the recreation area of McCann, Delhi I found a table tennis table that was surrounded by a pile of broken office chairs and desks. Foosball, snooker and darts have longstanding male associations having been brought in from pubs and clubs that are homosocial centres of male drinking and socializing. These are all competitive games where scores result in winners and losers.

Foucault reminds us that power relations are dynamic and wherever we identify friction and division there will always be resistance to something that he argues is a fundamental structural feature of power. ‘Where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequentially, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in
relation to power’ (Foucault 1990, p. 95). Without the tension, without the push and pull between bodies and minds there can be no power relations and it is through resistance that these can be altered. An example of resistance is provided by Dharma, a Senior Brand Leader at McCann, Delhi who tells me he was woken at 4:20 am on the morning of our interview by his manager who is on vacation but wanted to check on his projects. Dharma pushed back telling his manager he will lodge an official complaint if he continues to make unreasonable contact with him.

Some see creativity in advertising as a form of improvisation that relies on elements of spontaneity and unpredictability. In other words, creativity is ‘a deliberate interruption of habit patterns’ designed to resist the repetition of previous creative approaches. In many product categories the advertising appears to be formulaic with competing brands using what become generic symbols and demonstrations. This is what I describe as creative cloning, a strategy of least resistance and a mindset that reconfirms the category norm. However, resistance is critical to the reputation of creatives who set out to be creators of authentic and original ideas (Grabher, 2001, pp. 367-369; Grabher, 2002, p. 252).

**Suits versus jeans**

While it is underpinned by mutual dependence, the tension between account service and creative is always present as Olivia (M&C Saatchi, Sydney) explains:

> It’s always been a bugbear and it would be that there is definitely an ‘us’ and ‘them’ with creative in some agencies. It’s not all but definitely there’s a sense of suits, which I find an interesting term. It’s a category term so you get stuck with it, but suits, you know are slightly subservient to everybody else in the agency. (Interview: #1 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Olivia’s comment about ‘suits’ raises dress in advertising agencies as a demarcation issue that identifies role, function and status. The contrast is easily categorized so that account service personnel, or suits, are identified by their business wear, whereas the creatives are identified by their casual wear. Behind this observation is a range of opinions from the superficial, that suggest casual clothes are the symbolic representation of the ‘creativity of creatives’ (McFall, 2002, p. 537). Or, a more considered argument where casual dress represents an ‘identity
position’ and lifestyle that advertising creatives have to adopt in order to separate themselves from the ‘stiff business culture’ (Mort, 1996, p. 101). This argument extends to include the choice of casual dress and taste favoured by creatives to emphasize distance and separateness from conventional forms of business dress. However, Nixon and Crewe (2004, pp. 135-137) note that when creatives are promoted to executive and management positions their dress becomes more conservative as their contact with clients and conventional business people increases. Casanova (2015, p.3) refers to this as the ‘strategic embrace of conformity’ that provides access to the privileges and social dividends of being a member of the middle or upper class.

Evelyn (M&CSS/MP) describes how male creatives are conscious of themselves as branded individuals and how their dress plays an important part of visualizing their ‘manbrand’:

> It’s cool to be in advertising that’s part of what defines them. They’re cool people, they’re creative people. They have permission to dress, look and behave differently for that reason. And, there’s actually a client expectation because to take in a creative who looks like a banker is quite a disappointment for most clients. They actually still like the edgy, you know, brashness that can often be there or even the sort of kooky, introvert not present, you know. (Interview: #2 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

If the creatives’ dress code is violated it can become surprisingly public as the following example shows; Todd Sampson, the Chief Executive Officer of Leo Burnett, Sydney was attacked by journalist Joe Aston in the Rear Window column of The Australian Financial Review for violating the creative dress code. Sampson enjoys a public profile beyond advertising with regular appearances on The Gruen Transfer, a popular television show about advertising, where he is known for wearing graphically loud T-shirts. In the article, Aston questions Sampson’s right to wear T-shirts in the context of advertising:

> For how long are we supposed to swallow his ‘I wear a T-shirt because I’m an advertising creative’ shtick? Hello? The bloke is not an advertising creative. He’s actually an advertising suit who has appropriated the uniform of creatives in his industry (including those that work for him).

(Joe Aston, Rear Window, Australian Financial Review, 17 February 2015.)
Sampson has transgressed the creative dress code and misappropriated a symbol of male creativity despite being the most senior member of the hierarchy in his agency. He has embraced a ‘consumerist discourse’ to build a ‘personal brand’ (Barry, 2016, p. 1). As I discussed above, Foucault (2006, p. 14) reminds us that ‘what is essential in all power is that ultimately its point of application is always the body’. Outside the advertising industry the protection of the creative dress code is hardly an important issue but within advertising it is taken seriously. Tom McFarlane (M&CSS/RCD) describes the expectation that clients have of visiting their advertising agency but at the same time laments the copycat results that come from it.

I think they want it to be different but suddenly they’re dressing like us, or how we used to dress. (Interview: #5 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

What is curious about the creative dress code is how uniform it is amongst people who champion originality, difference and individuality. In the same way a black belt in karate signifies someone who has achieved the highest status and accumulated the most skills, amongst male creatives and especially art directors black signifies a practitioner of creative skills. The best explanation for this comes from Hailey (M&CSS/C) who describes what signifies a male creative. Some of the younger men adopt a hipster look which is their interpretation of what they think an advertising man should look like. Hailey (M&CSS/C) uses hipster as a pejorative to describe a young male creative who is pretentious and overly trendy. Hailey (M&CSS/C) notes that talent is usually disproportionate to the effort that individuals put into how they look. ‘The brilliant ones don’t care.’ To illustrate this, she tells me how the designer Tom Ford always wears the same clothes day-in, day-out when he is designing. Black t-shirt, black pants, black sneakers allow him to forget about his personal appearance and put all his energy into his designs and creations where he introduces colour.

However, the new generation of female account service executives is challenging the presumed and pre-eminent status of the creative department in quiet and subtle ways by:

For a long time advertising has been centred around the creative process so creative is the god of what we make. It’s what we produce, right. So it’s
the hub ... I think that’s changing ... there’s now so much more we do for
client’s that’s not just creative advertising. (Interview: #1 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

And yet the sense that advertising creatives are a protected species prevails and
they continue to receive special care and attention from their female account
handlers whose role is to manage them. This is all about the control of men but is
practiced skillfully as a subtle form of diplomatic power by the women:

I think that it will change ... the importance that’s wrapped around a
creative department, and because in this instance we’re talking about a
male creative department, I think that’s going to be an interesting
behavioural change management process for us in this agency because I
think there’s always been a sense of what a creative person thinks we do
as a function. We go out, we get direction in a brief and we come back
and turn it into a brief for them and they do the work. They just have no idea
of all the business things we have to do to help, you know ... I think the
streams of work will become more important and therefore the roles of
other people in the agency will actually, hopefully equalize a little more.
(Interview: #1 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

The power of the pitch

An advertising agency is like an addict, mainlining on success. Winning is
the cocaine of the advertising industry ... and pitching is its agent. We love
pitching – it brings out our competitive spirit like nothing else. We snort the
energy of battle. Our best people volunteer for frontline service, committing
their time, passion and creativity (Hegarty, 2011, p. 85).

The advertising power game reaches its zenith in the agency pitch which is a
formalized, competitive and predominantly male ritual summarized in Hegarty’s
hyperbolic description. This is where agencies are selected by clients to submit
presentations for their business. It is a high stakes game because the prize can be
an account worth millions of advertising dollars to the winner. However, the process
tends to be a man game with senior advertising males pitching to senior client
males. Similar to the way that account service is now predominantly female, the
middle and lower echelons within client marketing departments are often female.
This can frustrate and threaten ‘manpower’ as McFarlane (M&CSS/RCD) explains:
I call them the Russian dolls, and they are all girls … there’s another one, another one, another one and a little bubbly one down the end of the table and everyone’s allowed to speak. You know it’s that generation, the kids have been told, ‘You speak up, your opinion counts.’ Well sometimes your opinion doesn’t count, you get license, you earn the license.

(Interview: #5 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Winning new business is essential for an agency to progress; ‘Someone once likened an agency to a shark: if it wasn’t moving forward, it was dying’ (Hegarty, 2011, p. 85). Within the industry the very nature of the pitch is controversial. Some agencies, and particularly those with strong creative reputations have adopted a no-pitch policy arguing that the work they produce (which is on public display) is the best way for potential clients to decide whether they are the appropriate agency for them. However, the no-pitch policy is hard to maintain because of the competitive nature of the industry where clients are difficult to get, so these agencies often re-enter the fray and submit when they get the opportunity because this is a power game that clients tend to win as Prabhakar, Executive Creative Director in Delhi, explains:

I think as an industry we have not respected ourselves enough. In India specially a lot of times … they all tried saying, ‘As an industry we should stop pitching for free.’ So you won’t pitch for free. So OK let’s say the big top five of the industry said, ‘We won’t pitch.’ Somebody’s going to back down and say, ‘Oh, this is important for me. I’m going to pitch.’ And that’s all it takes. So in that sense that competition is not healthy, but otherwise its great to go into a pitch unless you fail. It’s great, brings out the best in me actually. I enjoy pitching a lot.

(Interview: #8 McCann, Delhi)

The continuing issue that is central to pitching for business is whether clients should pay for these submissions or whether the costs involved should be covered by the agency. In most cases clients do not pay for pitches arguing that because they are issuing an invitation to submit, the decision to accept is voluntary and what the agency chooses to present and how they go about it is up to each agency. Therefore, the costs should be borne by the agency. Tom McFarlane (M&CSS/RCD) wears two hats when it comes to pitching for business as he is both the most senior
creative and management. His perspective is influenced by the ‘cycle of pitching’ by which he means the length of time that clients stay with their agency before putting their account on the open pitch list again.

We have three or four pitches on the go probably pretty constantly. So you look at the cycle of pitching, its two years, three years now. Last time I checked, and maybe slightly out of date now, but the tenure of what they are now called CMOs - that’s Chief Marketing Officers, used to be Marketing Directors - is twenty months, so it’s very hard to build relationships. And, you know it’s the work and its all that stuff in the relationship. So you win on that merry-go-round sometimes because the new guy is your old guy from somewhere else. But god help you if the new guy, or new gal, isn’t someone you know. The other thing is the lists of the agency, the pitch lists. We’ve got one at the moment, its not very big, it’s eight agencies. I don’t really want to go for it. But it’s free, it’s all free. Why not have eight, why not have fifty? It’s free. (Interview: #5 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Sometimes clients will offer a fee to the competing agencies with the proviso that the creative work prepared remains the property of the client even though they might not appoint the agency.

Transnational advertising agencies will have a new business team working full time on winning new clients. They will have a wish-list agreed to by the management team according to a set of criteria. For example, there may be an international client held by the agency in other markets that they target to balance their domestic client list. An example is the Ford Motors account held for decades by JWT globally with the exception of Australia and the United Kingdom. Agencies will target certain clients to expand their product and service categories. For example, a strong retail account, whilst offering limited creative opportunities in many cases, provides good revenue throughout the year, whereas other clients such as sun tan lotions can be very seasonal. An agency with a list of packaged goods clients might target the financial services industry and go looking for a retail bank to balance their client list. Clients also have different requirements and objectives so they might consider appointing an agency to look after a troublesome brand or product category to test them out before considering them for the major account. This
strategy is used by large transnational advertisers such as Unilever and Procter and Gamble. Once the pitch list is decided and, depending on the size of the account, it can become the subject of industry gossip and speculation. It can also cause friction between the submitting agency and its existing clients. It becomes the focus of agency-client relations to ensure that existing clients continue to receive uninterrupted service and not to feel neglected as agency resources are diverted onto the competitive pitch.

Inside the agency there are power games played as to who will be chosen to produce the creative work that will be presented in the pitch. This is where the competitive ‘manpower’ games start to ramp up. Usually the most senior teams with the best creative reputations and the most creative awards will be put onto new business projects, so to be asked to produce work to attract new business is coveted because it boosts the ego and carries creative prestige. It is also risk free because there is no guarantee that the work will win the client or even be produced in the event of the agency winning the business. Nevertheless, creatives are encouraged to put their best ideas forward free of the normal day-to-day constraints. There is a sense of nothing ventured, nothing gained. A well run agency will have an annual new business budget allocated to cover the costs of competitive pitches but these are hard to control as the creatives get carried away with wild ideas and enthusiasms like shooting test commercials. A major competitive pitch can cost hundreds of thousands of dollars depending on how the agency goes about it and can include pilot television productions and recordings. Often the approach taken is that the actual pitch presentation itself is a creative, theatrical opportunity.

As an example, I was appointed the Australasian Pacific creative director for JWT in 1983. I was charged with raising the quality of the creative product and although the agency had a solid foundation of transnational clients like Kellogg, Kraft and Unilever it had not won recently any new business. The new business team managed to get onto the pitch-list for Pacific Magazines whose marketing management were looking for an agency to handle the women’s magazine titles Family Circle and Better Homes and Gardens. I decided to use both the pitch and the creative work that was presented as a creative exercise. This was contentious
because up until then pitch presentations had been run by male account directors who underlined their authority by allocating only a part of the meeting for the creative director to present the creative work. This was my chance to play a power game, an opportunity to assert the dominance of creative and my authority as the executive creative director. In order to demonstrate that the agency had embarked on a programme to reinvigorate its approach as well as its creative product we took two large meeting rooms, removed all the office furniture and called in a team of interior designers and asked them to dress the spaces for our presentations. One room became a stylish living room complete with sofas, rugs, lamps, television set, pictures and coffee table with an array of magazines of which the latest issue of *Family Circle* was the most prominent, of course. It was here that we pitched for the *Family Circle* business while the all male clients sat on comfortable sofas. When we had finished we took the prospective clients onto another floor and into the second space which had been transformed into an outdoor setting on the deck of a house looking out through palms and vegetation to a sea view with islands at sunset. A copy of *Better Homes and Gardens* was subtly placed on the table. Instead of the usual coffee the clients were offered chilled summer cocktails which they enjoyed whilst listening to our presentation from comfortable deck chairs. The idea was both the theatre and the contents of the show we put on. New business decisions can take months before a result is known but on this occasion we were appointed to handle the business before the clients left the building.

Tom McFarlane (M&CSS/RCD) believes in the power of the pitch and places great emphasis on the way his agency’s ideas are physically presented. At the very least potential clients enter a boardroom to be greeted with individual seats around the table each with their own note pad, and pencil emblazoned with the agency name in its distinctive bold typeface and a water jug and glass. When the presentation is over they are each given beautifully bound books containing the creative work and other details the agency has presented to them such as budgets, media plans, research proposals, profiles of the people who will work on their account and the agency’s terms and conditions of business.
Sometimes agencies will know who else is on the pitch list whilst at others times clients may opt to keep this confidential. McFarlane is aware of the competitive environment in which agencies compete for business by playing before a critical audience.

It’s not dissimilar to a standup, doing standup comedy at the moment. You walk into a room and say, ‘Here’s my idea’, and they throw tomatoes. There’s no niceness in this. (Interview: #5 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

McFarlane continues to tell me where he learned the importance of the power of the pitch as a theatrical production in which agency players act out their roles to demonstrate their critical thinking as well as their creative capacity:

There was this guy called Tony White and I still use stuff I learnt off him. Certainly in pitches I totally do, and one of his things was, when the clients come to the agency they don’t want it to be like their own office ... This is theatre, you know. And that’s why we do that café. I keep going “Turn the f’ing music up!” ... On the performance thing, if you’ve ever seen our presentations we do and the takeaways [presentation documents] we do. You know the takeaways and the beautiful books we do, and I learnt that off Tony. Tony had this theory called, “You’ve got to given them a show bag, mate. Mate, you’ve got to give ‘em a show bag.” It’s like going to the Royal Easter Show when they come to a pitch. What did you do when you left the Show? You got in the train and you looked in and you went, ‘Oh, I’ve got a Phantom comic! I got a ruler! I’ve got a chocolate bar!’ He [Tony] said, ‘That’s what you’ve got to do.’ I do that routine, I say “What’s in the show bag, mate? What’s in the show bag?” ... So the performance thing is important, you know. To me it’s they come in, it’s how they’re greeted and then what food you put in front of them, what beer, what brand of beer.

(Interview: #5 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Continuing with the military analogies from earlier in this chapter, it is worth remembering that for every new business ‘victory’ there will be at least one ‘defeat’. In fact, there may be several defeats made up of the other agencies that were invited to pitch for the account. But the biggest defeat will be borne by the incumbent agency from whom the business has been removed. There can be significant implications for a losing incumbent agency not least the loss of income
and loss of staff. Some of these will have had little to do with the creative process but who nevertheless are culled to save money. As Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) has warned us, advertising is an enormously tough environment.

Conclusion
In this chapter I have looked at the ongoing competitive ‘manpower’ games that are played out between the men and women in the agency. The ongoing jockeying for creative supremacy that involves self-promotion and self-belief. Using Foucault’s theory of power that focuses on ‘local relations of force’ I have shown how power relations in the advertising agency are dynamic because of tensions that preserve and privilege men. However, when male creatives are taken out of the creative department they often feel a loss of ‘manpower’ because they are outside the protective border of the ‘manspace’.

I looked at female coping strategies as a way to explore Foucault’s notion that wherever there is power there are forms of resistance. I also considered how the ‘gift’ of creative experience from Graham Fink to his Chinese creative staff is an exercise in power and authority because of an expectation of reciprocity by way of improved creativity. Military forms of language and the casual creative dress code are also considered as ways to denote difference and demonstrate ‘manpower’ in action as part of the daily lived experience of being a male creative. And, the examination of the ‘power of the pitch’ shows how the hunt for new business is an important male ritual used to demonstrate ‘manpower’ in action.

However, all my participants, no matter their gender, status, function or cultural setting drew my attention to a shadow that accompanies them along every step of their advertising career. It is the fear of failure that manifests itself in a constant state of anxiety that has an irregular pulse according to changing circumstances. A particular form of anxiety linked to creativity is the subject of the next chapter.
I sit in one of the dives
On Fifty-second street
Uncertain and afraid ...

These lines could have been delivered by Don Draper, the fictional creative director at the Sterling Cooper advertising agency as part of an angst ridden monologue in an episode of Mad Men. And, the following could be a perceptive observation of Draper and his fellow male advertising creatives at one of their homosocial carousing sessions in a bar along Madison Avenue.

They brood over being till the bars close,
The malcontented who might have been
The creative odd ones the average need
To suggest new goals.

They are, in fact, scalpel sharp, personal accounts of creative anxiety and alienation experienced by the poet, W. H. Auden, written in New York at the start of World War II shortly before Bill Bernbach founded his breakthrough advertising agency DDB.¹ Six decades later, my research participants consistently partner creativity and anxiety as an ongoing and inevitable precondition to the lived experience of a male creative in advertising.

I acknowledge that all forms of creativity have their anxieties but, in this chapter, I tease out this partnership to try and understand specifically the role of anxiety in the creative advertising process that takes place in an intensively competitive environment that emphasizes success and winning. I argue this is gendered anxiety that accompanies a masculinity indexed to advertising creativity.

M&C Saatchi use the term ‘manxiety’ in their sociological study of Australian men to pose this question: ‘Do we even know who the Aussie male is anymore? It’s difficult to identify today’s real Australian man among a tsunami of stereotypes,
political correctness and media reports of manxiety and emasculation’ (Leggett, 2013, p.13). Whereas M&C Saatchi use ‘manxiety’ to question who the Australian man is, I use it in a specific sense to distinguish a particular form of anxiety that is experienced by the individual creative advertising man as he goes about his everyday working life.²

‘Manxiety’ identifies a state that is incomplete and where something is lacking, whereas, if that something was present, the level of ‘manxiety’ would be less or even disappear. For example, what can be most lacking for the male creative is the absence of a creative idea, a failure to gain client approval for his work or a lack of recognition for his ideas. ‘Manxiety’ is primarily based on a general and ongoing concern or worry about something that is not necessarily present.

The embodiment of manxiety
Anxiety is associated with irrational and visceral responses such as the inability to sleep, concentrate, remain still or feeling edgy. These embodied responses position anxiety closer to that of an affect. However, according to the influential psychologist and personality theorist, Silvan Tomkins, anxiety is not an affect. Tomkins synthesized the complex web of human emotions into a theory in which he identifies nine affects that he divides into categories that are negative, neutral and positive (Tomkins, 1963; Sedgwick and Frank, 1995). Some affects cluster to provide the low/high threshold to show how an affect stimulates a reaction to an event, as well as an impulse to respond to that event.³ In his theory, Tomkins’ pairing of fear and anguish is the closest to my notion of ‘manxiety’ and, indeed, the dictionary definition of anguish uses anxiety as a descriptor.⁴ Each of the affects that Tomkins identifies induce specific, consistent physical responses. And, various clinically diagnosed anxiety disorders also are associated with a range of physical symptoms that can include clammy skin, shortness of breath, palpitations and increased heart rate (DSM-IV-TR, 2003, p. 429). While Tomkins classifies anguish as a negative affect, I argue that its close relation, ‘manxiety’, has some positive aspects. Because male creatives feel they are constantly under the spotlight, their main concern is whether they are up to delivering what is required of them and whether their ideas will interest those to whom they are directed. This troublesome territory between interest and anxiety is summarized by Elspeth Probyn in her analysis of writing about shame.
as ‘the challenge of making writing equal to the subject being written about’ (2010, p. 131).

‘Manxiety’ is felt when the individual advertising creative is put on high alert about work, when challenges are to be met and when standards of creative originality and authenticity need to be maintained. In this way ‘manxiety’ triggers action and prompts an affective benchmark against which creative ideas can be evaluated. As John Hegarty, creative founder of Bartle Bogle Hegarty (BBH), writes: ‘You’re only as good as your next idea. And if you can’t agree on that, then it’s time to walk’ (2011, p. 181).

The advertising creative’s work involves promoting products and services with the objective that they achieve socially and culturally sanctioned status. This is a dynamic process influenced by phenomena such as the prevailing socio-economic circumstances, the seasons, the markets and the whims and fancies of fashion. Knowledge of these influences provides background information that advertising creatives need to know about in order to come up with original, tailor-made ideas on demand.

**Winning is everything**

As I have argued in the previous chapters, advertising is all about competition and winning within a transnational capitalist system. For example, advertisers compete with their competitors to win greater market share. The commercial media compete amongst themselves to win a greater share of the advertising spend. Agencies compete with other agencies to win client accounts. Individual creatives compete with each other to work on the key projects and have their work accepted, approved and produced. So, what does it take to be successful in the highly competitive, dynamic advertising workplace?

Ryan, an award-winning copywriter employed at McCann, Sydney as part of their rebuilding programme, reminds us how cutthroat advertising can be when he describes what it takes to succeed:

> I think they’ve definitely got to be more ruthless in their approach. I don’t think you can succeed if you’re not ruthless in this business. I think that to get to the top you’ve got to be ruthless. You’ve got to be able to tap
someone on the shoulder and say, “Thanks, but no thanks. Sorry, but thanks, see you later.” I’ve seen it quite a number of times, people having to fire their friends, people that they’ve worked with, art director, teams. (Interview: #3 McCann, Sydney)

Tom Dery (M&CSS/GC) laughs when he describes the economic and creative win he experiences when he passes a poster in the streets of Sydney created by his agency:

Happy, because I hear ‘K’ching! K’ching!’ as I drive past. Quickly evaluate what that’s worth to us. No, look I guess what I think is I’m glad to see we’re doing that and not someone else.

(Interview: #9 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

For some, working in advertising is a social win because it opens the door to a dynamic world of different creative talents and skills. Elliot, a Senior Copywriter at M&C Saatchi, Sydney recalls his first encounter with an advertising agency where he discovered a new and attractive social world:

I think advertising attracts a lot of wonderful characters and when I went in there it was just like, they were playing Foosball and they were drinking, playing music and having fun and the girls were gorgeous and it just seemed like a really fun environment and people seemed to get paid quite well. It just seemed like a place I want to be.

(Interview: #3 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

For Ramdatt an early career copywriter at McCann, Delhi, there is the attraction of mixing with, and learning from award-winning creatives at advertising festivals.

[There are so many things. Things like the Goafest, things like Cannes and things like One Shows and all these festivals. They all glamorize the industry. It’s fun. It’s got learning, it’s got recognition, it’s got everything in it. Everything is happening in those festivals. You get to see the best work, you also get to experience the glamour and you get to socialize with people from all over the world. You gain so much knowledge with those seminars. So, it’s awesome. (Interview: #8 McCann, Delhi)
A number of senior creatives provide practical explanations such as the attraction of variety so they get to work on a wide range of projects and communication problems. They describe how each day presents different challenges that encourage the application of their aesthetic competence to facilitate the production of new ideas in a dynamic environment where ‘consumer culture is always new’ (Slater, 1997). Jackson (M&CSS/CDA) explains why the challenge is so important to him:

The challenge for me is, I like the fight. I like to close the deal ... I see it in more a primal kind of view where we’re very task focused. We have a goal, go hunt, kill, bring it back ... Part of the reason why I like being in a big agency is I like hunting the big game. The bigger bets. The business problems. (Interview: #4 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

My research participants nominate the following ingredients in their recipe for success as a creative in advertising; difference, exuberance, a touch of arrogance and fearlessness (Hegarty, 2014, p. 22). However, sometimes unexpected and rewarding success can be experienced outside the agency in ways that bring surprise and pleasure. Elliot describes his experience when he overhears total strangers talking about his work:

I love that. Like one of the best things, even just recently, the two campaigns I was working on I overheard people, some at a barbecue and some at a pub, talking about the campaign, you know to his mate. It was like, this is awesome. (Interview: #3 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

What is it like to work in this dynamic workplace that prioritizes competition and winning, when you lose? How do you feel when your ideas are rejected? When your work does not get accepted? When you do not win an advertising award?

Chakraborti (McD/VP) with whom I spend time both inside and outside the agency in Delhi, is about to retire after many decades with McCann Worldwide. As Vice President of Human Insights, he has a keen researcher’s interest in human behavior and a cultural curiosity about the society in which he lives. Chakraborti sits in a cramped and windowless space amongst a kaleidoscopic clutter of documents, books and photographs. He burns joss sticks so the incense relaxes him and his
visitors. There is a framed picture of the invincible mother goddess Durga [वाल्ल], who according to Chakraborti, ‘Helps keep things calm.’ I ask him about his insights into the young male creatives of the day and how they handle criticism and rejection. Chakraborti tells me that despite many significant changes to traditional Indian family life amongst the emerging middle class, such as a relaxing of the strictures of arranged marriage, he sees the young generation of male advertising creatives as members of a new precariat.

Their sense of self is very big and … they are also very vulnerable … they are much more pressurized. They are much more on the edge … They look very happy-go-lucky but there is always an undercurrent of insecurity. At every level you’ll find that they’re not happy … They are planning their life quite early. The moment they’re in jobs they’re always into their loans up to their neck because they’ve already planned a house, already planned a car and so on. For them money is a real time crisis so that will always swing what they are trying to do. But still advertising has its own pressure and only … one kind of people who come to advertising, those who are passionate about it, they only stick around in this profession because otherwise it’s so demanding and it requires so much resilience. You work whole night, or the whole week, then you present it to the client and it got bombed and you come back and you’ve got given another two days. Time to again come back with a fresh set of campaign. That I think requires a very resilient mind set. That fun is gone and … it will be very difficult to survive in the ad world.

(Interview: #14 McCann, Delhi)

Most creatives that I interview tell me they are anxious about their creative resilience and capacity to keep coming up with new ideas. This potential loss of creative potency heightens their vulnerability and haunts them and it becomes a major part of their ‘manxiety’. They worry about how far they can go before they no longer deliver new ideas that meet their own standards or the standards of the people they work for. The constant state of ‘manxiety’ spurs creatives on to keep pushing for better creative ideas in the hope those ideas will be recognized and awarded.

Win a Lion become a lion

The advertising industry is obsessed with awards and the key international awards vie with each other to establish supremacy based on creativity and reputation. For
example, on 11 January 2016, Design and Art Direction (D&AD) staged an international twenty-four hour, temporary theft of their prestigious award ‘pencils’ from offices around the world. Called Project P, it was recorded on video showing creatives’ reactions to having their hard won pencils stolen. These ranged from devastation and rage to despair and invective language. Social media ran hot with expressions of anger and threats. Then, when the pencils were returned, it took some time for their owners to calm down. As one anonymous male creative is heard to say, ‘That is the only one I fucking care about!’ The strategy behind Project P was to underscore the prestige of winning a D&AD pencil and to encourage entries for the upcoming 2016 awards. Charlie Wilson, Executive Creative Director OgilvyOne, says in a filmed interview: ‘It [D&AD pencil] is the ultimate accolade for a creative. It always has been and it always will be, I think.’

Each country has its own local awards acknowledging categories that range from television and radio to packaging design; from film production to illustration and photography in what is broadly described as the film and graphic arts. In chapter 3 ‘manbrand’, I described the establishment of AWARD in Australia as an example of a national forum for recognizing and awarding creative excellence. Depending on the size of the advertising agency and the importance they place on winning awards, the management may allocate an annual budget and someone fulltime to handle the expensive and time consuming entry process for national and international awards. The agencies I visited usually display their awards proudly and prominently somewhere in their creative departments. At the time I was visiting M&C Saatchi they were deciding on a new location within the agency to display their award collection. (See Figure 4.1).

Arguably the Cannes Lions annual advertising festival has become the biggest and most prestigious of the international awards. In 1954 a small group of cinema screen distributors decided to hold an International Advertising Film Festival in Venice, based on the successful Cannes Film Festival that had been established in 1946. The actual award presented to the winners was modelled on the Lion of Venice that stands atop a column in the Piazza San Marco in Venice and continues to this day.
From 1984 the festival has been held in Cannes at the Palais des Festivals et des Congrès. Known as the ‘world championship of creativity’, the festival runs for seven days of seminars before the final presentation ceremony when the winners receive their Cannes Lions. Two of the advertising agencies where I conducted my research
have enjoyed recent success at Cannes Lions. In 2012, Ogilvy, Shanghai won a Grand Prix Lion for the Cokehands poster. (See Figure 5.4) In 2013, McCann, Melbourne received five Grand Prix Lions, the most ever for a single piece of work, for its ‘Dumb Ways to Die’ safety campaign for Metro Trains. That same year the Cannes festival received a record 35,765 entries and more than 11,000 delegates attended.

To win at Cannes Lions is a major achievement. It accelerates the reputation and status of the winner and can lead to job offers and a hefty increase in salary. In the following quote from our interview, Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) declares his personal desire to win a Cannes Lion. Note how that is tempered by realism and pragmatism that comes from a long and successful career as an executive creative director with responsibilities beyond himself to include the careers of his creative staff, as well as the commercial success of his clients and the agency:

I would be lying if I said I don’t want to walk up on stage in Cannes and pick up, you know, Grand Prix. Yes, I’d love to and I haven’t, and it galls me that I haven’t. And I still want to, but I don’t think it’s the most important thing anymore and I probably did. When you’re starting off you want awards because that’s the way you get noticed, that’s how you get your next job, so awards are very important for people on their way up. (Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Success for one creative means increased ‘manxiety’ for his colleagues, concerned that their creative ranking in the competitive stakes might decline and they will be seen to be falling behind the award winner. This gap can be perceived as both a creative gap and an economic gap made evident by the media spotlight that falls on the winners. Based on a conversation he had with his former colleague, Graham Fink, Lincoln recalls how awards are a major cause of stress for both creatives and management in Shanghai:

He [Graham Fink] pointed out people can’t get married in China unless they win an award because the award means they can have a pay rise. The pay rise means they can move out. Moving out means they can get married. Otherwise living at home means they can never get married. So he feels, almost duty bound, to promote them because otherwise people aren’t going to get ahead ... These poor bastards, they’re working their nuts
off, they’ve been here all night, they desperately need to win an award otherwise life’s going to be shit, so, yep. That’s the power [of an award] in that market. (Interview #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

In some cases, agencies include winning awards as part of an individual creative’s key performance indicators (KPI) and are written into their terms and conditions of employment. Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) drew my attention to this during his interview:

In some agencies awards are very important for you to keep your job because if you’re KPI’d on them then obviously that’s going to happen ...

There are agencies, Burnett’s in Sydney, win a lot of awards, I think they’re part of a network that ... they’re tasked with winning awards.

(Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

The advertising creative needs to maintain an optimistic view of each creative task that, given favourable circumstances such as receiving his client’s approval and adequate budgets, he can create work of an award-winning standard. However, self-doubt is ever present as he tries to navigate the circumstances that could derail his efforts.

There is a mutually dependent relationship between advertising awards and ‘manxiety’ that cultural theorist Lauren Berlant calls ‘an attachment’ that is a relational dynamic connecting the individual to a desired outcome. Berlant argues that ‘all attachments are optimistic’ because the individual is seeking something that is beyond themselves with an expectation that their attachment to an event, or object, will bring about ‘a different lived experience in just the right way’ (Berlant, 2011, p. 22). In this instance, I am interested in the attachment the creative has to winning an advertising award for his work. Central to this is the way the attachment leads to conditions of possibility where the advertising creative adopts an optimistic predisposition to continue working in a social world that has been improved by his winning an award. Following Berlant, I call the ‘manspace’ where the advertising creative works, an affective structure that promotes conditions of possibility. One of these is that winning an advertising award will bring about individual rewards and benefits. But what are the chances of success? Advertising awards are notoriously difficult to win and many of the award festivals emphasize how tough they are by how few awards are given out. Even though a piece of creative work is accepted
for entry because it meets the criteria, the chance of failure remains very high. An unexpected risk, but nevertheless a real one, is that an illegitimate production such as a ‘scam-ad’ might get through the judging system and win. This possibility further exacerbates the competition and can embarrass the award body and those on the judging panel. The perpetrators of this type of creative fraud risk public humiliation and serious damage to their reputations.

It is the sense of optimism that keeps the event open and where winning an award remains a possibility. However, it is more than likely that the work will not receive an award which means the attachment is to a significantly problematic event. The ironic twist from a condition of possibility to one of failure is what Berlant calls ‘cruel optimism.’ In other words, the condition of possibility has been compromised because the realization of possibility has been rendered virtually impossible and, as a result, a state of precarity exists. A condition of dependence occurs because what is desired and access to it rests in someone else’s hands (Berlant, 2011, p. 192). In other words, win or lose, optimism can turn into cruel optimism which hurts and adds fuel to a creative’s state of ‘manxiety’.

It is interesting to see how my male creative respondents handle cruel optimism. It tantalizes in the form of an affective attachment at the same time suggesting how good it would be to live with success. One of the strategies creatives adopt as a result of failure is to change what constitutes success. Instead of being measured against the glamour of an award, accompanied by press coverage and a shiny statuette, success is measured instead by effectiveness and consistent, professional performance. By this I mean the creative work achieves, or exceeds the commercial objectives it was designed to meet. Rather than being reviewed by a panel of judges made up of industry peers, in their place, it is the response of many thousands of anonymous consumers that counts. In this way the creative swaps the inner desire for an industry award for the external recognition as a professional, commercial communicator. Jaldev, a copywriter in Delhi, articulates this transference when I ask him if advertising awards are important:

They are, but let’s say there is a guy who works for awards and he, you know, constantly wins awards. And there’s another guy who does stuff that is, you know, appreciated by the country. So the guy who does the real
work which is seen by so many people will be more worthy and more valuable to the agency and the industry. (Interview: #6 McCann, Delhi)

At McCann, Sydney I meet a senior creative team recently employed as joint creative directors. One of these, Logan, is a mid-career professional for whom winning advertising awards is no longer a central driving force, but would be nice if it happened. His female partner is an environmentalist who is highly critical of advertising for encouraging increased consumption at the cost of finite natural resources. Logan looks for ethical ways to fulfill the agency’s mantra of producing work that is ‘Truth well told.’ Creative work that is honest and truthful becomes more rewarding for him and less conflicted for his partner. Optimism and expectation are dialed back to a level that does not involve as much of the self. In other words, Logan is adopting a form of affective risk management, a state that Slavoj Zizek might call the ‘decaffeinated sublime’ (Zizek, 2004).

However, winning awards is the main game for early career creatives who are attracted to attend award festivals because of opportunities to socialize with their creative heroes and network with potential employers. When I ask Ryan (McCS/SC) what things are important to him as a copywriter he tells me:

   Obviously I’ll have to say awards and the reason, I think with awards comes respect and I generally think it’s a currency in advertising. (Interview: #3 McCann, Sydney)

Ramdatt (McCD/SC) has recently joined McCann, Delhi from Mumbai where he wrote an award-winning print campaign.

   I won six awards in the national advertising festival in India on exceptional brand work ... Full page newspaper ads released every day for like one whole month in Mumbai. And that campaign won everything in print and in art direction. (Interview: #8 McCann, Delhi)

As we have seen, Ramdatt (McCD/SC) likes to attend advertising festivals so he can meet other creatives, learn from the seminar sessions and generally make himself known to various networks. Ramdatt is quite clear about the benefits that winning a recognized advertising award can do for his career.

   If you win international awards I’m sure that your market value in the whole
world will increase. Suddenly if you win something ... like some boys did over here, they won the Cannes Gold and then they won Spikes. [Spikes Asia Festival of Creativity] The same campaign, the Penguin campaign, suddenly you’re in that global creative director’s list, right. You’re among the top one hundred copywriters in the world because of just one campaign ... So it opens up doors not only in India, but it opens up doors all over the world I think. The award work. I wouldn’t say that’s not specific to India, if you win something in Singapore you can probably work in Ogilvy Bombay. People will just be like, ‘Oh, wow! He’s that guy.’

(Interview: #8 McCann, Delhi)

‘That guy’ is the pompous, know-it-all Indian creative that Ritishal (McCD/CDC) already has identified. She continues her critique suggesting that male creatives view awards as symbols of their creative potency and virility. David Ogilvy acknowledges creative potency in Confessions of an Advertising Man (1963) when he instructs the reader ‘How to write potent copy.’ And, concerns about creative potency may help explain the obsession that Indian male creatives have with the soft eroticism of Bollywood that is explored in the next chapter.

As I have argued here, awards are central to the competitive nature of advertising and the power games that are played there. They become more than symbolic recognition of creative talent, they become tradable symbolic capital used to negotiate higher salaries and better positions as well as becoming units of measure in the status ranking system.

Manxiety in the field

In this section of the chapter I return to my transnational agencies to examine ‘manxiety’ and creativity issues in the field. My first day in Shanghai is warm and humid as I walk through the Xuhui District to the offices of Ogilvy, China. Ten days before I had received an email asking me not to arrive in the morning. ‘As you know early morning on July 14 will be the world cup finals, so our company will have morning off. You’re welcome to our office in the afternoon.’ Later that same afternoon I meet Graham Fink (OGS/COO) who had invited me to visit the agency to conduct my fieldwork. I am shown to his office on the twenty-sixth floor by Petula, his Personal Assistant, who quietly warns me not to take too long. Only the most
senior people have individual offices and, although it is not large, as soon as I step inside I am aware of being in a carefully art-directed space. Fink’s desk is finished in appliqué style with surface decorations featuring newspaper cuttings. When seated at his desk, Fink faces a large glass window looking out over the city where a row of ceramic revolutionary figures, with their backs to the view, is evenly spaced along the low window sill. They are silhouetted against the grey curtain of countless apartment blocks that ring the horizon. One of these ceramic figures is Mao Zedung holding up his Little Red Book in one hand, whilst behind him the golden roofs of the Jing’an [静安寺] temple in West Nanjing Road provide the only visible connection to a China older than poured concrete. The books in the shelves behind Fink’s desk are colour coded and he explains, ‘The way I’ve designed my bookshelves is just like in colours, I like things very simple.’ Fink is precise and particular about every visual detail of the space he occupies. Mao Zedung’s famous poem Snow (1936), written when he was a revolutionary leader in the cold north of China, has been painted onto the floor in Chinese lettering. (See Figure 4.2).
Fink (OGS/CCO) sits opposite me across a glass-topped coffee table. He is elegantly and simply dressed in a white T-shirt worn under a black jacket with dark khaki pants and US style sneakers. He is one of the most admired and internationally awarded advertising creatives of the past twenty-five years and I start by asking him what it feels like to have clients investing millions of dollars to produce his ideas. Fink takes his time and finally answers in a calm and considered way by describing his experience creating the “Face” television commercial for British Airways. I want to quote Fink at length because “Face” is one of the most celebrated commercials in advertising history and his description provides and insight into how a creative experiences the approval and production of his idea.¹⁰

I often think that I’m incredibly lucky to have someone kind of sponsoring my ideas if you like. I mean I did an ad years ago for British Airways. The one with the face, and at the time, I mean we worked really hard on it and our idea was picked to make and then it took a long time to happen. But in the end they spent, I think it was, one point one million pounds on it. I think it was one of the most expensive commercials ever at that time like 1986. And, you know we worked with Hugh Hudson, who is like one of the greatest directors and had just done *Chariots of Fire* and won an Oscar. The stylist on it had just, the main stylist had just worked with Attenborough on *Ghandi*. We had the world’s best helicopter pilot who was just flying us around in this incredible piece of hardware. I’ve always wanted to be in a helicopter. We had basically a week in a helicopter looking at locations flying all around. You know, Utah and near Death Valley, all these incredible places. And I do remember then just thinking this is just unbelievable. Someone is spending a million pounds on an idea that I had in five minutes. I remember coming up with it after many months of us all working on it and no one really cracked it, and I actually got the whole idea in five minutes. This is one of those things that just comes in a moment of stillness and then when I was drawing the storyboard out and sending it to people, you know everyone’s going ‘Wow!’ You know we had to have a choreographer to make the shapes, the lips and the eyes etcetera. We used the main choreographer from the Olympic Games in Atlanta. She’s just come back from there. So to work with a team of the best people in the world, and they’re paying for it, I remember feeling incredibly lucky. I also think it gives you a responsibility
cause they’re investing a lot of money, but that’s never worried me, I think I’ve always tried to do the very best I can do. You know I don’t really like compromising too much. (Interview: # 9 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

In the previous chapter, I explored how creative masculinity in advertising is deployed in ongoing military style exercises, such as ‘campaign preparation’, that are designed to assert dominance over competitors and establish levels of status based on the quality of creative work. Clearly the logistics of the Face production
involved a large scale, military style operation. To build the professional stamina required to survive in this competitive environment takes experience, confidence and cunning. Hailey (M&CSS/C) describes how she sees young male creatives going over to the printer when they hear it warming up to check out the ideas being worked up by the other creative teams with whom they are competing. However, there is often a temporal disconnect between the ongoing task, the time it takes to come up with the creative solution and the final product. For example, Fink describes how on the British Airways project there were ‘many months of us all working on it’ before he ‘cracked it’ and came up with the idea in five minutes. The temporal span is compressed as the project progresses because, despite months of work, the idea comes to him in five minutes for a television commercial that the consumer gets to see for only sixty seconds.

The flash of brilliance that heralds the arrival of a creative solution is described by James Webb Young as the ‘Eureka! I have it!’ moment and is often the subject of advertising myth (Young, 1975, p. 54). It’s as if time pressure is used to stimulate that last minute idea that might be drawn on the tablecloth at an advertising lunch, or dashed off in the back of a taxi on the way to the client meeting. It is as if creative spontaneity adds to the brilliance of the idea and encourages a work practice that endorses self-imposed pressure as an essential and dynamic component of the male creative’s modus operandi. On the one hand, male creatives emphasize how hard their work is, but on the other show how easily the creative solution arrives in a flash of brilliance that implies a mastery of the creative process. Fink describes the pressure, self-doubt and insecurity as he seeks to come up with his next idea and meet the expectation that it will be better than his previous one.

I’ve got a really good track record ... which always helps me when I’m really stuck. I always look back and I think ‘What the fuck am I going to do? I haven’t got any ideas.’ I think most creative people secretly think that they’re not that good and I’m one of them and we always have this fear of being found out. And, maybe it’s not going to happen next time? Maybe I’m not going to get that idea? But now I think, I sort of look back and think, well I managed to do it in the past, by hook or by crook, somehow. So that actually gives me strength that I will come up with it next time.

(Interview: #9 Ogilvy, Shanghai)
Noah, a creative director at M&C Saatchi, Sydney describes how a creative block would be like being frozen and powerless to provide a service. If it happened to him, Noah thinks it would be like a personal declaration of defeat, ‘I’ve got nothing guys, you may as well eat me.’

During the course of my fieldwork, the concern about time pressure is persistent and expressed the same way in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai. Individual creatives acknowledge that reputations are based on the success of the work they have produced and, whilst this might cut them a little slack if this work receives favourable peer responses or wins an industry award, their continued reputations and employment depend on what they will produce next time. This is a very real pressure and the most common reason for being fired from an agency. Olivia (M&CSS/MP) describes the ongoing tension between creative reputation and expectation:

Creative people are very aware of the industry’s impression of them that ... comes directly from the work because that is what they’re doing ... They’re very much just coming in and selling the work and it’s putting themselves on paper, or themselves on a billboard or themselves on a television ad. So it is interesting, you can see why the insecurity part of it comes in because if that work isn’t totally the way that you wanted it to be, that’s a tough place to be. But they got into a really tough industry, right? ‘Cause it’s a commercial, it’s a commercial creative industry so you’re always going to have a client in the mix. But, they definitely are aware of their perception in the industry based on the work that goes out the door. Even today we’ve got men agonising over the words in the PR release because so much of it means everything to them and this is the one shot, right? ‘I might not have another campaign up for a month or six weeks.’, So it feeds them, definitely feeds them. (Interview: #1 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Olivia’s (M&CSS/MP) comment contains a timely reminder that advertising creatives are commercial practitioners who are expected to deliver creativity on demand and, as we have seen in some of the other quotes from my research participants, the demand is relentless. Those that last and build long-term careers in advertising agencies develop a toughness and a set of professional skills that enable them to perform under pressure. As Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) explains:
I’ve been able to build up a tolerance ... and can handle it. That doesn’t mean you don’t get stresses, you get enormously stressed but I think there is a speed that I can work at that has been honed over many years which I think is very difficult to do ... I’m very proud of it because ... I don’t think many people are capable of doing it. You’ll have to forgive me for sounding enormously arrogant but I do think you feel you’re in quite an exclusive club. You’re actually doing something that you think is quite easy but to the average person ... they would cringe at the idea that you have maybe two days to come up with a major campaign and then to present it to maybe a room of fifty people. (Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Membership of this ‘exclusive club’, which is inevitably male, endorses the individual as a practitioner of these work survival practices and provides homosocial security and recognition amongst their peers. And, while there is a masculine pride in achieving membership, there is ongoing anxiety as they worry if the time has come when they fail to come up with an original creative solution.

In Delhi, Roshni Khanna, a female trainee hoping to secure a permanent position in the agency has become sensitive to a particular male attitude. She describes how the men ‘do their whole bro thing. They have this brotherhood thing going on’ that she feels is ‘cliquey and clubby.’ Khanna comments how this privileges men and describes how women often have to make appointments to see their male supervisors whereas ‘guys walk in anytime.’ Before my arrival in Delhi, I was told by Dev, an Indian copywriter working at M&C Saatchi that ‘Indian agencies are like men’s clubs.’ However, gender does not automatically guarantee acceptance and racial difference has a long and notorious history of being used to deny membership of various institutions. For example, Jason recently arrived in Shanghai from Taiwan to take up a position in Public Relations (PR) at Ogilvy and works in a team led by a female executive. Jason tells me, ‘I don’t identify myself as Chinese. I identify myself as Taiwanese.’ His relocation is a calculated career move as he explains:

Ogilvy is a famous, is an internationally known advertising or communications agency and it helps your career a lot. So I was told that if you can stay here for about a year and then, later in your career, you can get like a much better opportunity compared to those who don’t work
here, because of the brand. (Interview: #3 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

However, for his move to be successful Jason has to be accepted as a valued member of his team which is causing him some concern:

I have like this fear of missing out. I want to be considered to be part of the team. I think that’s important to me ... because that’s the culture Ogilvy trying to cultivate because they say, ‘Oh, what’s famous about Ogilvy culture is that we are all part of the team. So we like help each other. We cover each other when there’s more work than there’s time’ and something like that. So, they provide this sense that you have to be part of the team and we work together. So I have this fear that I might not be liked by my team members. If my work cannot be up to my boss’s standard I mean like there would be a problem, not to just her but to my team members as well. (Interview: #3 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

David Ogilvy, the founder of the Ogilvy agency, recognized the existence and the function of anxiety in the creative process when he wrote:

‘Running an agency requires ... a genius for sustaining the morale of men and women who work in a continuous state of anxiety. It is popularly believed that advertising attracts neurotics who are naturally prone to anxiety. I don’t believe this. What happens in agencies is enough to induce anxiety among the most phlegmatic people. The copywriter lives with fear. Will he have a big idea before Tuesday morning? Will the client buy it? Will it get a high test score? Will it sell the product? I have never sat down to write and advertisements without thinking THIS TIME I AM GOING TO FAIL’ (Ogilvy, [1983] 2000, p. 45) (Emphasis in original).

It is interesting to note that although Ogilvy acknowledges both men and women work in advertising agencies, when he refers to a copywriter, he identifies the creative skill as male. Because Ogilvy championed the use of precise language with no wasted words, this suggests that he saw all advertising creativity as gendered male. Although Ogilvy claims, and my respondents confirm, that advertising creatives work in a ‘continuous state of anxiety’, this state is not consistent and levels of anxiety fluctuate according to a range of variables. Some of these are hierarchical career levels, deadline pressures, production
requirements, budgets and the competitive circumstances in which they work. However, the most significant variable is gender which, as I have shown, points to the difference between female anxiety and male 'manxiety'.

Advertising: take it or leave it

I find it curious that most of my Sydney respondents express a certain ambivalence towards advertising and what they do. In the stable and well-established Australian centre of western capitalism it is not unusual for senior creatives and managers to tell me they do not consider what they do to be important. However, this position is made from positions of power protected by financial security. For example, when I ask this question of Tom Dery (M&CSS/GC) he gives me this qualified reply:

> Not really. It’s very important for people in the industry and important for society in terms of providing opportunity for those people. In the overall scheme of things is it important? No. It’s interesting and its a tiny, tiny cog in a huge wheel of activity we go through. (Interview: #9 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD), the most senior creative in the same agency, is even more direct when he describes what he sees as an economic benefit of advertising:

> Is advertising important? No. All advertising does is add cost to products at the end of the day because they’ve [consumers] to pay for the advertising. (Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

However, Lincoln concedes that at the same time advertising provides free to air television, it can also bring entertainment and emotional value to the lives of consumers:

> Within that world of evil capitalist art serving capitalism, there is an opportunity to reach people, to entertain people, to make people happier and I think that’s important. (Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Jayesh (M&C Saatchi), an art director from India now working in Sydney, decorates his workspace with model planes and boats and a few, plastic comic book hero figures. This creates a relaxed, playful space so his reply to my question asking if he thinks what he does is important is hardly surprising, “Not important, not at all.’

According to the people I interviewed, there is no apparent difference between
men and women to the perceived importance of what they do. However, Katherine (M&CSS/SC) distinguishes between promoting value for money goods and services as compared with something of social value:

No, not at all. Not unless I am working on something that is actually going to do some good in the world. I don’t think selling more [brand] coffee is in any way relevant to the universe. (Interview: #7 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

However, when I ask creatives in Shanghai about the importance of what they do, any sense of ambivalence or unimportance evaporates. This market is still adjusting to the globalized western capitalist system and its relationship with it, because the ‘window to the west’ has only recently been opened. Comments from my research participants in Shanghai tend to be more direct and carry a certain naivety at times that verges on hubris. In Shanghai, Peter, a senior copywriter states quite simply, ‘Without ads people don’t know how to choose.’

Allison (OGS/CDA) is one of very few female creative directors in Chinese advertising and has a straightforward opinion about the importance of what she does:

Of course! I think that’s how we get those nice stuff up there. [Indicates the creative awards on display] I’m a bit of a control freak so I like to make sure things look good. They’re good enough to go out and enough to meet my boss, Graham. (Interview: #2 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

In India, advertising has a much longer history with the first international agency, Hindustan J. Walter Thompson being established in Mumbai in 1929. My research participants in Delhi express broader opinions that what they do contributes to both economic and social wellbeing. For example, Ramdatt (McCD/SC) explains to me that what he does is both commercially and socially important:

See, when you’re thinking so much and you have so many ideas and ... when you like keep pushing yourself, keep pushing yourself there will be a point where you come up with some idea which will help mankind. Or, there will be some idea which might save lives. You might come up with some idea that just works for some brand and then they, you know, buy it and suddenly you’ve solved some problems. You’ve solved some real world
problems. And I think as a creative you’ve got like to keep doing the brand work but you’ve got to see which brands can actually do socially responsible ad campaigns as well. Because you need to have a purpose for the work you do. I think it’s necessary to keep pushing yourself to do exceptional brand work and keep thinking about social responsible ad campaigns which benefit people. (Interview: #8 McCann, Delhi)

However, with differing opinions as to whether what they do is important or not, all the male creatives I interviewed across the three cultural sites experience working in various states of high and continuing ‘manxiety’. Jackson (M&CSS/CDA), a creative director with extensive experience in art, explains:

I think that anxiety is driven by a number of things. Just the constant state of instability in our business. For me it’s you’re only ever as good as your last job and, you know, facing a blank page and a new problem is always an anxious proposition. (Interview: #4 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

**Manxiety is a private matter**

For male creatives, stress and pressure are interchangeable and they bundle them together so they form the affective state that I refer to as ‘manxiety’. In the next section of this chapter I want to look at why my creative respondents regard ‘manxiety’ as not a universal state, but deeply individual and personal. I draw on a case history from Blackmores, Australia’s leading brand of natural health products to help explain this. In 2001 Blackmores published the findings from a research and promotion project for one of their leading efficacious products, Executive B Stress Formula. They found that stress is a highly personal issue where one person’s stress is another person’s normal day. Stress is used by men to compare coping levels with their competitors in the workplace. Higher levels of stress are associated with higher status and perceived responsibility. However, if the individual reveals how they are ‘living with stress’ there is the risk of humiliation and exclusion from others who do not rate the declared stress level as significant (Ottmar, 2001, p. 175). I argue that stress and pressure, bundled together as ‘manxiety’ is often used strategically in competitive agency man games to ameliorate individual status and importance. In keeping with these findings, I noticed that ‘manxiety’ is something my research participants will admit to in private as evidence of their resilience, but deny in public
where it could be seen as a weakness and be used against them. Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) explains how longevity in the business is fundamental to his coping strategy:

I think you have to deal with that. I think there is an anxiety if you’re not as good as the others. I don’t really get anxiety with my job because I know what I do and I’m very comfortable with the level of talent.

(Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

In a similar way to the Blackmores example, the personal and gendered nature of ‘manxiety’ is used strategically to make comparisons between creative competitors. This is often quantified by the number of hours, or the extra hours required to get a project over the line. Jackson (M&CSS/CDA) tells me, 'There is an understanding that when it’s game on, you’ll be there.' To quantify his statement, he remembers working over twenty-two weekends in one year.

In Delhi, where most of my research participants complain of having to work ‘brutal hours’, Kashish (McCD/ACDC) tells me:

There have been times in this agency where I haven’t seen my family for two weeks even though I go home every night and when I reach, they have already gone off to sleep and when I leave, everybody else is there.

(Interview: #11 McCann, Delhi)

Kashish (McCD/ACDC) feels that work pressure and continuous long hours is holding him back and compromising the quality of his work:

Like it can get very frustrating if you are a creative especially. There’s a lot of artistic angst because you feel that you could do so much better. But you’re being held back, you’re being held back, you’re being held back constantly.

(Interview: #11 McCann, Delhi)

In keeping with the military metaphors we have seen already that are favoured by male creatives, their experiences with ‘manxiety’ are akin to receiving invisible campaign medals in recognition of exceptional performance under difficult circumstances and against the odds. In this way, ‘manxiety’ is used as evidence of their competitive ability and stamina and as a way of underlining how important they are. This observation points to a difference between the way men and women
in advertising experience anxiety and the way that anxiety is gendered. For example, female creatives tend to see advertising as ‘just a job’ amongst other activities they have to manage. As Katherine (M&CSS/SC) explains:

I think that work-life balance is my driving force. And, if I don’t have that I would not be doing this job right here. I’d consider doing this job elsewhere or for different people. But I have a very vigorous attitude to work-life balance and there are many things that are more important than this job. (Interview: #7 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Women in advertising I have interviewed talk about the need for work-life balance, that in itself is anxiety producing. Indeed, handling both work and life can be read as a female version of success. This is a dynamic issue that requires action. However, men see work-life balance as a threat where taking action can weaken their competitive position because it takes them away from the main game. Throughout my research men and women provide different perspectives on how they see themselves and their relationship with advertising. Most of the women see advertising as one of the things in their lives that they do, whereas men tend to see advertising as something that dominates their lives and defines who they are. Olivia, who manages one of the largest accounts at M&C Saatchi, in addition to her family responsibilities, describes her relationship with these two different responsibilities:

As a woman I feel I’ve got many functions and my job’s one of them ... I feel that most of the women I know kind of know the start and the end of the job ... I know for myself I certainly have the ability to walk away and park the agency person. Like I don’t kind of go, “Well, I work in an advertising agency.” That’s the function that I do. I love the job and it’s great, but I can kind of then go, “This is me at home not living that world.” So I do think if I look around, the women in our creative department are probably more like that. (Interview: #1 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

This raises the issue of the sexual division of labour where early feminist writers identified the separation of public and private spheres to define areas of gender responsibility and levels of subordination. Even though some change has occurred, such as men becoming more active in domestic work, it is still ‘assumed by both women and men that women are responsible for housework’ (Oakley, 1976, p. 92). As part of the logic of capitalism, this encumbers many women in advertising with
dual roles and they are ‘acutely aware of the fact that when they leave work they have another job to do at home’ (Game and Pringle, 1983, p. 120). I am not suggesting that all gender roles in advertising are heteronormative and I recognize that not all men and women are partnered or have children. The women will volunteer information about their domestic lives and arrangements in the context of an interview but the men rarely do. Instead, they will discuss their ‘marriage’ to advertising and their creative partner.

Olivia (M&CSS/MP) explains, in her opinion, how male creatives see advertising as their central working activity that also takes over social space to become a self-defining lifestyle they decline to exit:

> I feel that the men that I’ve met are more defined by advertising. I think it’s different if you’re in a creative function ... I don’t think they’ll ever let go of it because I think they define themselves as a creative person and so I think they live and breathe that all the time. (Interview: #1 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Ritishal (McCD/CDC) tells me how advertising dominates the lives of male creatives in India. Because it is the only occupation many of them have ever experienced, this leads to them being ‘cooped up in cubicles smoking their lives away with not much they can talk about apart from their campaigns.’

As I have shown in chapters 1 and 3, it is by living and breathing the advertising lifestyle that male creatives construct and patrol the ‘manspace’ where they compete in their ‘manpower’ games. While ‘manxiety’ accompanies them throughout their personal and professional journey, it appears to be of less significance as creative careers lengthen. However, when advertising takes up more and more time it compromises a creative’s social responsibilities and isolates them from family and friends. Kashish (McCD/ACDC) tells me that currently he is:

> Not very happy actually because ... we try to draw lines but after you reach a certain level, you can still do it when you are younger executive in this industry, but as responsibilities grow you are expected to be available to the agency 24/7. So you try and manage your work the best you can but unfortunately also that is not in your hands ... There are last minute briefs, last minute feedbacks and you have to stick to deadlines. So there’s
actually very little control that you have over your own life in advertising.

[Interview: #11 McCann, Delhi]

Ryan (McCS/SC) comments on the social compromises he is called on constantly to make:

The amount of times I’ve had to message my friends and say, “Sorry guys I can’t be there today,” or whatever, tonight, on the weekend. They just don’t agree with it. [Interview: #3 McCann, Sydney]

Ryan’s comment takes us outside the agency ‘manspace’ to where external pressures are exerted by family, friends and social interactions in the wider society. In London, advertising enjoys high status and cultural capital indicated by the imperial honours that have been bestowed on advertising men. For example, Maurice Saatchi, one of the two Saatchi brothers and founder of M&C Saatchi, was awarded a life peerage in 1996 and now sits in the House of Lords as Baron Saatchi. His first managing director, Tim Bell also has been elevated to the same institution in 1998 as Lord Bell of Belgravia. Sir Alan Parker and Lord David Putnam, two early members of the staff at CDP mentioned in chapter 2, have been recognized for contributions to the film industry. John Hegarty, the creative founder of the BBH agency was knighted in 2007 for services to advertising.

In Australia, advertising has found its way onto the cultural agenda in the form of the popular television show The Gruen Transfer where leading creatives and their work is showcased and critiqued.12 Ironically, this show is broadcast on the national television station, ABC2, that does not carry commercial advertising.

However, in Delhi and Shanghai things are very different. Advertising is not generally understood or recognized as a proper way to earn a living and as a result lacks status and suffers from low cultural capital. Two senior art directors at McCann, Delhi tell me how their choice of career disappointed their families. Dalpati is a member of the Sikh community:

If you go to any of your relatives or any friend who is not in advertising they would never consider you’re in a serious profession. So that is the plight of this profession in India ... Our community is mainly into business so when you go to these parties and social gatherings everybody is a businessman who
has got a BMW and a Mercedes and you arrive and you don’t earn that much ... they also don’t respect the profession, they don’t know about it ...

Ten years back my family thought I was a fool and nobody wanted me to enter into advertising because none of my relatives or family members is into this field or related in any of these things. So they probably wanted me to become a CO [Commercial Officer] or an MBA. My sister is a chartered accountant so they thought that I would also become a chartered accountant and get well settled and work in some Deloitte sort of a company or PWC [Price Waterhouse Coopers] and earn good money. Debit and credit. I never want to do that because how can I do debit and credit throughout my life? That is very boring. (Interview: #4 McCann, Delhi)

Raji is an award winning creative director specializing in art. He is from the Punjabi Hindu culture that has a long visual history with traditions rich in art and music. Raji tells me his grandparents were happy for him to study art in the belief that he would ‘get it out of his system’ before ‘doing something useful’ like join the family business.

In China, advertising is a relatively new industry and not widely understood, having arrived after Deng Xiaoping opened ‘the window to the west’ in the 1980s. According to Enzo (OGS/ECA), opinions vary from open dislike to cultural confusion and suspicion:

People hate advertising in China. Because one of the reason it doesn’t look professional. It’s like people yelling, shouting on TV, you know, ‘Buy us!’, you know, ‘Value! Give you good value! 250 one for two!’ All these things, people are ... fed up with this ... Advertising is like where people get more ideas from western world, from the open world, the outside world. People are not used to that. They think that we are aliens ... they don’t understand us. They think we are weird. It’s not like one of the normal industries like logistics or ... ‘I work in IT office.’ They don’t have a good understanding this industry. (Interview: #1 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

**Manxiety and rejection**

What drives advertising creatives is to have their ideas accepted, approved, produced and appear in the media. This fulfills their professional and personal obligation to generate creativity on demand for commercial purposes. This is made
more difficult when they work in a socio-cultural setting where what they do is not understood or valued. But it is the constant threat of failure that defines the fine line that separates acceptance from rejection. When it is accompanied by the ever present and the ongoing state of ‘manxiety’ it is even worse. This can be sensed in the words of Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) as he describes the fundamental desire for approval as well as his personal experience of rejection.

I think a lot of creative people, they want whatever they’ve done to be loved. And, the greatest fear is when you present an idea people won’t like it. The greatest joy is when you present and idea and they love it ... And every time you show anything it’s like dropping your daks. Every time you show anyone [what] you come up with you’re exposing yourself because it is ‘self’ that comes up in that idea. It’s all those things about you and there’s a reason why you like that, why you think that’s right. Recently on a pitch I thought I’d cracked it, made a massive breakthrough, and no one else, apart from one person, was with me on that. They all went, “Well, I don’t think that’s right, I don’t think that’s true.” I felt like it was a revelation, that I had gone somewhere where no one had ever been before and I couldn’t convince anyone that it was right and ... I felt depressed.

(Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Advertising creatives experience ‘manxiety’ most when their work is rejected by their clients who have the final power of veto over their work. However, before it reaches this stage, their creative concepts will have been presented and defended through various internal reviews and revisions before it is formally endorsed by the agency and recommended to the client. So, to experience rejection at this final stage can be very difficult to take. Interestingly, during my research a number of male creatives describe this process of approval as similar to ‘giving birth’ or ‘having a child.’ Elliot (M&CSS/SC) describes possible stages of rejection. He works back from a failed client presentation and concludes with the child analogy:

Well that’s the last step in rejection. There’s a lot of rejection that happens prior to that which is when you’re working with an art director, or work in a team. Your partner will often reject an idea which is what you’re supposed to do, you’re supposed to bounce ideas off each other, so that’s the first step of rejection. Then you’ll take it to a creative director who will also offer their advice which ultimately has a degree of rejection in it. And then the
client will have a rejection and then you’ll find out that you don’t have the budget to do it, or the photographer you want to use is too expensive or whatever. So there’s just stages of rejection as you drag this child through.

[Interview: #3 M&C Saatchi, Sydney]

The female creatives I interviewed also dislike having their work rejected but are more open to it as an inevitable consequence of the business they are in and do not appear to resist as much. It is more a fact of life rather than a cause célèbre. Katherine (M&CSS/SC) talks about a television concept in which she had invested a great deal of personal and professional commitment. Whilst she is clearly disappointed that her idea failed to get made, it is clear that she is able to leave this in the agency before going home that she sees as more important.

You just have to move on to the next thing. I guess, say last year, two things I’d done for [a major client] which is the key brand spot, one of them got as far as being quoted and director chosen. And then there was a change at the [client], which was a change of philosophy. That was very disappointing. It was only because I loved that spot. I was so looking forward to making it and it was more like a little comedy series. It was acutely observed. I loved it. I really, I was very disappointed about that but still the brief came back in ... and ... and my spot ... got up a second time and a sort of similar thing happened ... So, disappointing, yeah but then there is always something else ... But for me, its like I said it’s a part of my life. The much more important part is when I go home.

[Interview: #7 M&C Saatchi, Sydney]

Hailey (M&CSS/C) is quite open about the need for female creatives to be quite tough and prepared to stand up for their work and tells me: ‘You have to be stronger and prove your strengths to the CDs [creative directors] who are all male.’ With regards to the issue of rejection, Hailey tells me that she is ‘fine with rejection’ because she was taught by her female creative peers early in her career to jettison her ideas when necessary and move on. Hailey describes this as being ‘prepared to kill your babies.’

From what they tell me, male and female creatives have different ways of coping with acceptance and rejection. The juxtaposed opinions of female creatives and
account managers suggest that men take rejection of their work as a personal and public humiliation of them as individuals. Evelyn (M&CSS/MP) talks to me about the personal nature of rejection that male creatives experience:

Men in creative are very passionate, as they should be, people, so the level of rejection is relevant to that. They’re more deflated, they’re more wounded ... I think they take it more personally, it is about them and purely them ... whereas the females ... would recognize that it is usually a combination. It’s never down to one. (Interview: #2 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

I ask Olivia (M&CSS/MP), the other female managing partner of M&C Saatchi, Sydney if there is a difference between the way male and female creatives handle rejection.

I actually think the males take it way worse. I think they’re more protective of their work. I think they find it harder to let lots of people in, including the client. Whereas I think the females certainly who are here are much more about iterative and happy that area of process could involve more people because guess what, iteration makes better work. Whereas the males are much more, ‘It was great anyway.’ So it’s interesting, iteration to some of the males here would be like you’ve kind of watered it down. If that makes sense. (Interview: #1 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

As we might expect, Olivia is sympathetic to the plight of male creatives because they are the resource that she and her female account handlers have to manage in order to get the ideas that will advance their clients’ businesses. They learn to be people handlers as well and as a result, Olivia identifies a particular struggle within male creatives.

Advertising creatives, I think there’s a contradiction in them, right. There’s creativity that’s got strength. Real conviction to push their ideas but then quite an insecurity that comes out of the fact that you’re putting your heart on the table all the time. I think the stronger side ... the more dominant part of a personality probably comes first, and it’s not until you get to know them that you’ll start to see the kind of slightly insecure side. You’ve got to be, well you’re putting ideas out there. You’ve got to be sure that you can sell them, there’s a slight sense of nakedness when you’re putting something
When I ask Elliot (M&CSS/SC) how he copes when his work is rejected he answers in one word: ‘Alcohol!’ Rather than return home, male creatives tend to collect in public places like bars and pubs to ease their ‘manxiety’. Here they can celebrate their successes, drown their failures or ease the pressure of not knowing the outcome of a competitive pitch. When Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) describes taking part in new business presentations he emphasizes the pressure and exhaustion he experiences when it is over.

I think you can’t walk into a room filled with a lot of very powerful people and not feel the responsibility of what you have to do. And, the repercussions of not getting that right are ... you can’t think about. The repercussions of not getting that right could sometimes mean losing a very large pitch, or losing a very large piece of business or putting yourself in a very difficult position because you’ve got to do the whole thing again. So, yeah I do, I think I thrive on the adrenalin. Um, it does exhaust you. And I think generally after a major presentation I’ll just fuck off to the pub because there’s no way I’m working. You’re just pouring everything you’ve go into that twenty-minute window you’re on. And, it does, it does exhaust you. The adrenalin’s gone, you’ve used up all your reserves. You’ve just got to go off, you know, and get drunk. (Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

The bird that sticks out its head gets shot! 13

When I analyse what my participants have to say about rejection in Delhi and Shanghai I see very different attitudes that have deep, generational and cultural influences. For example, in Shanghai I learn about the importance of the creative team over that of the individual and how this is deeply connected to the Chinese idea of ‘face.’ Enzo (OGS/ECA), whose experience of the west is largely as a result of completing his postgraduate studies in Ireland, confirms that the solidarity of the creative team as a social unit reflects the collective structure practiced within the broad Chinese society. This in direct contrast with the attraction of individualism to the younger creatives. Nevertheless, China appears to accommodate dichotomies such as individualism and collectivism or capitalism and communism. Enzo (OGS/ECA) explains how the Chinese preference for oblique language avoids
direct confrontation by using fuzzy borders to sketch out the socio-cultural terrain wherein lies the conflict and so creates flexible space where social slippage and negotiations can then take place. Enzo (OGS/ECA) uses the Chinese metaphor of the bird putting itself at risk of being shot if it sticks it head up as an oblique way of explaining why individual creatives are reluctant to identify themselves with specific creative concepts, preferring the collective ownership and responsibility of the team. This is reflected in the words of Max, Executive Creative Director, Shanghai:

In China it’s the sense of collectivism. So nobody wants to kind of like, you know, stick their neck out, you know, and then become like a sore thumb in the crowd. So they try to do things together. (Interview: #12 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

Kunal Sinha, the Executive Director of Discovery at Ogilvy, Shanghai explains how the construct of ‘guanxi’ [關係] accommodates differences and establishes mutual trust between individuals who may be from different hierarchical levels, such as creative director and a copywriter. ‘Quanxi’ relies on ‘the principles of self-disclosure and dynamic reciprocity’ to exchange social capital that can be understood as ‘having face’ (Sinha & Mayo, 2012, p.143).

It has taken Fink (OGS/COO) some time to accept that a creative team in China means more that the pairing of a copywriter and art director.

Interestingly here they don’t work in teams, they work in these big five to sixes to sort of save face so they’re not exposed and its very hard to get them to work in teams of two ... Here teams are really, really important. Everybody goes to eat together. You know eating together is a big, big thing here. You know in the west we’ll go for a drink here they don’t drink, well they do, they go to the karaoke bars and drink themselves stupid but not with us. But it’s not like a drinking culture, its not like, ‘Well look, let’s go down to the pub and discuss this.’ They feel that’s not really them. They all go and eat. And, it’s big family thing, sort of like this hotpot thing where they can all sit round together. They share the food, they share everything. And, it’s a nice thing. (Interview: #9 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

To help me understand this particular cultural notion I seek an explanation for the concept of ‘having face’ from Grace, a female strategist. Grace was born in California and has recently arrived in Shanghai where she has family so I find her
interpretation revealing because of her familiarity with both east and west.

Having face meaning like ... the need to show off in a way that you’re successful. To live up to ... this image that you want people to think of you ... It’s like a family thing I would even say. Because here it’s so important to respect your elders and, you know, it’s important to do well as a child to make sure that your parents are looking good in a way. They raise you well. They’ve done what they could to give you a future they believe is right for you. (Interview: #6 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

Graham Fink (OGS/COO) tells me of an experience he had soon after he arrived in Shanghai. He was reviewing the work of a Chinese creative group made up of five people and conducted the critique the same way he would in London. He looked at each individual’s work and pointed out that there was a lack of ideas and that revisions would have to be made. Immediately following the meeting, and much to Fink’s consternation, all five members of the group tendered their resignations. Wanting to understand why this had happened it was explained to Fink that, by criticizing an individual’s work in front of the other group members he had caused each of them to lose face. Three members of the group were persuaded to withdraw their resignations but the loss of face for two male creatives was too much and they left the agency.

In my interview with Max, an experienced Chinese Executive Creative Director, he tells me how confidence underpins ‘having face’ and how the male creatives take longer to recover when their work is rejected:

I find girls take rejection better. I think they are able to process their feelings more openly. They do get emotional but they tend to process their feelings better. Guys tend to fly off the handle sometimes. And think after having a few big knocks in a row, they start to question themselves, you know, and it’s hard for them to get back a sense of their confidence ... I think the guys feel it more in that sense. I’ve seen some of my creative directors, or my art directors, the guys and they take some time to bounce back and after a while they’re going to fizzle out, burn out. (Interview: #12 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

Alice, a female account executive with Ogilvy, Shanghai, shares Max’s view and
explains to me how she handles male creatives diplomatically and sensitively when they have had their work rejected and, by way of contrast, comments on the difference with the female creatives.

Yes. They would like to get the compliment. They would like to hear more like the festivals [award-winning events] and if you are encouraged him ‘That was a great idea, yeah.’ You need to have a lot of skill to communicate with the creative people but for men I think they will like hear a lot of the good words. You should like encourage men better, give him some compliment. ‘That is a great creative idea but blah, blah, blah, blah ...’ You should follow that approach rather than being too tough to help with him. Women is like they will calm down quickly after hear the rejection and they come back with the solution. But for men it’s like they were depressed and upset and they have to spend a lot of time to calm down himself and then, after that he’ll have to like leave him alone and give him like half a day whatever and then he like come back in the afternoon to discuss with him what’s the next step. . . . I think when they hear the rejection ... you have to leave him alone or probably you can hang out with him or whatever to let to be apart from the work. And then, when he has a better mood and then you can further discuss our work. That is my solution ... But I do think that if the timing is not that stressful you should let him alone, properly he can come up with something by himself but they don’t want to like discuss a loss when they’re in a bad mood. But for woman it’s like when they hear the rejections they can easily calm down and they will more willing to looking for help or guidance from planner or account servicing on how to revise work more quickly. (Interview: #10 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

Grace (OGS/SP) shares a similar point of view when comparing the way male and female creatives handle the inevitable experience of rejection.

I think all women sometimes are slightly more understanding in terms of compromise and just the way that they deal with these type of things and rejection. I think men often times may fight back a bit more to see if they can get their way, or at least get a bit of it. I think maybe there is overall a difference. Obviously it’s coming down to personalities. But I think maybe men are a bit more assertive. I don’t know about the local level but
definitely when it comes to the creative director, whoever, a male leader will fight a bit more. (Interview: #6 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

Among younger participants, ‘manxiety’ is experienced through frustration that is heightened by competition. Eager to progress their careers as fast as possible, early career creatives interpret rejections of their work as barriers to advancement. Ethan (M&CSS/C) tells me of a frustrating experience that happened to him and his creative partner just before our interview takes place:

This morning one of our ideas that we’ve been pushing hard for, internally everyone loved, the client knocked it back like after a whole month of us just pushing it and they finally knocked it back and you know, I’ve come to learn that that’s nine out of ten times. (Interview: #11 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

I ask Ethan if he sees the other creative teams as competitors and potential barriers to his progress and his reply suggests that self-doubt fed by impatience is beginning to become part of his ‘manxiety’.

You sit with them in a department, you know, if we’re both given the same brief I look at them as an obstacle for me getting my ideas made. Definitely. That phrase, ‘you’re only as good as your last campaign’, I definitely kind of feel that way and because I had success at my last agency, come here, I’ve only been here two months now, but there’s been a run of us coming up with good ideas but, for whatever reason they didn’t get made. So it’s starting to get to the point where like, you know, I feel like I need to do something. (Interview: #11 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

As my fieldwork progressed I could see there are different stages of ‘manxiety’ such as that experienced by early career creatives compared to their more experienced long-term creative directors and supervisors. Following a long career in advertising, and after two decades in the agency in which he is a co-founder, Tom McFarlane (M&CSS/RCD) describes how, through experience, he has become immune to rejection but remains sensitive to how others in the agency experience it.

Yes, rejection’s hard. I don’t feel rejection. I feel it for the others here. I’m like an armadillo. I had someone really upset yesterday, sitting in that chair, terribly upset. A project that’s been six weeks in the making has fallen into the hands of some senior executive who’s rewritten everything. Changed
the notion of the whole thing. Not a lot you can do. I can call someone but, you know. So I think it’s valid. I think it’s the pressure of the business for me. (Interview: #5 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

As McFarlane’s career has progressed he has become more involved in the management of his agency to ensure its structure and service capabilities keep up with the socio-economic changes in which it operates. For example, establishing a benevolent agency where flexible hours and facilities such as showers, lockers and the subsidized café, creates a structure that is relatively free of organizational constraints such as regulated office hours and lunch breaks. This promotes individualization and a corresponding decline of class division so that the agency operates in what Ulrich Beck famously calls the ‘risk society’ and it is here where ‘the management of anxiety is the most useful personal skill’ (Beck, 1986, p.3; Castells, 2000, p. 21).

Conclusion
I have argued that levels of ‘manxiety’ vary according to the spatial and temporal environment in which the creative process is practiced. This connects to the always already gendered ‘manspace’ of the creative department detailed in chapter one. Also, this is where agency management exercises power over creatives via the panoptic view they have of the dynamic and highly competitive space in which ongoing, changing, gendered power relations take place. The ever present and often indiscernible surveillance by the few of the many contributes to Ogilvy’s ‘continuous state of anxiety.’ An antidote for this is, in part, what Foucault calls ‘dynamic resistance’ (Foucault, 1980, p. 56). For example, the common use of headphones by creatives as a form of boundary setting to create an inner, private space that separates it from the bigger, competitive public space. Dynamic resistance is a coping strategy to help control ‘manxiety’.

There appears to be a correlation between levels of ‘manxiety’ and the relative importance that creatives and other advertising personnel place on their work that include issues of conscience and compromise. ‘Manxiety’ is both a specific and complex matrix of interwoven gender and cultural influences. Male advertising creatives acknowledge that the commercial business they are in and the various pressures they work under contribute to an ongoing ‘manxiety’ they accept as part
of their professional journey. ‘Manxiety’ can impact on an individual creative’s status and devalue his cultural capital because it is seen as a weakness by his creative competitors.

This chapter shows how ‘manxiety’ differs according to the temporal, spatial and gender variables in a particular cultural setting. I have argued that ‘manxiety’ is a precursor to the creative work that is produced. In the next chapter I examine the relationship between creatives and that work.
In 1968 a man entered the JWT agency in London through the same glass doors I mentioned in the opening of the ‘manspace’ chapter. He approached the immaculate receptionist who asked him if she could be of assistance. “Thanks, love. I’m ‘ere to see my boy, Johnny Sloggett,” the man replied in a broad Cockney accent. The receptionist checked her staff list and confirmed in her BBC accent that there was nobody listed by that name in the agency. The man repeated the name and insisted his son worked at the agency. The receptionist rechecked her staff list and politely assured him there was nobody shown on it by that name. At this point the lift doors opened and a small group of people headed for the glass doors. It was lunchtime. The man recognized one of them and called out, ‘There ‘e is! Johnny Sloggett. Told ‘ya!’ The man’s son was one of the best art directors in the agency. He was very tall and slim and dressed in the best boutique fashions of the time. Paisley shirt, bell-bottom trousers, wide belt, John Lennon wire-rimmed national health glasses. A figure straight out of the Beatles’ animated film, Yellow Submarine.¹ The only problem was that he was known in the agency, and shown on the staff list, as John St. Clair.

I have heard this story told by different people, at different times, in different places. It is part of advertising mythmaking but also a comment on class in Britain at that time. Its purpose here is as an exemplar of a self-managed ‘manbrand’, a re-invention assembled in response to the socio-cultural forces of the time. John St. Clair’s ‘manbrand’ was the result of a dynamic process involving what Celia Lury calls ‘the organization of a set of multi-dimensional relationships’ that include his working class background and his embodied representation as an advertising creative (2004, p. 27). This produces the badging of creative manliness with a promise of creativity.

There is a general expectation that what a brand promises, its product should deliver. Whilst I have identified the ‘manbrand’ in chapter two, I now need to
address the question of the product it represents. The advertising creatives in my study describe what they do as using their imaginations to solve problems. The creative’s imagination extends beyond the mind in the form of ideas that are then produced, making them visible in various commercial media channels. In this way, an idea metamorphoses through a process of production into what I refer to in this chapter as ‘creative product.’ Turning ideas into creative product is advertising work and involves a myriad of production and communication technologies of which advertising is one. To be precise, I draw on the work of Teresa de Lauretis to argue that advertising is a ‘technology of gender’ because gendered experiences are produced ‘in the subject by the socio-cultural practices, discourses and institutions devoted to the production of women and men’ (1987, p. 19).

I have analysed how the male advertising creative patrols and protects his always already male gendered socio-cultural space. This is where he constructs gendered identities and plays his power games. Also, I have explored the way that an ongoing affective state, that I have called ‘manxiety’, is seen as a personal condition used to motivate externalized expression in the form of work produced. For most of the men that I interviewed, the highly dynamic advertising world becomes central to their lives. In some cases, it takes over their lives to such a degree that their occupation morphs into their preoccupation. This is what lies behind the title of this thesis, ‘Obsession with Brilliance’ that focuses on personal recognition and acclaim through such events as international awards festivals and a preoccupation with the creative work in its produced and final form.

In his book, Hegarty on Advertising, the author describes the creative department as ‘an unruly, rebellious, egocentric, insecure and fractious bunch of lunatics who are capable of moments of genius.’ These ‘moments of genius’ refer to the creation of ideas that ‘can change the fortunes of an agency’, their clients and themselves (Hegarty, 2011, p. 70).

Throughout this thesis, I argue that both male creatives and their work practices are gendered. In this chapter I look into how the creative product, that results from their work practices, is gendered and how this contributes to the construction of each individual’s creative masculinity. Previous cultural and sociological studies of
advertising have tended to take a macro approach to examine its socio-economic role within the capitalist enterprise. (Lury, 2004, 2009; McLuhan, 1964; Nixon, 2004, 2015) By way of contrast, in this chapter, I take a micro approach to examine the intimate and often obsessive relationship between the creative and his creative product, starting with examples of work produced by male creatives in the three cultural settings where I conducted my fieldwork: Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai.

Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) describes his attitude to what he does in a way that qualifies him as one of Hegarty’s ‘lunatics’:

Society says that at forty you’ve got to be, you know, responsible or mature, thinking about superannuation, talking about property prices and I haven’t got time for that shit. I can’t do it. (Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi)

The use of humour in advertising as a creative strategy has a long and controversial history. Conservative clients argue that the function of advertising is to sell product not to make the target audience laugh. The product categories where humour has been used successfully are predominantly male such as alcohol and personal products. For example, the homosocial world of beer drinking where ‘Heineken refreshes the parts other beers can’t reach’ and Whitbread is ‘the pint that thinks it’s a quart’. Or, post-metrosexual men’s body products where the Old Spice man urges men to stop ‘using lady-scented body wash’ and ‘smell like a man, man.’ The target audiences are male and, as the cultural writer Fran Lebowitz comments, ‘the humour is largely aggressive and pre-emptive, and what’s more male than that?’ (Hitchens, 2007).

According to my research participants, language and humour are often used to form male communication codes. In the same way the staccato delivery of the ‘one liner’ is favoured in advertising humour and forms part of the banter and practices of the everyday in creative departments.

In 2015, Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) made a series of online pieces for the Optus telecommunications company in Australia to announce their association with Netflix, the US provider of streaming services for film and television productions. The series features Ricky Gervais, the English comedian, actor and writer known for his deadpan, diffident style of delivery made famous in the British television series The Office. The Optus pieces have been described in the Australian trade publication AdNews as ‘anti-selling’ whilst calling them strategically bold and different.
The anti-selling label comes from the way the advertiser is disregarded, almost ridiculed in what is a presentation about white, male class privilege. Both Gervais and Wyatt have the cultural capital needed to subvert the genre of the commercial and turn it into anti-selling advertising. Foucault helps us see how the white male comic voice has more subversive authority over, for example, women or people of colour when he is seen to be in command of the authorial voice (Foucault, [1969] 1999, p. 215). Using the first person ‘I’ allows Gervais and his collaborator two defenses against criticism. The first is to claim, ‘I was just joking.’ The second, is that the ‘I’ used in the performance is not the authorial ‘I’ but an imaginary persona (Shouse and Oppliger, 2012, p. 213).

Gervais sits close to the screen in a chaise longue holding a cup of tea. He delivers a relaxed, intimate, monologue that excludes the advertiser by referring to it in the third person as he says:

“Umm. Optus approached me and asked me to do an advert telling Australia that they’re getting Netflix. I said that I’d need like a shedload of cash. Like seriously mental money. They went, OK. I said I don’t want to put any effort into it. I want to do it sitting down. Umm. They went, OK. Can you at least big up the product a bit?’ I went not really. No, I’ve never heard of ... Optus. They said, we’re not happy with this as an advert. I went, too late. You’ve paid me. I’ve spent it. Use this if you want. They use it. They use it.”

Clearly, Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) has lived up to his claim that he spends his ‘life coming up with funny ideas that will make people laugh or make people surprised.’ In this case, his creative product is a risky venture for his client because of the different creative approach that seems almost unsympathetic to the advertiser. A traditional approach would use the celebrity status of Gervais to extol the virtues of Optus. This means it is also economically risky because of the high investment costs in Gervais, the production and the media. Comedy and entertainment are inherently risky and Gervais takes risks every time he steps out in front of a live audience or appears on a television screen.
I argue that Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) also undertakes risk, albeit it calculated risk, becoming comedian and entertainer by proxy. In our interview I ask Wyatt about creating advertising and about taking risks:

> Look things that are risky are always inherently different and that’s a good thing. So you know an idea that is risky is probably going to be talked about far more than an idea that isn’t. So, yeah there are degrees of risk and I think if you are a risk taker by nature, then you won’t last very long because it has to be calculated, has to be a very calculated risk.

[Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney]

Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) posted on social media a picture of himself and Gervais together on the film set during the production where he says, ‘Made an ad with Ricky Gervais. Got the selfie to end all selfies.’ In this way, Wyatt gains cultural capital by associating himself with a celebrity which he uses to add to the
construction of his creative masculinity. This is a modern form of gender identity because Wyatt, as a social agent, is acting in a way that breaks away from predictable expectations as well as from social and structural constraints. Wyatt becomes a collaborator in a risky venture where his social posting shows how he is reflexively constructing his own biography (Beck, 1986, p. 3). And, Wyatt’s risk seems to have paid off in a way that adds to his symbolic capital because his creative product and his collaboration with Gervais won a Silver Lion at the Cannes Lions festival in 2015.

There is another way to look at the relationship between Wyatt and his creative product by considering, what Robert Dessaix argues, is the gendered ‘voice’ within the style, tone and language of this social media piece. As an advertising practitioner, I am familiar with ‘tone of voice’ when it refers to the advertising message as, for example, authoritative, youthful, energetic and so on. However, Dessaix’s notion of ‘voice’ identifies Gervais’ language and message be a masculine, ‘excluding voice’ (Dessaix, 1998, p. 125). Gervais uses jargon to make authoritative pronouncements excluding the viewer from exercising agency or participating in the message other than as recipient and passive observer.

If Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) revels in male-oriented humour, Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) shows how male interests in technology can be harnessed to produce branded content for use on social media. This is an example of the type of new creative product that advertising agencies are producing in the after 1990, post-web environment and represents the quality and standards Lincoln wants his agency to achieve. It features the development of the Optus Clever Buoy. (See Figure 5.2)

The project started with the identification of a problem that is the number of shark attacks on swimmers and surfers around the Australian coast. Although the number of attacks has increased over the last twenty years, this is attributed to increased population and visits to the beach and, possible links to increased water temperature. The number of fatalities remains very small with only 1.1 per year since 1991 with no discernible increase in the number of sharks (West, 2011, pp. 744-754). Nevertheless, shark attacks create high personal and media interest around the world far beyond the small number of fatalities. Traditional methods of defense
against shark attacks have not changed for sixty years and consist of nets, which deteriorate, and drum lines. Both are fatal to sharks and there is increasing awareness of the importance of these animals in the ocean eco-system and mounting pressure against killing them.  

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**Figure 5.2**  
**Advertiser:** Optus Australia  
**Advertising Agency:** M&C Saatchi, Sydney.  

Optus is the second largest telecommunications company in Australia. A conventional marketing approach is based on comparing national network coverage which is less than 1%. The strategy behind this project was to avoid network comparisons and show how Optus can improve people’s lives.

Australia has four times the number of shark attacks per year than anywhere else in the world. The traditional methods of defence against attacks have remained the same for sixty years. Shark nets, which deteriorate, and drum lines. Both are fatal to sharks and there is increasing awareness of the importance of sharks in the ocean eco-system and mounting public protest against killing them.

The strategy for this project is to use the Optus network to protect both beachgoers and sharks. As a result, Optus have developed a world-first smart ocean buoy that is calibrated to detect sharks using sonar to read their unique movement and wake. Real-time alerts are transferred to lifeguards’ mobile phones using Optus’ Inmarsat satellite. Data is shared with Scientists and Google researchers.

The programme generated additional media and public relations coverage that amounts to millions of dollars of additional media exposure for the project.

**The Optus Clever Buoy project has received a number of international awards in 2015:**  
- Cannes Lions Festival:  
  - Titanium Lion  
  - Silver Lion (2): PR, Corporate Reputation & Communication; Cyber, Innovative Use of Technology, Bronze Lion (1): Digital & Social, Use of other digital platforms.
- ‘Internet of Things’ Award 2013.  
  - South by Southwest Interactive Innovation Awards, Austin, Texas.

After a successful prototype, commercial Optus Clever Buoys are in development.
The creative process for this social media project brought together different skills, such as consumer research, strategic thinking and design, to provide a solution that would involve the use of the Optus mobile network. The Optus technicians developed a world-first smart ocean buoy to be anchored to float off a surf beach. Using sonar calibrated to detect the unique movements of sharks, alerts are sent in real time via the Optus Inmarsat satellite direct to the on-duty lifeguards’ mobile phones at the beach who can then use the siren to bring in the swimmers from the water. The Optus Clever Buoy protects both beachgoers and sharks with the data being shared with scientists and Google researchers to explore other areas of possible mutual benefit. The creative objective for this project was to bring together different disciplines to provide a range of perspectives so the result of this combination would produce something new. The process of creating something new is inextricably an ongoing, continuous part of the production of events where each event is a unique production. The only constant about events is their differing from each other during the course of their production.

I draw on Deleuze and his concept of assemblage to help understand the process of arranging, gathering, organizing and fitting together. Deleuze sees an assemblage as a complex clustering of related objects, bodies, expressions, emotions that come together for varying periods of time to create new ways of functioning (1988, p. 36). The creative process that focused on solving the shark problem used the dynamics of an assemblage to ensure that the solution that emerged was innovative and productive. A productive assemblage becomes a new means of expression, a new spatial or territorial organization, a new behaviour. All of these are evident in the conceptual thinking and development of the new Clever Buoy. A good creative practitioner ‘uses solutions to uncover new territory [so that] problem solving and problem finding are intimately related’ (Sennett, 2008, p. 11). Before his selection of the work for Clever Buoy, Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) reveals his reasons for being in advertising and the catalytic role he plays as the creative leader in his agency:

Nothing gives me greater pleasure than … doing something that’s really fucking good. I love the excitement that when you have an idea, and you know it’s a really good idea, you can’t wait to make that happen, is probably the thing that get’s everyone into this business in the first place …
It’s in my own interests that the best ideas get to the top … One part of my job is still being a copywriter and needing to show people ideas and making sure everyone’s happy with it. But on the other end of the spectrum I feel more like the conductor of an orchestra and making sure that they’re all … keeping up with the first violinists and the drummer hasn’t buggered off somewhere in between his beat. (Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

No doubt Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) and his creative team are satisfied additionally by the Titanium, Gold, Silver and Bronze Lions that the Optus Clever Buoy project received at the Cannes Lions Festival in 2015. Awards for the innovative use of new technology and social digital platforms. It also shows how the creative product has been extended beyond advertising and helps explain why Tom McFarlane (M&CSS/RCD) tells me:

We’re most decidedly and determinedly a communications business. That’s how we refer to ourselves, as do most other what were advertising agencies. (Interview: #5 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

**Problem solving and craftsmanship**

When I ask advertising creatives to explain their work, they respond by describing their role and who they are, such as copywriter or art director. Although, in India, creatives prefer to describe themselves as ‘writer’ or as ‘specialist in art.’ However, when I ask them to explain their function, they describe what they do as ‘solving problems.’ Jayesh, an art director from India, but now based at M&C Saatchi, Sydney says that he uses the ‘creative process, solving problems.’ And, in Delhi, copywriter Ramdatt (McCD/C) describes how he:

Might come up with some idea that just works for some brand and then they [clients], you know, buy it and suddenly you’ve solved some problems. You’ve sold some real world problems. (Interview: #8 McCann, Delhi)

The word ‘craft’ appears frequently in the transcripts of my interviews with art directors and a number of copywriters also talk about how they like to ‘craft their words.’ I want to look more closely at the advertising creative’s perception of himself as a craftsman because it will help clarify his relationship with his creative product. To warrant the title of craftsman requires the practice and accumulation of distinctive skills that mature over time as they become embodied. However,
gaining this title comes with the partial loss of individual freedom because the 
craftsman is at the behest of the person or institution who commissions the work. In 
other words, when work is commissioned, the autonomy of the producer is 
subordinated to the commissioner (Svendsen, 2008, p. 15). This reflects the 
traditional power relationship of patronage in fine art which is a model based on 
differences in cultural capital where the craftsman remains beholden to the patron.

Remembering that advertising work is commissioned helps explain the constant 
struggle for autonomy and the ongoing anxiety about recognition and status 
expressed by my research participants. Taking pride in particular skills is the 
craftsman’s ‘reward for skill and commitment’ while, at the same accumulating 
cultural capital that has exchange value in the economy in the form of earning a 
living. This helps distinguish between a mundane, repeated task and an incentivized 
reward by showing why ‘simple imitation is not a sustaining satisfaction’ (Sennett, 
2008 p. 295). The craftsman experiences a gendered class dynamic as his male skills 
provide a degree of independence that separate him from the unskilled and 
unemployed.

In China, distinguishing between the importance of generating ideas and having 
executional skills is a problem Graham Fink (OGS/COO) encounters all the time. I 
quote him at length because of the comparisons he draws between China and the 
west:

I think it is a problem because people often judge stuff by the beauty of the 
design and how well its finished and all that kind of stuff. And then, you 
know I will look at it and think, ‘Yeah, but there’s no idea here, it’s all style 
over content.’ I think the hardest thing is for people here to come up with 
concepts. A lot of it is to do with how it looks and that’s where, you know, 
the skill thing comes in. There’s lots of designers here, you look at their books 
and they look very sort of accomplished. A lot of it has been ripped off 
unfortunately from the west and they’ve seen layouts and they won’t think 
anything about just literally copying something even without twisting it a 
little bit. They will just copy it straightforward because they want to show 
you their skill I suppose. You know if I’m looking for an art director here they 
will tell me how good they are with Photoshop ... They can do InDesign,
they can do Illustrator, they can do whatever it is, which to me, I think that is very much secondary. Quite interesting, I hired a team here, they were like Chinese Americans, young guys. I made them ECDs [Executive Creative Director] and they were good conceptually but they couldn’t do, couldn’t use Photoshop and Illustrator and a lot of people here complained. They said, ‘They’re not ECDs, they can’t even do Photoshop and Illustrator.’ People felt quite insulted that I’d made these guys over, put them over, hierarchically over some of these guys who said, ‘Well, we can do Photoshop much better than they can.’ It’s very hard to say, ‘Well, yes but they have very much better ideas.’ (Interview: #9 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

In a conversation with Enzo (OGS/ECA) he explains why imitative skills underpin the Chinese notion of creativity even though, as mentioned earlier, the Chinese government is trying to move from what he calls ‘the copying culture’ to an ‘innovative culture.’ The visual arts are not rated highly in the education system but, depending how good you are, you can add points towards university entrance. Enzo (OGS/ECA) explains that being good is based on how well you can copy an original:

If you are asked to draw a plastic cup, your mark will be based on how realistic your work is. How close does it represent the original? So, yes, if you want to stay in this greenhouse [advertising], copy, copy, copy!

(Interview: #1 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

There is an important temporal dimension to acquiring the skills of a craftsman that I describe as competitive ownership. It takes time, but once acquired, owning a skill allows for a comparison with those who do not possess it. ‘Slow craft time’ is generally not available in advertising where pressure, competition and deadlines accompany daily practice (Sennett, 2008, p. 295). However, I do not believe this compromises the advertising creative’s perception of himself as a craftsman since skills, and how these are evaluated, will always be linked to the time it takes to acquire them. Craftsmanship is anchored in culture where socio-cultural boundaries are set and within which skills are practiced. To illustrate this, I take the reader to India to look at two examples of cultural and gender specific advertising.
My invitation to conduct research at McCann in Delhi came from Prasoon Joshi, who I introduced in the ‘manbrand’ chapter as a leader of the new creativity in India. Joshi is known colloquially as the ‘ad guru of India’ but is really a polymath as advertising is only a part of his extraordinary creative range and reputation. When I was in Delhi conducting my fieldwork, Joshi was attending the Jaipur Literature Festival in the Diggi Palace as one of the keynote speakers, sharing the stage with the American feminist, Gloria Steinem and Pulitzer Prize winning author, Jhumpa Lahri. Joshi is an acclaimed poet, lyricist and screenwriter for major Hindi cinema (Bollywood) productions. He has won the Filmfare Best Lyricist Award three times, most recently for the popular Hindi movie, ‘Bhaag Milkha Bhaag’ based on the life of India’s first Commonwealth Games gold medal athlete, Milkha Singh. Joshi has also won the National Film Award for Best lyrics twice. In 2015, Joshi was awarded Padma Shri by the Government of India for his contribution to the fields of ‘arts, literature and advertising.’ Joshi became the first Indian advertising creative to chair a judging panel at Cannes Lions and the first person to chair the new Titanium panel at the Cannes Lions festival in 2015.

The Happydent Palace television commercial was created by Joshi for Happydent chewing-gum, a brand owned and marketed in India by Perfetti van Melle, one of the world’s biggest confectionary companies. The cinematography, the sets and costumes are all meticulously crafted and the production is directed by the Bollywood action specialist, Manohar Sherma. Happydent Palace became the first Indian television commercial to win two Cannes Lions awards and went on to be listed in The Gunn Report as one of the twenty best this century. (See Figure 5.3)

In what Joshi has called a ‘paan-chewing culture’, Happydent is positioned as a whitening gum with claims of efficacy that it protects dental health at the same time whitening the teeth to create a brilliant smile. Lack of access to modern dental services in India is a significant issue for many millions of its citizens. The creative concept behind the commercial is simply that someone with a great smile can light up a room. In the television commercial Joshi tells the story of a young man rushing across country to deliver something important to a royal palace. This is a uniquely Indian cultural setting featuring the declining, decadent and hedonistic lifestyle of the Maharajahs and zamindars.
Figure: 5.3
Advertiser: Perfetti Van Melle - Happydent

Medium: Television
Length: 60 seconds

Young man bicycles across bridge. His front wheel falls off and he continues running.

He hails a lift from a passing car. It continues straight past him. Human headlights are off.

Young man continues running past human street lights that are also off.

He sneaks through the closing gates of a palace. The human gate lights are off.

Young man jumps over the palace wall.

He runs past the princess playing tennis. She misses the ball in the fading light.

He continues past the swimming pool as the Maharani dives in. The pool lights are off.

The Maharaja is seated at the end of his dining table doing in his chair.

The young man takes his place in the human chandelier. Puts Happydent into his mouth.

He chews vigorously, opens his mouth and brilliant white light emerges from his smile.

He directs his smile onto the Maharaja's dinner plate below so he can see to eat.

The human crystals in the chandelier sparkle as the smiles light up the room.

The human street lights come on. As do those of the tennis court, the swimming pool and the car headlights.

Happydent has restored light to the palace and the surrounding villages.

The Happydent street lights continue to shine throughout the night.
The Maharajah is struggling to maintain his family’s lifestyle to the standards of indulgence and opulence from days passed. Instead, it is fading into the gloom because the lights do not work. This is a world where myths, symbols, gods and goddesses intertwine; where reality and fantasy mix in a way that is familiar to most Indians as they live their daily lives. (I refer to the goddess Durga and the elephant god Ganesha and the petals and incense in the Delhi offices of McCann that I have mentioned previously.) All the light fittings at the palace gates, gardens, tennis court, swimming pool, corridors and in the huge chandelier above the Maharajah’s dining table feature young men in various traditional Mallakhamba poses. This is a traditional Indian sport in which a gymnast performs feats and poses in concert with a vertical wooden pole or rope. When the young hero finally reaches the palace and takes his key position in the chandelier the viewer understands why he has been rushing to the palace. He has been bringing a packet of Happydent which he opens, pops some gum into his mouth and chews quickly. He then directs his dazzling white smile down onto the dining table so the Maharajah can see what he is eating. This sets off a chain reaction and all the human light fittings come on as brilliant smiles light up the palace and surrounds. The commercial structure is classic Hindi cinema where an unlikely male hero conquers chaos and restores order to the lives of those around him. There is even a little Bollywood dance and the story is accompanied with a jaunty, raga style soundtrack which is a traditional Indian musical form used to convey joy and delight.

Between the 1980s and 2000 Indian advertising went through an important change in both cultural style and language. Chakraborti (McCD/VP) tells me why this happened and who was behind it.

Very powerful language writers … like Piyush Pandey and Prasoon Joshi … very, very strong vernacular writers and they are creative people in their own right beyond advertising … So they write in their own vernacular field and when they came in they said, ‘Why, we don’t talk English like that. English is a part of our life, but the fact is that is interspersed with vernacular thing’. And the vernacular we generously borrow from everything and everything doesn’t have to be translated into English. So if you don’t find an equivalent in English we can always use a Hindi thing … If you really want to globalize a brand then you have to localize it first. And, if you can localize
I interpret this last comment from Chakraborti (McCD/VP) as an expression of cultural defiance seeking independence from colonizing forces. These forces are the universal ‘image-centred, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality’ and the language and symbols that flow through Appadurai’s mediascapes and are used by transnational advertising agencies to promote multinational brands (1996, p. 35). Transnational advertising is often accused of practicing a form of ‘cultural homogenization’ where essentially anglo-centric ideas seek to impose outside cultural values onto local cultures. The Happydent Palace commercial is grounded in a localized cultural setting and reflects a ‘process of indigenisation’ that is a form of resistance triggered by the imposition of outside cultural values (Appadurai, 1996, pp. 32-33). The story shows a traditional patriarchal structure that defies external influences and remains intact as a servant fulfils his duty to serve the interests of the ruling class. There are only two female roles in the commercial; the tennis playing princess and the swimming Maharani, otherwise all other members of the cast are male. The lighting and costumes are reminiscent of another era when the authority of the Indian patriarchy was uncontested and where men retained control and supremacy. I argue that western advertising is a space marked by its whiteness, a dynamic process that whitens gender. So, in the context of this study, western advertising whitens masculinity. The return to the pre-national cultural space of the former colony in the Happydent Palace commercial, which was a ‘colourful space, a space of colour’, resists the post-national journey ‘into the heart of whiteness’ (Appadurai, 1996, p. 159). Instead it signifies a confidence in cultural brownness.

The second example from India is the creative product of Prabhakar (McCD/ECD) who selected a creative case history from his time at his previous agency in Mumbai. It is an award-winning campaign designed to convince Sales Tax evaders to pay up and was commissioned by the Government of India. Prabhakar tells me that India loses fourteen trillion rupees from Sales Tax evasion annually which is an amount that could fund sixteen annual national budgets. Chakraborti (McCD/VP)) explained to me that throughout India, public responsibility and individual survival are engaged in an ongoing tug of war. For example, most of the street traders that I see in Delhi, such as tailors and garment repairers, set up their sewing machines on
the footpath and hook into somebody else’s line for a supply of unmetered electricity. The rationale for this is that if the government fails to supply electricity to the people so they can make a living, the people are entitled to get supply for themselves. In the most populated state of Uttar Pradesh (UP), electricity theft has been shown to have a correlation with politics and peaks around election time as politicians turn a blind eye as they seek the popular vote (Golden and Min, 2011, p. 31). In the same way, sales tax evasion is seen as a national game with the government, a form of resistance that verges on a right.

Prabhakar (McCD/ECD) created a series of television commercials representing four stages of the Sales Tax defaulter campaign: Nudge, Trigger, Jolt and Threaten. The communication strategy is based on the idea of an iron fist in a velvet glove. The first stage nudges the tax defaulter towards a diplomatic solution in the form of a period of amnesty. The velvet glove starts to come off and reveal the iron fist in subsequent stages as a more aggressive, threatening approach is taken. The second stage acknowledges the hard work and effort it takes to establish and run a business before it triggers a sense of fear that tax defaulters can go to gaol. Stage three of the campaign jolts the viewer into action by showing the shame and humiliation from public exposure as a tax defaulter. Finally, the tax defaulter is threatened with arrest, conviction and a term of hard labour.

The tone and the language in this campaign are distinctly the male, authoritarian voice of government. The graphic presentation using bold, red capital letters on a black background has an impact and urgency that suggests male authority and the desire to be in control. The campaign declares war on ‘thick-skinned tax defaulters’ who all happen to be men and are all shown to be working hard in order to get ahead and build their names and reputations in the public sphere of business. Nevertheless, they exhibit deviant behaviour by avoiding their national obligation to pay their fair share of Sales Tax. The only women featured in the campaign are dependent wives and mothers shown in the private sphere who, together with their children, will become third party victims if their tax defaulting husbands are named and shamed, arrested and convicted. The campaign was successful in recouping significant funds across the country for the government and it won a major advertising award for Prabhakar.
The increase of the visual and the decline of the verbal

A major and important change in power relations that has taken place in advertising agencies in the after 1990, post-web world has been the ascendancy of the art director. This is also the most male dominated role in the creative department. For example, only three of my female research participants were art directors: Natalie (McCann, Sydney), Allison (Ogilvy, Shanghai) and Bhavika (McCann, Delhi). There were no female art directors at M&C Saatchi, Sydney. All the other female creatives I interviewed were copywriters. Hegarty, himself an art director, does not explain male domination in this area of advertising but is unequivocal as to why the ascendancy of the art director has happened:

There’s no question about it. We live in a visual culture increasingly dominated by screens … All courtesy of digital technology. With so many screens and so much information out there, we’ve had to find a way of absorbing it more effectively. Hence the value of visual language has increased, even as the influence of the written word has decreased (Hegarty, 2014, p. 38).

In this ‘era of dense visuality’ the image has become increasingly sophisticated in, for example, the way that social media has become a technology used to craft the self (Finkelstein, 2007, p. 219). All my male creative research participants were aware of social media as the best way of managing their ‘manbrands’, presenting themselves and showing their work, especially when looking for jobs. Blake, a senior art director at M&C Saatchi, Sydney explains:

Everything’s kind of visible through my portfolio on the website … My own personal website contains all of the work that I’m proud of. Social media platforms like Linkedin and things like that. If you do get an award, or if you win something, then you make sure that’s updated … If I’ve done two or three projects that I’m kind of thinking they’re good, I’ll step back a bit and I’ll put that together as a portfolio piece of work so that that’s constantly looking fresh … If I was looking for a job then that would be absolutely paramount … Whether its printed from a press or a portfolio case we’d [with copywriting partner] make sure that as a brand it was kind of out there. (interview: #8 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Further evidence of the increasing power and influence of the visual, and therefore
the art director, is the increasing number who now ascend to top management positions in the industry. For example, Graham Fink (OGS/COO) and those who start their own agencies as foundation creative partners such as John Hegarty at BBH. Previously, these positions were held almost exclusively by male creatives with copywriting backgrounds.

I came across an example of the power of the visual when I was in the offices of Ogilvy & Mather in Shanghai. In a city of some twenty million people, where personal living space is often cramped and crowded the large, open, marble floored reception area is a spatial statement of success and power. On one wall, picked out with ceiling lights and presented like a large painting in an art gallery is the Coca-Cola poster known as ‘Cokehands’ that is painted onto canvas. The background to its creation is the death of Steve Jobs, the co-founder of Apple who died in 2011. Jonathan Mak Long, a seventeen-year-old graphic design student from Hong Kong, posted his visual tribute online showing the bite in the Apple logo replaced by the unmistakable profile of Steve Jobs. It was brilliantly simple and poignant and, when it went viral around the world, drew the attention of Graham Fink (OGS/COO) in Shanghai who asked his Senior Creative Assistant to track down the designer.

We called him and we arranged a meeting in Hong Kong for when [Chief Creative Officer] went to Hong Kong for business trip. He just stopped by and met this guy. He was a kid just seventeen years old and he studied in the university in Hong Kong. A Hong Kongese Chinese boy.

(Interview: #1 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

Jonathan Mak Long accepted a brief from the agency to prepare a design for a poster based on the simple notion of 'sharing a Coke.' After a number of versions, it was suggested that the solution lay in the graphic heritage of the classic curved ribbon on the packaging and the final result was the award-winning ‘Cokehands’ design. (See Figure 5.4)

As a piece of communication, ‘Cokehands’ breaks several advertising conventions because it does not carry a headline, quick response code (QR) or web address. Despite this, it has become the most awarded piece of advertising work in Asia for the Coca-Cola company. The final design won the prestigious Cannes Lions Grand
Prix in 2012 and went on to win a number of other international creative awards. Enzo (OGS/ECA), who coordinated the project with Fink and Jonathan Mak Long, describes the experience and the impact this had on his career:

The picture in the lobby it won all the biggest awards, the Grand Prix, the gold awards like One Show, all this stuff. Amazing for me you know. It was my first job in advertising industry. This was my first project and [Chief Creative Officer] trusted me to work on it and we won the biggest award for Ogilvy Asia ever. Amazing! (Interview: #1 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

Graham Fink (OGS/COO) explained what he has found out in his time in China about the culturally preferred style of advertising and how this influences his approach to the creative product:

People in China want straightforward, simple advertising, they don’t like metaphors, they don’t like analogies. Humour often doesn’t particularly work very well. (Interview: #9 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

**Soft and hard labour**

Male advertising creatives in my research cohort consistently express concern that what they do to produce their creative product should not be seen by outsiders as soft labour, which has been interpreted as feminized labour. As male creatives in Nixon and Crewe’s study of the advertising workplace said, ‘We still need to remember we are labourers, you know, we do a trade’ and ‘this is bloody like being in a coal mine!’ (2004, p. 144). The same study also found that when creative work is seen as fun it blurs the ‘demarcation between work and leisure’ (Nixon and Crewe, 2004, p. 143). This creates a conjectural problem because advertising attracts people to work in it because it is seen as fun but once they are in it, fun can be seen to compromise the seriousness of the work. So, to compensate for the ‘hedonistic indulgences’ of soft labour, creatives use blue collar descriptions of manual work to emphasize the strenuous nature of what they do and the long hours it takes to do it.

The same concern, that creative work should be seen seen as legitimate work requiring male participation, is expressed by my cohort of research participants who use words like ‘hard labour’ and ‘physical’ to describe what they do.
This reflects changing work practices where once physical strength was a standard by which traditional sex roles were defined and the male breadwinner identified. There has been a change in what defines work that men might find hard to accept. Moira Gatens (1999, p. 1) summarizes this change, ‘It is increasingly mental acuity rather than physical strength that determines one’s status.’ Today, most physical work has been taken over by mechanized work where the mechanism is placed between the worker and his output and physical strength is no longer required or needed to conduct most work (Pleck and Sawyer, 1974, p.140). Advertising creatives use blue collar descriptions from the past to masculinize their current work and avoid being associated with feminized labour. This may explain why art directors often refer to themselves as craftsmen because it is during the production
process that they get to demonstrate their craft and practice their hard earned skills. Blake (M&CSS/SAD) explains that it is when he gets to produce his work that he gets ‘to crafting those ideas.’

One of the skills that art directors most often talk about is typography because it is where they exercise control. Typography is a good example of the advertising creative’s obsession with brilliance, detail, balance and control. In my experience this is male territory and I have never come across a female typographer. Typefaces are selected to represent a brand’s gender, personality and style and it is fitting that a single letter is referred to as a character. Art directors and copywriters will tend to favour certain type faces and styles which then become synonymous with their ‘manbrand’, their creative product and the era in which they are working. For example, in 1960s London, a popular type face for advertising print headlines was Cooper Black a smoothly rounded typeface that reflected the relaxed, psychedelic music of the times. I admit to having obsessed about the selection of an appropriate typeface for this thesis. It came down to Gill Sans or Century Gothic. (Both shown here in the same font size.) Gill Sans is a modern classic by the English designer, sculptor and religious fanatic, Eric Gill, that first appeared in 1928. Gill described his creation as ‘ideal for catalogues and academia’ (Garfield, 2010, p. 50). I settled on Century Gothic because it presents as modern and is lighter on the page making it easier on the eyes. An important consideration in my type selection is the focus on gender in advertising that is the subject matter of this thesis. While I want to present serious material and opinion, typographically I want to take a gender neutral position which I believe Century Gothic achieves.

Type selection in advertising has been the topic of impassioned discussion and controversy. In 1934, Ferdinand Porsche received a commission from Adolf Hitler to design a ‘people’s car.’ Less that twenty years after the first of these cars were made, they were exported to America where art director, Helmut Krone worked on the advertising layouts that would launch Volkswagen to the American nation. Krone was born in Yorkville, the German section of Manhattan, and his copywriter, Julian Koenig, came from a German-Jewish background. Krone selected Futura, a sans-serif typeface associated with the Bauhaus School of Design for the Volkswagen brand. (See Figure 5.5) Futura had been banned by the Nazi regime
because it was seen as both ‘Schwabacher-Jewish’ and decadent\(^\text{13}\) (Garfield, 2010, p. 191). Advertising creatives’ obsession with type took an ironic twist following the Nazi controversy. In 1968, during an interview with Helmut Krone, he explains his selection of the Futura typeface. It became the stuff of advertising legend and I have set Krone’s explanation for his groundbreaking typography in the Futura typeface he used:

I actually cut those “widows” into the first Volkswagen ads with a razor blade and asked Julian Koenig to write that way. I deliberately kept the [printing] blocks from being solid, and when I felt that a sentence could be cut in half I suggested it just to make another paragraph.\(^\text{14}\)

In the 1960s, typography was a trade represented in Australia by some of the earliest trade associations that became the Printing and Kindred Industries Union (PKIU) in 1966.\(^\text{15}\) Over the years typography and the graphic trades built up a unique international vocabulary. This was a world where widows and orphans bled into the gutter and Gothic characters ascended and descended. Where serif and sans serif fonts suffered bad breaks before being kerned. (See Typographical Terms in Glossary). Typographers prepared mark-ups for advertising text detailing the selected font, weight, spacing and line breaks. This was sent to the typesetters to submit proofs for correction and approval. Studio artists would then prepare the final artwork bringing together the visuals and text and hand pasting them onto boards ruled up to each publications’ specifications. Sales representatives from competing typesetting houses would bring in samples of new typefaces to present to print production departments and agency art directors in the hope of drumming up business. It was a process involving a number of suppliers. It took time and it was expensive.

The role of the art director increased in importance when creativity in advertising started to be taken seriously during the creative revolution of the 1960s. However, I believe their power base was enhanced significantly and symbolically by the final statement in a famous television commercial that only ever appeared once across the main networks in the United States to announce the arrival of the personal computer. There, on the television screen appeared these words accompanied by
Figure 5.5:
The ‘widows are the short lines at the end of the sentences or paragraphs that create white space after them. Helmut Krone used a razor blade to cut up the lines of type to create these widows. This was revolutionary in the sense that this practice defied typographic convention where a copywriter would be asked to add words to a sentence in order to fill the space that would eliminate the widows. Ranked by AdAge as the best advertising campaign of the twentieth century, this advertisement, first published in 1959, became synonymous with the philosophy of Bill Bernbach and the work of his agency DDB. Copywriter: Julian Koenig, Art Director: Helmut Krone, Agency: Doyle, Dane, Bernbach, New York.
a man’s voice saying: ‘On January 24th, Apple Computer will introduce Macintosh. And you’ll see why 1984 won’t be like “1984.”’

In addition to a number of revolutionary functions, the Macintosh allowed the owner to choose from a modest suite of twelve different fonts. They could select and change typefaces, alter the size and adjust how the words appeared on the page. Today, the MacBook Air on which I am writing this thesis contains more than a hundred different fonts. In other words, all the specialized, time consuming and expensive typographical services are packed into a computer chip and available on screen, twenty-four seven. However, in words intended to protect the role of the advertising creative as well as to warn, Hegarty writes, ‘sadly we live in a world where increasingly everybody thinks they can do everything. And that they should inflict it on everyone else’ (2014, p. 28).

On the surface, Hegarty’s warning is aimed at the proliferation of so-called designers whose only qualifications are the purchase of a computer and familiarity with a number of graphics programmes. The services they offer are usually limited and invariably cheap because technology can undercut significantly the costs of mainstream production. However, Hegarty’s warning can be seen as his response to a threat to advertising creatives’ power because they, and art directors in particular, have a powerful influence on determining matters of public taste. This is a clandestine power exercised behind the scenes and through the production of ideas. Here, art directors fashion the look and tone of the symbols and messages that constitute the creative product. Of course, their level of power is dependent on the amount of money their clients put behind the production of the creative product and then its exposure through the media. Taste, understood as cultural patterns of choice and preference, is formed through tensions between unequal amounts of social capital in favour of the art director over the consumer. This forms the basis of Bourdieu’s explanation of class relations where exchange is ‘established between the classes of products and the classes of consumers … realized in acts of consumption’ (Bourdieu, [1984] 2010, p. 229). In this way the art director influences consumer taste through the principle of domination, a form of ‘symbolic violence’ which results in the consumer adopting dominant taste aesthetics as appropriate for their social world (Bourdieu, 1990, p.139).
However, cheap technology can deliver high quality creativity. For example, the winning three minute film at Tropfest New York 2008, *No Man is an Island* was shot entirely on a cellphone in Sydney and New York for a total production cost of only forty dollars (US). Nevertheless, the democratization of type has increased the power and influence of advertising art directors so they can indulge their attention to detail and quality via the intimacy of their computer screen. Simply put, much of the power vested in today’s art director comes courtesy of the demise of yesterday’s trade specialists.

As I discussed in the ‘manspace’ chapter, art directors require qualifications from art schools, graphic design colleges and technical training institutions where they learn a wide range of skills and responsibilities directly related to their role in an advertising agency. For example, the selection and commissioning of photographers and the techniques, lighting, composition and retouching of photographic images. All aspects of film and video production from the shoot, editing the footage all the way through to the final versions broadcast on television or online. Familiarity with different methods of print production and the characteristics of different paper stocks. Some of these skills are founded in tradition such as learning about form and perspective. Others involve the application of more recent technologies such as website development, online content and the manipulation of digital images. These skills are required to land an entry level position as an art director but it is through the on-the-job learning, doing and producing creative product over time that he becomes an art director. It is through the combination of qualifications and ongoing practices that are embodied in the art director that he becomes enculturated in the creative habitus. In Bourdieu’s famous words, the habitus preserves ‘a past which survives in the present and tends to perpetuate itself into the future by making itself present in practices structured according to its principles’ (1977, p 72.) The advertising art director is a good example of how the habitus involves the dynamic intersection between the institutional structure of advertising and the independent application of skills that generate and influence action.

When Blake (M&CSS/SAD) describes his sense of commitment and responsibility to his work as an art director, we learn how the transposable dispositions of his habitus
and the competencies, or skills, that qualify him as a craftsman influence his actions. I’m the type of creative who’s across absolutely everything from start to finish. So that starts as soon as the brief comes in … to coming up with the ideas, to developing those ideas, to crafting those ideas … Then it gets to the stages of development when you’re actually going in to build. It’s digital, it’s print, it’s TV advertising with directors and production houses and I’m there at absolutely every stage of that. Overseeing that idea and then bringing that idea to life in any way that I can … You’re the conduit for everything from a blank piece of paper to what you see on TV. But there’s fifty different layers so it’s extremely hard. And, it’s a hard job to learn as well ‘cause there’s quite a lot of technical aspects of that. It’s not just the idea … I’ll be there on the shoot … I don’t like to drop things. I don’t like to leave them … For some reason I just seem to stay at it. I’m fixated. I’m not leaving my chair until I’ve fixed this or I’m taking a pad over here and not coming back until I’ve fixed the problem kind-of-thing.

(Interview: #8 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Art directors are talked about and become known for specific skills and visual styles, particularly when these are associated with award-winning work. For example, before the computer screen took over from paper, designs and layouts were hand rendered and an art director’s speed and accuracy on the drawing board contributed to his status as an advertising craftsman. An art director who could hand-letter headlines in different font styles was admired particularly and sought after. It has become a declining debate, comparing pre and post-computer art directors and the loss of hand skills such as those described above. One of the most contentious aspects of this debate is whether a computer removes instructive, hands-on learning through repetition whilst increasing the speed of completion and the degree to which this compromises ‘conceptual human powers’ (Sennett, 2008, p. 39). Instead, layouts and designs go direct from the art director’s computer screen to a colour printer where they emerge in almost finished form indicating that competency with software programmes is now a criterion for evaluation as we have seen in the examples from China mentioned earlier.

I suggest there are indications of obsessional behaviours that are linked to an ongoing determination to get things right. As Jackson (M&CSS/CDA) tells me, ‘I like
things to be right. I like the effort I put in to amount to something.' This raises one of the ongoing conundrums in advertising which is the trade off between the quality of the idea and the quality of its execution. A good creative director will ensure that glossy execution is not used to cover-up the lack of an idea. The order of the creative process is first, to have good ideas and then use the right skills to produce those ideas to a high standard. So, whilst a creative team may be motivated to produce good work, they may not have the talent to produce good ideas in the first place. There is a 'motivational danger' here because an obsession to get things right can stand in the way of the quality of the work itself. I agree with Sennett when he writes that failure is more likely to occur because of our ‘inability to organize obsession than because of our lack of ability’ (2008, p. 11).

However, it is misleading to assume that obsessional behavior is the sole province of art directors. Everybody involved in the advertising creative process can become obsessed with quality and minutiae in the quest to produce good work. Early career copywriter, Ethan at M&C Saatchi, Sydney describes, ‘Slaving over, you know, should it be a ten-point font or twelve-point, is the headline right? Blah, blah, blah.’

A creative art form to be seen and heard
There has been an ongoing debate over many years whether advertising is art, or even an art form. The Marxist cultural theorist and social writer, Raymond Williams suggest that it is despite being highly critical of advertising practitioners. The ‘puffmen’, as Williams calls them, ‘were given skills’ but have betrayed their talents and gone over to the dark side in return for fame and fortune. ‘Men who were or wanted to be writers or scholars, are now, with every appearance of satisfaction, advertising men’ (Williams, [1958] 1989, p. 94). This suggests that when Williams calls advertising ‘the magic system’ he has in mind a Faustian black magic. Nevertheless, he acknowledges the power of advertising and argues that whilst private-sector capitalism cannot provide for the needs of a society:

Advertising is … the official art of modern capitalist society … and it commands the services of perhaps the largest organised body of writers and artists … in the whole society (Williams, 1980, pp. 175-195).

The magic of creativity and its progress from ideation to production and
appearance is not lost on Wyatt (M&C Saatchi, Sydney):

[When I first started it was quite magical. I mean when you’re a young creative and you do something, that no matter how bad it is, and you see it on a bus, there’s something wonderful about that. I did that, you know, and then you walk in with a couple of friends and you go I did that.]

(Interview: #6 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

There are many examples of advertising creatives who have enjoyed cultural and artistic success in galleries, on bookshelves and on cinema screens around the world and where ‘design and advertising ... are celebrated and museumified as art’ (Featherstone, 2007, p. 25). Andy Warhol, who started out as a fashion illustrator went on to be famous for art works featuring Campbell’s Soup cans and boxes of Brillo soap pads. Booker Prize winning novelist, Salman Rushdie wrote the copy line claiming that Aero chocolate bars are ‘Irresistifubble!’ Alan Parker, copywriter turned director of Oscar winning films such as Midnight Express and Mississippi Burning. In the same way that art can be seen as a material expression of the imagination that ‘turns objects into surfaces that can be overwritten by the imagination. Advertising achieves the same’ (Finkelstein, 2007, p. 152).

These are examples of creative work that flows through the porous borders of Appadurai’s mediascapes that ‘tend to be image-centred, narrative based-accounts of strips of reality ... out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives’ (1996, p. 35).

My research participants raise the issue of the artistic merit of their work and their creative products. The tension between art, aesthetics and commercial reality is a ‘major resource for the negotiation of professional identity in advertising agencies’ (Hackley and Kover, 2007, p. 65). I have already shown how Prasoon Joshi, the Indian ad-guru, slips effortlessly between advertising and mainstream art and culture. And, in Shanghai, Graham Fink (OGS/CCO) makes reference to the perception of advertising both as an art and as a cultural product.

Going back to art school, I’ve always felt that I was an artist. You know, I mean there’s been many, many long debates and arguments about is advertising art and all the rest of it. I certainly think that advertising at its very best is an art form. [Interview: #9 Ogilvy, Shanghai]
Fink (OGS/CCO) is not only a practicing advertising creative but also an exhibiting artist. And, it is interesting to see how one influences the other as he searches for solutions to communication problems in both. Fink describes how he has been sensitive to pareidolic phenomena since childhood seeing the ‘face in the moon, ghosts in the sand, where the abstract becomes figurative, the throwaway becomes profound, the imagined real.’

Similar to the example of the Optus Clever Buoy, where a sense of curiosity led to a technological creative solution, Fink worked with the Swedish company Tobii, the world leaders in eye-tracking where technology is used to work in harmony with human behaviour. By converting his eye movements to lines on a screen, Fink is able to draw portraits with his eyes. When these are printed onto pure, white Thassos marble panels they become the art pieces in his second solo exhibition at the Riflemaker gallery in London in 2015. Fink (OGS/CCO) explains his own obsession with brilliance:

I like stuff to look beautiful, like stuff to be designed well. So if it is out on the street I don’t want to put rubbish out there, and … you know the way that something looks is very important to me. (Interview: #9 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

I accept this as a defense against possible accusations of executional pretension. Some could argue that drawings are artistic forms that are traditionally displayed on paper. However, Fink is entitled to select his own medium since he has created a new form of drawing. This interplay between curiosity and connection is evident when I see creatives experimenting with new technologies like smart phones, watches, and 3D viewers. Wyatt (M&CSS/CDC) explains that the only reason he can come up with original ideas is ‘by reading a whole lot of interesting stuff, playing a lot of computer games and staying right up on the latest technology.’ Or, the curious males in the streets of Delhi who crowd around the auto-rickshaw offering advice and different opinions when my driver stops to seek directions. I argue these are examples of creative curiosity and behaviours that are largely gendered male.

Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) warms to Williams’ idea of the ‘organised body of writers and artists’ but remains cautious, even conflicted, about the Faustian dilemma and the artistic merit of advertising:

I love the idea. I don’t know how many of us live up to that. I think to some degree we sell our souls … But in the same way an artist has an idea, has a
eureka moment and then builds on that and is attempting to communicate with society, we’re doing exactly that but we’re doing it at a more commercial level … I think that the times we succeed we are being artists. We actually do make a social comment. We do cut through. … I think the great work only happens when someone does something new in the same way that great art is all about doing something that hasn’t been done before. You can look back on art and it can become successful many years later. … You can’t do that with advertising because it’ll be gone tomorrow. We have to deliver overnight success. Maybe that’s what stops us being pure artists. (Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi)

Jackson (M&CSS/CDA) has a point of view that advertising is art in the service of capitalism with a responsibility to generate a commercial result in support of the economy. In fact, he warns that increased financial pressures and tighter budgets can lead to a lesser creative product:

You have to perform, and you have to perform hard, and I think there’s increasingly a delicate balance between art and commerce. Where the art serves commerce, you know. The margins are getting tighter which is forcing us to work in more expedient ways, explore less. That can lead to less surprising outcomes and that can blunt your edge.

(Interview: #4 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

During the course of my fieldwork I became aware of the correlation between the advertising creative’s position and status; the length of their career, and the way they think about and articulate what they do. From his very senior position of Chief Creative Officer of China, Fink acknowledges his responsibility as a creative leader to thousands of staff members across twenty-two offices:

I say to a lot of people here, you have to be very careful because we are a big part of culture. What we do is a part of culture. You are putting your work out there. People are seeing it, people are reacting to it … It changes people’s behaviours at its best and you have to be very careful that what we put out into culture doesn’t damage the culture. I think it would be nice if we played a role in culture, played a, did some kind of good in some way.

(Interview: #9 Ogilvy, Shanghai)
This contrasts with early career creatives who are trying to establish themselves and build reputations by focusing on doing good work and hopefully winning an award for it along the way. Peter (OGS/SC) declares his ambition in quite a humble way when he tells me, ‘I think if I can live by my pen that would be great.’

However, I observed one drive that is common to all male creatives I interviewed and met throughout my fieldwork, which is the need for their work to be seen and recognized. They seek recognition as the author and originator of their work because it evidences their creative capacity. Their creative product is then woven into their identity because it defines who they are. In some cases, self recognition is built around a single creative product such as a television commercial. The drive can grow into something much bigger as Graham Fink (OGS/COO) explains in a conversation after his interview. He describes how Charles Saatchi’s driving ambition was for his original agency to be the biggest in the world. Remarkably, he achieved this in only ten years and on the day it was announced, Saatchi had all the newspaper headlines from around the world pinned up on the walls of his office. Then he was able to sit at his desk and see the visible evidence of his achievement on display all around him.

By way of contrast, and to get a feeling for how fundamentally important the notion of visibility is, consider how two senior male creatives in Sydney recall occasions where their expectations of recognition did not eventuate. Elliot (M&CSS/SC) tells me about an experience early in his career:

I remember when I was younger … my very first print ad. I’d put my heart and soul into this print ad, and I knew it was running in this magazine called Sunday and I was in a cafe and I saw this person reading the magazine where it was running and I knew my ad was coming up and I was getting excited. He just, this guy scanned the article, not the ad, and literally just turned the page. Like gone! Not even knew, subconsciously knew it was an ad. Didn’t even look down at it and just turned the page and I thought ‘Wow!’ That’s what we’re dealing with you know, that’s the reality.

(Interview: #3 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Advertising creatives in Sydney talk about the ‘barbecue test’ which is a term for those public occasions when their work is commented on and either passes or fails.
Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) explains:

Yes, being seen ... the best thing. People talk about the barbecue conversation a lot in advertising. What do we want people to say about this company at the barbecue? And the greatest satisfaction for anyone in advertising is when someone says to you, “Oh, what do you do for a living?” “I work in advertising.” “Oh, really, what ads have you done?” And then you go, “Well, we’ve got the [name] Bank.” And they go “Oh, did you do that?” (Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi)

Clearly advertising creatives are highly attuned and sensitive to responses to their creative product both from within and outside the agency. This provides feedback about the degree to which their creative product is being seen and their own visibility in the industry.

**The importance of visibility**

Maurice, a digital specialist in Shanghai, describes a recent creative product he has produced for an international fashion brand selling their products online. Maurice took their product catalogue and reworked it so it became a combination of product and music. When the consumer browses the website they mix and match their personal selection of garments and accessories as they style their wardrobe. Maurice has created an interactive programme so each item has its own musical sound so as the consumer compiles their own personal look, they are composing and sampling their own personal music track to accompany it. In this way, an individual’s fashion identity is matched with their individual music identity. This can be seen as a personalized version of an advertising jingle, a form of individual, audible branding. Maurice describes how he feels about his creation:

I was very proud of this ... its entertaining and I had fun doing it ... so once this was delivered I was proud to, you know, have my friends try it out and have people try out ... to have recognition to, you know, to basically show, yes, I’m working. This is what I do. (Interview: #8 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

As he continues to describe his project, Maurice starts to expand on the importance of producing visible work by recognizing the vast number of people whose work does not give them this opportunity.
Among my research participants in all three cultural settings are open and frank admissions that one of the primary reasons for being in advertising is to produce visible work and, as a result, the creator of that work also achieves visibility. However, I interpret visibility in this context as a means directed to achieving recognition. Visibility is a process by which creative work is exposed to individuals and much broader audiences. Recognition is the result of that process because it is ‘one of the most powerful dynamics animating social life’ (Cayla, 2015). In his film ethnography looking at new services in India, Julien Cayla (2015) records the daily life of Kamran, a gym trainer in the working class suburb of Byculla in Mumbai. Kamran has professional qualifications which add to his cultural capital and allow him personal acknowledgement from middle class clients. In this way his uniform and physical appearance gain him recognition across class divisions and afford him ‘perceived professional mobility’. Cayla (2015) has identified the importance of recognition that when it is linked to visibility contributes to networking which is seen as important for career advancement.

Prabhakar (McC/ECD) comments that the degree of visibility depends on the amount of media money allocated to a particular creative product which helps explain the attraction of working on large brands that use broadcast media in their promotions.

Clients that have less media dollars will air the film but not many people will see it. You don’t like that. You want your work to be seen. And, yeah, we work for glory, so every creative person has an ego. You like to own up and say I did this, see. . . [F]or example you see something on TV, and, ‘Who’s done this?’ Oh, that guy, alright. Good stuff! That’s how it happens. That’s how everybody has made a name for themselves. Prasoon [Joshi] or whoever. (Interview: #9 McCann, Delhi)

Listening to and seeing my research participants explain the importance of having
their creative work seen and responded to by others is being witness to something deeply embodied being brought to the surface. A process of invisible forces from the inside becoming sensations that are felt and experienced on the outside. Deleuze (1981, pp. 48-54) describes this as the ‘decomposition and re-composition of effects’ that is similar to Paul Klee’s famous declaration that an artist’s task is ‘Not to render the visible, but to render visible’. However, to render visible is not the sole province of the art director who is engaged in the visualizing of his imagination. In the context of this thesis it embraces all those involved in the generation of ideas that result in a creative product where emotions are grounded in the visible. Drawing on Deleuze, Elspeth Probyn explains how the creative product involves the production and expression of knowledge that is ‘made up of things and words, of seeing and speaking, of the visible and the sayable, of zones of possibility and fields of legibility, of contents and expressions’ (Deleuze, 1988, p. 40; Probyn, 2011, p. 681).

Curiously, the bringing of ideas that are deep within to the surface is described by a number of male creatives as like giving birth to a child. Something beyond personal experience they can only witness at best. Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) provides the most vivid description of this notion:

Creativity is a form of giving birth to something. Cherishing it, nurturing it, making sure it grows up and goes out into the real world and people see it and interact with it and like it... I can remember my first child, had my, we had our first child after I’d done some ads. So I had a reel and the thing I wanted to put on that reel was the ultrasound because it was my proudest work ... there is a parallel between what we produce and what we reproduce.19 (Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi)

The birth metaphor does raise an issue that senior male creatives talk to me about which is the generational endurance of their work as symbolic of an extension of the creative self. The impermanence of advertising and its affiliated skills, such as copywriting and graphic design, concerns the male advertising creative. Most see the award system as one way to have their creative achievements permanently recorded but it is not necessarily a secure system. Graham Fink (OGS/COO) reflects on this:

How am I going to be seen in advertising when I’m no longer in it is something that I’ve never really thought about until actually a few weeks
ago when I was talking to John Hegarty. John obviously is working on his legacy, he’s about to leave BBH. He’s spent a lot of time making sure that that agency has all of the right philosophies and principles of John. And, I was talking to a very good designer friend of mine, quite famous guy called Peter Saville, and he talked about the same thing, he was talking about, you know, ‘I am beginning to think about my work and how it’s kept, how its archived, what happens when I’m no longer here.’

[Interview: #9 Ogilvy, Shanghai]

Saville is most famous for his album designs for Factory Records which feature his anarchistic approach to typography. Saville, who spent some time as a partner in an advertising agency, had an important presence and influence on the design and contemporary music scene in Britain in the 1970s. Although Fink professes not to have thought about his legacy, he has chosen the same Thassos marble for his eye-drawings as used by Greek sculptors to record permanently their visual representation of the gods and deities from the reign of Alexander the Great.

Returning to the present, the male creatives in my study get excited when their work attracts attention and see it as validation of their creative capacity and a cause for celebration as Elliot (M&CSS/SC) explains:

I love that. Like one of the best things. Even just recently the two campaigns I was working on I overheard people, some at a barbecue and some at a pub talking about the campaign, you know to his mate. It was like, this is awesome. (Interview: #3 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

As I mention in the Manplan/Introduction, it is an important part of my research methodology to interview women creatives and women in advertising to provide juxtaposed opinions to the male creatives who are the focus of this study. The women I spoke to regarding the issue of visibility acknowledge its attraction and importance but have a grounded and practical attitude towards it. For example, Ritishal (McC/DC) tells me, ‘Visibility is important. You need to be out there, in the mainstream. Your work is evidence of your visibility.’

While the women in my study regard the visibility of their creative products as necessary, and acknowledge that it can be nice, the male creative’s craving for it
can be an irritating reminder of male need and ego. As Ritishal (McCD/CDC) explains, ‘The current creative advertising men are brash, aggressive and focus on personal networking.’

Katherine (M&CSS/SC) is quite matter-of-fact about what she sees going on around her in the creative department:

> Oh, there’s a lot of bragging goes on. A lot of ‘Here’s my latest.’ And a lot of chest beating and running around and telling everybody. You know, telling twenty people about a piece of work.
>(Interview: #7 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

In the Shanghai agency, Max (OGS/ECD) acknowledges the need for male visibility and display:

> In general, not just in the advertising industry, men tend to be the peacocks, alright. They like to strut around, they like to show what they have. I think that’s built into the male. Mother nature has kind of like encoded into our DNA. And I think maybe to a certain extent that happens in the advertising industry.
>(Interview: #12 Ogilvy, Shanghai)

During the course of my fieldwork I notice that men often use dualisms and essentialist arguments like this to explain and justify noticeable differences between men and women in advertising. By dividing the advertising and social worlds into gendered spheres like suits and creatives, I suggest these are familiar and acceptable explanations used to protect the patriarchal dividend. When I ask why there are more male creatives than female, Lincoln (M&CSS/ECD) offers this explanation:

> I feel really sexist saying this, but perhaps the male need to express one’s ego is essential for the art form, so you end up with more men wanting to do it to begin with.
>(Interview: #10 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

**The dangers of visibility**

The notion of visibility is based on it being a positive and rewarding experience following the trials and tribulations of producing creative product and getting it seen by audiences through the media. However, it should be noted that there is also ‘unwanted visibility’ associated with work. For example, the uniforms that
young men wear in fast food outlets can identify them as low paid, low class workers involved in feminized work and subject to ‘a form of character assassination’ (Newman, 2000). Or, the way that baristas in India are often positioned as members of the precariat who experience ‘opoman’, meaning humiliation and lack of respect from the corporate world who deny them membership of that world (Cayla, 2015; Gooptu, 2013, p. 30).

Visibility in advertising is also predicated on the assumption that all creatives aspire to produce award-winning work that becomes the brilliant obsession central to their careers. This raises a number of issues. Most advertising does not win awards. In fact, most advertising is not of a creative standard that merits entry for an award festival and most creatives will not get to work on the glossy accounts with great brand names and multi-million dollar budgets. Some areas of advertising, such as pharmaceuticals and industrials, require the creative product to be seen by only a few specialized people so this work never gets to be the topic of the barbecue conversation. The potential for achieving visibility and awards is a protected territory for the benefit of the few. The ‘manspace’ where ‘manpower’ is exercised is jealously guarded, as Ritishal’s (McCD/CDC) experience with the politics of award shows at her previous agency shows:

I understood that the senior people in the agency would determine what work was entered in awards, and in so doing would preference their own work. This meant that if you wish to enter your own work it would be at your cost. (Interview: #3 McCann, Delhi)

Sometimes when creative product does become visible it can trigger a negative response in the person who created it. This comment from Blake (M&CSS/SAD) helps to explain the brilliant obsession that can lead to ‘manxiety’:

Sometimes there can be pride. Sometimes you can look at your work and think you got that one right or we got that one to a place we’re happy with. A lot of the times you look at it and it just brings back every little problem, every little facet of it that was, you know, a pain. (Interview: #8 M&C Saatchi, Sydney)

Advertising is fundamentally a western expression of commercial creativity where incessant pressures of deadlines and budgets has produced an industry that tries to
resist compromise in the pursuit of perfection. Herein lies the obsession with brilliance. As Fink (OGS/COO) declares, creatives do not like compromise but confront it every day. For example, it is difficult for western creatives to allow for the inclusion of an eastern aesthetic, such as wabi-sabi (侘寂), that accepts beauty as "imperfect, impermanent, and incomplete" (Koren, 1994). Which leads me to draw attention to Foucault's warning that visibility is a mantrap because it triggers the automatic functioning of power ‘in a certain concerted distribution of bodies, surfaces, lights, gazes: in an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are caught up’ (Foucault, 1979, pp 200-202). Since I argue that the creative product reflects in some way its creator, its visible presence will be situated within shifting transnational configurations of media power across uneven global cultures.

**Conclusion**

This chapter sets out to explore the relationship between the advertising creative and his creative product. A relationship that fuels and helps form an identity that is indexed to a particular creative masculinity. I argue that many advertising practices used to generate and produce advertising ideas are themselves gendered male. In the examples of creative work from Sydney I look at how creative and commercial risks are accepted as part of advertising practices. These risks expose advertising creatives to comparisons with their rivals, measuring them against standards of creativity within their agencies, amongst their peers and throughout the industry. The examples of creative work from India show a creative style culturally localized emerging from the universality of transnational advertising. It is an anti-colonial creative uprising of sorts championed by two creative leaders, Prasoon Joshi and Piyush Pandey. The creative work discussed is culturally grounded and emerges full of confidence and humour. As a result, the Indian consumer is invited to participate in the dynamic interactions of their own culture rather than follow instructions imposed by multinational commercial enterprises. The Cokehands campaign from China shows the emerging universal dominance of the visual in communication and demonstrates how the power of the visual and the art director has risen. This acts as an introduction to the perception of creative work and how it is viewed by advertising creatives.
In a world where physical strength is no longer required to carry out most work, the advertising creative reverts to descriptions of blue collar labour to describe how hard the work is and justify the long hours spent doing it. The external power of advertising creatives is apparent in their influence on matters of public taste. This influences how creatives see their work as an uneasy coalescence of art and commerce. Whilst this belongs to a much bigger and ongoing debate about advertising as an art form, it is relevant to this study because it is raised by the research participants themselves. What emerges from their comments is the high priority that male creatives in particular place on their work being visible and recognized. This in turn leads to personal visibility as a professional advertising practitioner, recognized amongst peers and throughout the industry. Creative visibility is based on the belief that it is positive because of it leads to recognition and association with success and acclaim. However, for most creatives these are unlikely because their work is part of the ongoing production of basic and unspectacular advertising with comparatively low creative potential. The chapter concludes with Foucault’s warning that visibility triggers power relations that may unexpectedly subordinate the creator and his creative product.
CONCLUSIONS

There is something special about a creative department late at night, post-pitch when everyone else has gone. It is lights out in the creative dormitory and all the computer screens have slipped into sleep mode. But if you know what to look for there is the evidence of the many hours of creative energy and effort that has gone into the pitch. There is no need for the creatives to be present to experience the haecceity of the creative department strewn with forensic evidence of the struggles that have gone on here. There are feelings of triumph, relief, abandonment and failure. Creative teams have defended their work convinced of its voracity and right to be presented as the ‘Big Idea.’ Competing teams with opposing concepts have supported their ideas with equal conviction. Concepts have clashed, fallen and survived in the rough and tumble of review. There have been winners and losers and there are leftover signs of the power games that have been played out. Post-it notes stuck on partitions and screens. Print outs that have been ripped up and discarded. Creative briefs with highlighted sections. A whole wall of campaign themes, slogans and strap lines. Reference pictures ripped from magazines. Screen shots taken from movies. Products and packaging that have been tested, rejected and redesigned. Blue ticks and red crosses identify winners and losers. Also, there are signs of long hours that are culturally specific. In Sydney, empty beer and wine bottles, glasses, chip packets, cardboard pizza boxes and coffee cups cover the benches and litter the floor. In Delhi, there is leftover tea. The remains of aloo gobi and rice have dried out in their plastic bowls. Soft drink cans are scattered throughout the department. In Shanghai, the individual work spaces have been left neat and tidy, but the office walls are covered in sheets of paper linked with lines and arrows showing how prospective ideas are interconnected or not. The creative departments are abandoned but somewhere victories are being celebrated and disappointments drowned.

These abandoned signs and symbols point to the creative habitus, this universal advertising set of transposable and long lasting dispositions with certain local variations through which advertising creatives perceive, act and judge the world. This helps answer the persistent question about why there are so few women
creatives in advertising. It is the persistence of the creative habitus that embeds a way of thinking that confirms creativity in advertising as a male default position and reminds us that ‘just by not being men, women are positioned within deficit and are deemed problematic’ (Marlow and Swail, 2014, p. 81).

My personal history and lived experiences of advertising, combined with my ethnographic fieldwork have deeply informed my experiences as I have re-entered the world of the familiar other. While my object of study is the male creative, the juxtaposed opinions of my female respondents have clarified my observations and understandings of their male counterparts. They have opened up issues of gender relations in the advertising agency workplace and highlight the importance of including both genders in my study. Although they may have been backstage, the experiences of women in advertising have been integral to my understanding of creative masculinity.

In this thesis I have looked at the contested ‘manspace’ where ‘manbrands’ compete and exercise their ‘manpower’ as they go about their creative practices, obsessed with building reputations for producing brilliant, original, authentic, award-winning, ‘Big Ideas’. I have identified how creative practices are conducted in the gendered safety of the ‘boy’s club’ that is housed within the creative department. This is their seat of power where the creative habitus and cultural capital underpins their status as creative elites. Here, in sanctioned safety, creatives indulge in acts of productive rebelliousness and deviant behaviours that are accepted as part of extreme manbranding on the proviso they are linked to ongoing creative performance.

Across all three cultural locations in Sydney, Delhi and Shanghai I found that creatives are engaged in what they see as an ideological contest among themselves, acting on behalf of change and difference. Sometimes this is against their clients who they see resisting change and difference and protecting of the status quo. This tension clearly illustrates the resistance to power that Foucault identifies as central to an understanding of power relations. All members of the ‘boy’s club’ see their agencies as indebted to their creativity for which they extract compensation in the form of extreme manbranded entitlements.
These entitlements can vary from casual dress codes, colourful language, attendance at award festivals, and embodied behaviours like drunkenness following competitive advertising pitches. They can also include material possessions and consumer goods such as designer label clothes, watches, cars, fine wines, communication devices and travel.

I have identified a specific state that I have called ‘manxiety’ that I have shown accompanies male creatives throughout their advertising careers. ‘Manxiety’ can be seen as a stimulant when it is used as a resource to encourage the creative to produce good work. Used in this way it drives creative effort towards the obsession with brilliance. On the other hand, ‘manxiety’ can also be seen as a depressant when creatives experience rejection of their work, fail to get it accepted and produced or to win creative awards. The consequences of failure are the deflation of creative status and cultural capital as the creative falls behind his peers, losing confidence and joining the majority to work on run-of-the-mill projects and minor brands.

I have shown how cultural influences and differences construct localised advertising ‘manbrands’ despite universal references such as the importance of English advertising as a benchmark for creative excellence. For example, the individualism of the Sydney creative; the culturally conflicted Delhi creative producing Hinglish concepts and the preferred anonymity of the Chinese creative seeking acceptance as team member.

The identification of the importance of creating visible work against a backdrop of ‘manxiety’ points to possible areas of future research. In a world where men’s work is used to define what they do and who they are, the decline in producing a visible end product has serious implications for men’s health and well being. In advertising a visible end product illuminates the winners and losers in the drive behind the obsession with brilliance. As well as providing visibility for their work and themselves, creatives provide visibility by proxy for everyone else in the agency. However, visibility is only a means to an end. The overall objective and benefit is recognition which links the individual creative to his work and himself. This study confirms my
experience that creative masculinity in advertising is not hegemonic but is a form of maverick masculinity indexed to creativity.

Finally, my empirical study on masculinities and creativity in transnational advertising agencies illuminates the socio-cultural nature of men involved in cultural production and points to territory where further research can be conducted in other workplaces into the important relationship between men and their work. This could be productive in determining how visibility of work and recognition for it relate to men’s self-perception, health and well being in contemporary workplaces. Analyzing this drive for visible masculinity for the practitioners and for the consumers of their creative products allows us to better understand the relation between men and women in advertising, and how the representations they produce contribute to the changing dynamics between masculinity and femininity.
Appendix

Appendix 1
Communications Council Salary Survey 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work category</th>
<th>Male %</th>
<th>Female %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Council member advertising agencies</td>
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<td>49</td>
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<tr>
<td>Senior Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strategy and Planning</td>
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<td>Production</td>
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<tr>
<td>Operations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Digital/Social</td>
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<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015 AWARD School Students</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
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AWARD School was started in Australia in 1984 by Australian Writers and Art Directors (AWARD) and followed the establishment of a similar concept from Design & Art Direction (D&AD) in London. Its purpose is to identify creative talent in copywriting and art direction. Details of AWARD School, its purpose and operation can be found on the following website: http://awardonline.com/education/award-school

1 The Communications Council is the peak professional body representing companies in the Australian advertising industry. The member base spans more than 160 agencies which operate in the areas of creative, digital, strategic planning, promotion, direct marketing, PR, design, production, and healthcare advertising. http://www.communicationscouncil.org.au/public/content/ViewCategory.aspx?id=315
Appendix 2

Global advertising expenditure per person in paid media 2014-2016

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<th></th>
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<td>$617.58</td>
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<td><strong>$5.40</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Currency shown in US dollars. Figures include digital (online and mobile), directories, magazines, newspapers, outdoor, radio and television.
* Excludes Hong Kong.

**Source:** eMarketer June 2014
http://www.emarketer.com/Article/Global-Ad-Spending-Growth-Double-This-Year/10110997
Estimated total advertising expenditure in paid media for 2015

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
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<th>Total population</th>
<th>Per capita advertising expenditure</th>
<th>Total advertising expenditure</th>
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**Note:** Currency shown in US dollars. Figures include digital (online and mobile), directories, magazines, newspapers, outdoor, radio and television.
* Excludes Hong Kong

Estimated year-on-year growth in advertising expenditure 2015

**Source:** Statista: The Statistics Portal
Accessed 12 September 2015 at 4:14pm
Appendix 3
Details of the empirical study

Human Research Ethics Committee Approval

Approval for this empirical study was granted by the University of Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) on 21 January 2013 and Protocol No: 2012/699 was issued. In compliance with university policy, Professor Elspeth Probyn was listed as the chief investigator and Paul Priday was listed as the Co-Researcher. Approval was also given to the following forms that were used throughout the in-field research period: Participant Information Statement, Participant Consent Form and Interview Guide. A modification was approved by HREC on 18 June 2014 adding Shanghai as an additional research site following an invitation from Ogilvy, Shanghai to conduct fieldwork there.

Research Participants

The tables below detail the research sample that reflects the qualitative aims of this project. In keeping with the conditions of the HREC approval, all interviews were conducted with the consent of each research participant who agreed to the material being recorded, transcribed and published in this PhD thesis and in any associated academic publications. The recording device remained in full view of each research participant throughout the interview. It was explained (verbally and in writing) that the recording could be stopped at anytime at the request of the research participant and the data deleted. A signed consent form was obtained from each research participant and a copy give to them. Hand written notes from conversations with additional research participants were taken following their verbal consent. At the completion of this thesis a lay summary of the project will be emailed to those research participants who requested it. Full copies of this thesis will be made available to the participating transnational advertising agencies upon request.

Data Treatment

The interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically alongside other material gathered from the field. Key passages and quotes from the interviews provided direction for research and have been used to contextualise the body of the thesis.
### Cultural location: Sydney, Australia
### Transnational agency: McCann, Sydney
### Ethnography period: May-September 2013

<table>
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<th>Interview</th>
<th>Research Participant</th>
<th>Interview Code</th>
<th>M/F</th>
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<td>McCS/AD</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Art Director</td>
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<td>Daniel</td>
<td>McCS/C</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Ryan</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Carter</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Lauren</td>
<td>McCS/SAM</td>
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<td>Gavin</td>
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<td>Logan</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Aiden</td>
<td>McCS/CDC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Creative Director – Copywriting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>McCS/GM</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>General Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>McCS/SAD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Senior Art Director</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Cultural location: Sydney, Australia
### Transnational agency: M&C Saatchi, Sydney
### Ethnography period: 2013 – 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Research Participant</th>
<th>Interview Code</th>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Olivia</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/MP</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Managing Partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Evelyn</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/MP</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Managing Partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Elliot</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/SC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Senior Copywriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Jackson</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/CDA</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Creative Director - Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tom McFarlane*</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/RCD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Regional Creative Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wyatt</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/CDC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Creative Director - Copywriting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Katherine</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/SC</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Senior Copywriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Blake</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/CDC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Creative Director - Copywriting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Tom Dery*</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/GC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Global Chairman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/ECD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Executive Creative Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ethan</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/C</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Copywriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Sean</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/AD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Art Director</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conversation</th>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Conversation Code</th>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Stella</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/AE</td>
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</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Noah</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/CDC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Creative Director – Copy</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jayesh</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/SAD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Senior Art Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Shray</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/SC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Senior Copywriter</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Hailey</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/SC</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/TVP</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Television Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Dylan</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/AD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Art Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Lucy</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/AE</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Account Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Caroline</td>
<td>M&amp;CSS/AE</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Account Service</td>
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**Cultural location:** Delhi, India  
**Transnational agency:** McCann, Delhi  
**Ethnography period:** January 2014

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Girija</td>
<td>McCD/EA</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Executive Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nakula</td>
<td>McCD/PM</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ritisha</td>
<td>McCD/CDC</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Creative Director - Copywriting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dalpati</td>
<td>McCD/CDA</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Creative Director - Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Harsha</td>
<td>McCD/PM</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Project Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Jaldev</td>
<td>McCD/C</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Copywriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bhavika</td>
<td>McCD/AD</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Art Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Ramdatt</td>
<td>McCD/C</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Copywriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Prabhakar</td>
<td>McCD/ECD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Executive Creative Director</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Kanvar</td>
<td>McCD/ACDA</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Assoc/Creative Director - Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Kashish</td>
<td>McCD/ACDC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Assoc/Creative Director - Copywriting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Kishore Chakraborti*</td>
<td>McCD/VP</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Vice President Human Insight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Yashika</td>
<td>McCD/CDC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Creative Director - Copywriting</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Anushka</td>
<td>McCD/SAM</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Senior Account Manager</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Dharma</td>
<td>McCD/SBL</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Senior Brand Leader</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conversation</th>
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<th>M/F</th>
<th>Position</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pujarit</td>
<td>McCD/ED</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Executive Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ranbir</td>
<td>McCD/VP</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Vice President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Saba</td>
<td>McCD/PA</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Personal Assistant</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>Raji</td>
<td>McCD/CDA</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Creative Director – Art</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chet</td>
<td>McCD/BD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Broadcast Director</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Raja</td>
<td>McCD/C</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Copywriter (Hindi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Tenu</td>
<td>McCD/CDC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Creative Director – Copywriting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Madhu</td>
<td>McCD/T</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Trainee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Shya</td>
<td>McCD/T</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Trainee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Reshu</td>
<td>McCD/T</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Trainee</td>
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Cultural location: Shanghai, China
Transnational agency: Ogilvy, Shanghai
Ethnography period: July 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview</th>
<th>Research Participant</th>
<th>Interview Code</th>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Enzo</td>
<td>OGS/ECA</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Executive Creative Assistant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Allison</td>
<td>OGS/CDA</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Creative Director - Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jason</td>
<td>OGS/PRE</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Public Relations Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ella</td>
<td>OGS/SP</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Strategy Planner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Julian</td>
<td>OGS/PRE</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Public Relations Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Grace</td>
<td>OGS/SP</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Strategy Planner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>OGS/SC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Senior Copywriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Maurice</td>
<td>OGS/DCD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Digital Creative Director</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Graham Fink*</td>
<td>OGS/CCO</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Chief Creative Officer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Alice</td>
<td>OGS/AE</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Account Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Hunter</td>
<td>OGS/CDC</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Creative Director - Copywriting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Max</td>
<td>OGS/ECD</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Executive Creative Director</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conversation</th>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Interview Code</th>
<th>M/F</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Helen</td>
<td>OGS/TRS</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Talent Resources Specialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lorraine</td>
<td>OGS/SP</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Strategy Planner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Henry</td>
<td>OGS/AE</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Account Executive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rampal</td>
<td>OGS/HOK</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Head of Knowledge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jason</td>
<td>OGS/DSP</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Director Strategy Planning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Summary of Research Sample:
Total research sample: 73
Interviews: 49 (67%)
Conversations: 24 (33%)
Males: 46 (63%)
Females: 27 (37%)

*Real names have been used with the permission of the individuals because of their high profile in their transnational agency network and throughout the transnational advertising industry.
GLOSSARY OF TERMS

**Bloke**
Bloke is an old English colloquial term for a man that is in common use in Australia. Blokey (adj) is used to define ongoing hypermasculine behavior and attitudes.

**Crack**
(v) To crack it is to find a creative solution to an advertising problem. To come up with a good idea.

**Film**
Used by advertising creatives to mean a television commercial. The word ‘film’ has subtle meanings associated with the quality and size of commercial production. Film became a discriminator between high-end and run-of-the-mill video productions.

**Hand-shaker**
An award-winning piece of creative work where the winner goes on stage at an awards ceremony to receive their award and shake hands with the celebrity making the presentations.

**Manbrand**
The constructed and managed self-identity of an individual male.

**Manlingo**
Colloquial and coded tribal language used by men when communicating with other men.

**Manspace**
A socio-cultural space in business or public institutions that identifies a zone of male privilege or domination.

**Mansplain**
When men assume superior knowledge and use over-simplified language and a condescending attitude when explaining things and events to women.

**Manspread**
The wide spreading of the legs that men often adopt when seated in public spaces.

**Manstand**
An intractable and dominant position taken by men on an issue.

**Manxiety**
The anxiety that accompanies individual men in the workplace as a result of general insecurity they experience about their employment or the end result of their work.

**Pitch**
The pitch is the presentation made to a client in the hope of securing their business, or retaining their business, in the face of competition from other agencies. Often referred to as a ‘competitive pitch.’

**Scam-ad**
An advertisement that is made specifically for entry into an industry creative award that has appeared in media paid for by the
submitting agency or creative personnel. A scam-ad is not part of a mainstream campaign and the client may be unaware that the ad has been created or entered.

**Shoulder**

As in a ‘man with shoulder’, used in India to describe a man who is reliable and dependable in any circumstance. A man who stands up to be counted in difficult times.

**Spot**

Colloquial term for a television or radio commercial. Originates from media buying, where negotiation focused on securing a ‘spot’ in a programme on behalf of an advertiser whose television or radio commercial would then be scheduled to fill that ‘spot’.

**Strapline**

The summary or theme line of an advertising campaign often presented in close proximity to the company logo. For example: Avis: We try harder. Perdue Farms: It takes a tough man to make a tender chicken.

**Suit**

A member of the account service department, or any member of management who has direct contact with clients and meets with them outside the agency and is expected to wear a business suit on these occasions. Can be used as a pejorative term to describe an agency person who is perceived to have lower status than an advertising creative. Identifies a clear demarcation between the freestyle dress of the creatives and the ‘suits’ who are in daily contact with clients. A ‘suit’ is badged as business-like and efficient, where individualism is suppressed in favour of corporate loyalty. Also, a suit demarcates symbolically between work and leisure.
## Glossary of Typographical Terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ascender</td>
<td>Typographical term for the portion of a letter that extends upward above the x-height of a letter, such as ‘h’ or ‘d’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad break</td>
<td>Typographical term referring to a break between lines of type that look awkward to the eye or make reading and comprehension difficult.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bleed</td>
<td>A typographical and printing term to describe where a picture or words extend beyond the edges of the page or into the gutter space between two facing pages in a publication.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bold</td>
<td>Typographical term for emboldened type that is made blacker by adding to the font weight without necessarily adding to the font size. Used to draw the eye in a body of text by emphasizing a particular word or phrase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Character</td>
<td>Typographical term for a single letter, symbol or number in a typeface or font.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condensed</td>
<td>Typographical term for the narrower version of a typeface that allows for more letters to used in a particular space.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Descender</td>
<td>Typographical term for the portion of a letter that extends below the baseline of a font, such as ‘p’ and ‘y’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended</td>
<td>Typographical term for a horizontally widened typeface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Font</td>
<td>Typographical term for a set of type, or characters of one style, weight and size. Believed to have come from the word fount as in the source from which words spring.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gothic</td>
<td>Originated in Scandinavia and comes from grotesk, or grotesque and is basically a synonym for sans-serif. Widely applied by the German Bauhaus School of design 1919-1933.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gutter</td>
<td>The central space that falls between two facing pages in a publication that marks the standard limit to which the printed image or text can be taken. However, printing specifications can require that image and text continue into this space that is described as ‘bleed into the gutter.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kerning  Typographical term for the process of adjusting the spacing between characters in a proportional font, usually to achieve a visually pleasing result.

Orphan  A paragraph-opening line that appears by itself at the bottom of a page or column, thus separated from the rest of the text. Often confused with a ‘widow’ line (See below). The differences are remembered using this mnemonic, "An orphan is alone from the beginning; a widow is alone at the end."

Regular  Typographical term for the standard presentation of a typeface without embellishment such as bold or italic letters.

Sans serif  Typographical term for a typeface that does not have the small decorative serif lines added as embellishment to the basic form of a character as shown in this definition. Comes from the French word sans, meaning without and serif from the Dutch word schreef meaning line.

Serif  Typographical term for small decorative lines added as embellishment to the basic form of a character as shown in this definition. Comes from the Dutch word schreef meaning line.

Weight  Typographical term for the degree of density that a font presents on the screen or printed page.

Widow  A last word, or short last line of a paragraph falling at the top of a page or column and considered typographically undesirable because it leaves an empty space before the start of the next line or paragraph.


Dishman, L. (2013, February 26). *Where are all the women creative directors?* Fast Company.


McFall, L. (2002). What about the old cultural intermediaries? An historical review of advertising producers, Cultural Studies, 16(4), 532-552. doi:10.1080/09502380210139106


Shouse, E., & Oppliger, P. (2012). *Sarah is magic: The (post-gendered?) comedy of Sarah Silverman*. *Comedy Studies, 3*(2), 201-216. doi:10.1386/cost.3.2.201_1


NOTES

Manplan – Introduction

1 Leo Burnett, Sydney’s response to criticism of the hiring of five all-male, all-white creatives was reported by Alex Hayes on 13 November 2015 in the online publishing site ‘Mumbrella’ that claims to bring its subscribers ‘Everything under the media and marketing umbrella.’ http://mumbrella.com.au/leo-burnett-sydney-breaks-silence-saying-it-hired-all-male-creative-team-hired-because-they-were-the-best-after-storm-of-criticism-330627

2 In the Preface to the Thirtieth Anniversary Edition of Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco titled ‘Reflections on Fieldwork in Philosophy’, written from Berkeley in 2006, Paul Rabinow describes the academic circumstances prevalent at the time of his original fieldwork conducted in 1968 in the tribal areas surrounding Sefrou in the Middle Atlas Mountains of Morocco.

3 John A. Baker was an English author best known for The Peregrine, which won the Duff Cooper Prize in 1967. Robert Macfarlane described it as “a masterpiece of twentieth-century non-fiction.” The book recounts a single year from October to April (probably of 1962/3) from the author’s ten-year obsession with the peregrines that wintered near his home in Chelmsford, Essex in eastern England.

4 Babycham was the first alcoholic product to be advertised on British commercial television. When the campaign started in 1957, the drink was originally marketed as a ‘genuine champagne perry’. The iconic Babycham logo featuring a fawn was created and designed by John Emperor of Collett Dickenson Pearce (CDP), London.

5 The Merriam-Webster online dictionary dates 1962 as the first use of creative as a noun which is the period of creativity in advertising described as the ‘Golden Age’. Reference: Cracknell, A. (2011). The Real Mad Men: The remarkable true story of Madison Avenue’s Golden Age, when a handful of renegades changes advertising forever. London: Quercus.


Chapter 1 - Manspace

1 Permission to use the descriptor ‘manspace’ kindly granted by Jeffrey Patchell, Publisher, Manspace Magazine, Connection Magazines Pty. Ltd., Unit 2/18-22 Lexia Place, Musgrave, Victoria 3170, Australia.

2 Art direction in advertising has, from time to time, included visual influences from anti-capitalist movements. For example, the typographical revolution that took place in London during the 1980s is seen in Neville Brody’s trademark covers for The Face magazine and Jamie Reid’s album covers for the Sex Pistols. Both these designers drew on the anarchy of the Russian typographer, painter, designer, photographer, Aleksander Rodchenko (1891-1956) who also influenced the graphic style artworks of the US artist, Barbara Kruger and her cultural criticism of consumerism.

3 Andrew Cracknell started as a trainee copywriter in the famous London creative agency Collett Dickenson Pearce (CDP) in the early 1960s and, in a long career, held Executive Creative Director positions in both London and New York. Acknowledged as an authority on advertising he has chronicled a history of the important changes that took place in New York in the 50s and 60s. Cracknell, A. (2011). The Real Mad Men: The remarkable true story of Madison Avenue’s Golden Age, when a handful of renegades changed advertising forever. London: Quercus.

4 Amongst feminist writers who advanced the idea of always already gendered workplaces are: Acker, J. (1990). Hierarchies, jobs, bodies: a theory of gendered organisations. Gender
Cannes Lions recognize and award the year’s most exciting creative ideas across sixteen categories, covering everything from traditional print and film communications to technology and product design. www.canneslions.com

The annual D&AD Awards are highly respected and regarded as a major annual event in the world of design and advertising. The awards are symbolized as ‘pencils’ and there are five levels: Wood, Graphite, Yellow, White and Black pencils. These are awarded in various categories ranging from print and broadcast advertising to environmental design, billboard advertising and animation shorts. The Black Pencil is particularly coveted as it recognizes ‘outstanding’ work and usually only one or two are awarded each year.

Ethnographic fieldwork conducted between May – September 2013 in the offices of McCann, Royal Naval House, 32 Grosvenor Street, The Rocks, Sydney, New South Wales 2000, Australia.

The Australian advertising agency market was dominated by four international agencies throughout the 1970s: George Patterson (owned by the US agency Ted Bates), McCann Erickson, Leo Burnett and J. Walter Thompson. It was during this period that small, creative boutique agencies started and some of these grew to challenge the internationals and eventually win large accounts and speculative projects away from them and so becoming part of the transnational advertiser agency roster.

International advertising agencies often have a credo introduced by the founders and used as a declaration of belief and consistency to explain their particular approach to advertising. The founder of McCann, Harrison King McCann introduced ‘Truth Well Told’ as the agency credo in 1912.

Ethnographic fieldwork conducted between September 2013 to December 2014 in the offices of M&C Saatchi, 99 Macquarie Street, Sydney, New South Wales 2000, Australia.

In 1915, Frank Pick, the Commercial Manager for the London Underground commissioned the design of a new typeface from Edward Johnston. He wanted the new typeface to be ‘straightforward and manly’ with each letter a ‘strong and unmistakable symbol’. The Grotesque typeface (not the one used in the Underground commission) does not get its name because it is ugly, but because ‘grot’ is a sans serif type from the nineteenth century that displays some variation in the thickness of letter strokes.

Ethnographic fieldwork conducted in January 2014 in the offices of McCann Worldwide, 8 Balaji Estate, Guru Ravi Dass Marg, Kalkaji, Delhi 110019, India.

‘Within you without you’ is George Harrison’s sole composition on the The Beatles’ groundbreaking album Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band, released in 1967. Harrison had been greatly influenced by his seven-week stay in India with his friend and sitar teacher Ravi Shankar. The lyrics reflect his introduction to Hindu philosophy and the teachings of the Vedas. The Indian instruments on the track were played by various un-credited musicians from the Asian Music Circle in London. Harrison received praise and critical acclaim for his sensitivity and understanding of Indian traditional music as demonstrated in both the lyrics and musical arrangement.

Diwali, the ‘Festival of Lights’ is an important, ancient Hindu festival celebrated in autumn (northern hemisphere) or spring (southern hemisphere) every year. Diwali signifies the victory of light over darkness, knowledge over ignorance, good over evil, and hope over despair. Preparations and rituals for Diwali typically extend over a five-day period with the main festival night coinciding with the darkest, new moon night of the Hindu Lunisolar month of Kartika.

Ethnographic fieldwork conducted in July 2014 in the offices of Ogilvy & Mather, 989 The Centre, Changle Road, 200031, Shanghai, People’s Republic of China.

Goddess Durga is the mother of the universe and believed to be the power behind the work of creation, preservation, and destruction of the world. Since time immemorial Durga has been worshipped as the supreme power of the Supreme Being and is mentioned in many scriptures - Yajur Veda, Vajasaneyi Samhita and Taittareya Brahman. In Sanskrit, Durga means a fort, or a place that is difficult to overrun. Another meaning translates into ‘the one who eliminates sufferings’. Hindus believe that Durga protects her devotees from the evils of
The salwar and the kameez are two garments which have been combined to form a traditional outfit and is a generic term used to describe different styles of dress. The salwar kameez can be worn by both men and women, although styles differ by gender. The salwar are loose pajama-like trousers that are wide at the top, and narrow at the ankle. The kameez is a long shirt or tunic.

Razorfish: http://www.razorfish.com

Men’s Sheds or Community Sheds are non-profit organizations that originated in Australia to advise and improve the overall health of men. They normally operate on a local level in the community, promoting social interaction and aim to improve quality of life. Men’s sheds have been established in England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Finland and Greece.

http://www.mensshed.org/home/.aspx

Creative is shaping the future’ delivered by Graham Fink at TEDx Talks. Uploaded by TEDx Talks 25 July 2014. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1cZJALXB-kI

‘Of Other Spaces’, originally entitled ‘Des Espaces Autres’ was first published in the French journal Architecture-Mouvement-Continuite in October, 1984 and was the basis for a lecture delivered by Michel Foucault in March 1967. The idea of the heterotopia was not explored further in Foucault’s work but has been used by a variety of authors.


Joshua Meyrowitz challenges the notion that influence depends on the place where the individual is located and who they are with at that time. Instead, television exercises strong influence over us where we have no sense of space and in the absence of other people. Meyrowitz, J. (1985) No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chapter 2 - Manbrand

The Churchill war ministry was a coalition government in Britain which lasted for most of World War II. Formed in 1940 and led by the conservatives, it lasted until 26 July 1945 when the results of the general election installed the Labour leader, Clement Attlee as prime minister.

The earliest mention of the ploughman’s meal of bread, cheese and beer is found in Pierce the Ploughman’s Crede (c.1394). However, the specific term “ploughman’s lunch” is believed to date no further back than the 1950s, when the Cheese Bureau (a marketing body affiliated to the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency) began promoting the meal in pubs as a way to increase the sales of cheese, which had recently ceased to be rationed.

These words refer to typographical measures and line breaks. The ‘em’ is a typographical point size of which the ‘en’ is a half. A ‘pica’ refers to a measure of twelve typographical points and ‘kerning’ is the adjustment of the spaces between individual characters. A ‘widow’ is a single word, or the end of a hyphenated word, that is stranded by itself at the end of a paragraph leaving too much white space. An ‘orphan’ is the same idea of an abandoned word or line but at the beginning of a paragraph or section.

The ‘unique selling proposition’ or USP was developed by Rosser Reeves at the Ted Bates agency which he co-founded in 1940 in New York. The principle of the USP was to identify a product attribute that could be used to distinguish it from its competitors and then to use this as the central proposition in the advertising. An example is the slogan for M&Ms confectionery, ‘Melts in your mouth, not in your hand’ that is still used to this day.

Oxo was originally owned by the Unilever subsidiary company Van den Bergh and through it’s advertising agency J. Walter Thompson, London ran a series of television commercials that started in 1958 and continued until 1976. These featured a series of soapy style episodes under the opening title ‘Life with Katie.’ The viewers followed the lives of Katie and Phillip.
from young marrieds to parenthood with their son David. Many people thought they were a real family as Katie continued to provide good, nourishing food using the added goodness of Oxo cubes that give ‘a meal man appeal.’ Another Oxo family, featuring the popular actress Lynda Bellingham, returned to the screen in 1983 and ran until 1999 when it was felt by J. Walter Thompson and their client, and following market research, that it no longer represented modern family lifestyles. When Bellingham was diagnosed with colon cancer she expressed her wish to spend her last Christmas with her family but died a few weeks short in October 2014. In her honour, ITV scheduled one of her earlier Oxo commercials from 1984 to run on Christmas Day 2014.

6 Ravi Shankar was born in Varanasi, India in 1920 and became a classically trained musician acknowledged as a virtuoso on the sitar. Ravi Shankar came to the attention of the American group The Byrds when they were recording in the same studio and they introduced Shankar to their friend George Harrison of The Beatles. Harrison became interested in Indian music and incorporated the sound and Ravi Shankar’s playing into The Beatles music, most famously in Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band released on 1 June 1967.

7 ‘Dedicated Follower of Fashion is a 1966 single released on 25 February 1966 by the influential British band The Kinks. The band’s lead singer and lyricist, Ray Davies has said that the satirical style of the song resulted from an argument he had with a London fashion designer at a party. The Carnabetian army refers to the hordes of young men buying mod influenced clothes from the fashion boutiques in Carnaby Street.

8 One of these copywriters was Jill Neville, the sister of the Australian satirist Richard Neville, who was developing a parallel career as a novelist when she published her first book The Fall Girl (1966) based on her relationship with Peter Porter, the Australian-British poet.

9 Taken from an open discussion hosted by D&AD, chaired by Anthony Simmonds-Gooding with a panel of former Collett Dickenson and Pearce luminaries: Sir Alan Parker, Sir Frank Lowe, John Salmon, Tony Brignull and Alan Waldie.

10 In 2009 the Collett Dickenson Pearce (CDP) advertising agency was bought by the Japanese company Dentsu. Recollections of the golden days of British advertising by some of the luminaries who had worked there featured in an article by Mark Jones and published in the Financial Times on 3 January 2009. Under the headline ‘Happiness was . . .’ Sir Alan Parker recounts the time when he wrote print advertisements for Harveys Bristol Cream sherry before moving into directing television commercials.

11 In 1945 the Australian Labor government under Prime Minister Ben Chifley introduced The Assisted Passage Migration Scheme that ran until 1973. It was part of the “Populate or Perish” policy to attract migrants to take up work and residence in Australia and boost the nation’s productivity. British adult migrants were charged only ten pounds towards their ship or airfare with the remainder subsidized by the Australian taxpayer. ‘Pom’ is the Australian nickname for a Briton.


13 Wearing headphones in the agency is a controversial issue in some advertising circles. In an edited extract from On Creativity: There Are No Rules by John Hegarty, published in The Australian Financial Review prior to the Global Marketer Conference hosted by The Australian Association of National Advertisers (AANA) in Sydney on 26 March 2015, Hegarty is quoted: ‘Do you know what really upsets me? (Apart from peanut butter.) When I see one of my creatives wandering through their day with headphones on. Why are they cutting themselves off from the world? Inspiration is all around us. All that we see, hear, touch, taste, and smell helps us to form new ideas, even if we don’t always realise it. So why reduce the amount of inspiration reaching you? Why wear headphones? The world can be a constant source of inspiration but you must absorb it through all your senses before you can hope to channel it into fresh ideas.’

14 The industry slang for an award-winning piece of work is a ‘hand shaker’ because when the winner’s names are announced at industry award ceremonies they get to go on stage
to receive their award in front of their peers and shake the hand of the presenter who is usually a well known industry leader.

15 AWARD School was launched in Australia in 1984 in response to the introduction of Student Awards by Sir John Hegarty and D&AD in London in 1979. The mission of AWARD School is to identify and encourage creative talent for the advertising and communications industry from any source and from any cultural or educational background. Prospective students have to submit an application form answering a number of creative tasks that are designed to test their creativity and ingenuity. Successful students are then assigned to agencies who participate in the programme where they will be taught and guided by senior industry creatives over a period of six months. At the end of the three month programme each student will have a portfolio of advertising work to help them get interviews. [http://awardonline.com/education/award-school](http://awardonline.com/education/award-school)


17 Inkaar, released in 2013 was directed by Sudhir Mishra. Starring Arjun Rampal (Rahul) and Chitrangada Singh (Maya). Music by Shantanu Moitra.

18 Indian Nescafe television commercial: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4q5ISOF6LLA](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4q5ISOF6LLA)

19 According to Hindu Vedic Astrology, a ‘Kundli’ has 8 ‘Kutas’ which in turn have 36 ‘Guns’. Most astrologers use the ‘8 Kuta’ horoscope matching system to check whether a woman and man are a good match for a marriage. The higher the compatibility of the 36 ‘Guns’, the higher the probability that the bride and groom will have a happy marriage. The best Kundli match is when all 36 ‘Guns’ of the man and woman match.

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Chapter 3 - Manpower

1 A summary statement for an advertising campaign often reproduced together with the company’s logo. (See Glossary)

2 Advertising Age, or Ad Age, started as a broadsheet newspaper in Chicago in 1930. Today, it is a weekly magazine featuring news, analysis and data on marketing and media that is distributed around the world. Electronic delivery can be seen on [www.adage.com](http://www.adage.com)

3 The song ‘Diamonds are a girl’s best friend’ featured in the original 1949 Broadway production of Gentlemen Prefer Blondes written by Jule Styne and Leo Robin and based on the novel by Anita Loos. The song is mostly associated with Marilyn Monroe who performed it in the film version as nightclub singer Lorelei Lee surrounded by a chorus of young men in tuxedos. Gentlemen Prefer Blondes (1953) was a 20th Century Fox production directed by Howard Hawks.

4 ‘Blood diamonds’ are mined in war zones and then traded illegally to fund insurgencies. The term originated from the Angolan civil war fought between the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), and the National Liberation Front of Angola (FNLA) from 1974 to 2001. Between 1992 and 1998 UNITA sold diamonds, valued at US$3.72 billion, to finance its war with the government. This was in direct contravention of the Bicesse Awards, a multi-party agreement formed under the United Nations to guide the country towards democracy.


6 B&T magazine carried an article on 9 November 2015 by Katy Denis titled, ‘Leo Burnett Sydney has added some firepower to its creative department, announcing five new hires.’ All five were men and social media carried a wave of criticism that was not alleviated when a spokesperson for Leo Burnett explained that the appointments were based on merit to ensure that the agency continued to hire the best. International creative heavyweight, Cindy Gallop, Tweeted in response on 13 November; “It’s 2015 ... what the f… are u thinking?” At The Three Percent conference earlier in the year, Gallop had drawn attention in her keynote address to gender ratios in advertising agency creative departments when
she challenged male creative directors saying; ‘If you couldn’t find any [female creatives], you don’t really want any.”

7 Shengnu is made up of two Chinese words; sheng meaning spoiled food that has to be thrown away, and nu meaning woman. In 2007 The All-China Women’s Federation adopted the term to define a woman over the age of twenty-seven who remains unmarried.

8 The Rose of Tralee festival is an annual, international competition celebrated by Irish communities worldwide. It takes its inspiration from a nineteenth century ballad of the same name by E. Mordaunt Spencer. The festival had lost its following due to high levels of post World War II emigration. It was resurrected in 1959 by Dan Nolan, the managing director of The Kellyman newspaper, as a way to boost the local economy. At this time only women from Tralee were eligible to compete. In the 1960s the festival the competition was open to women from Kerry and in 1967 this was extended to any woman of Irish birth or ancestry from anywhere in the world. In contrast to other beauty pageants there is no swimwear section and the entrants are not judged on their physical appearance but on their personality. The festival bills itself as a celebration of the ‘aspirations, ambitions, intellect, social responsibility and Irish heritage’ of modern young Irish women. In 2008 unmarried mothers were allowed to enter the contest. In 2014, after winning, Maria Walsh revealed that she was gay. On 10 May 2013, Stella was selected as Sydney’s representative in that year’s Rose of Tralee festival.

9 Bloke is an old English colloquial term for a man that is very popular in Australia. Blokey, the adjective, is used to emphasize hypermasculine behaviours and attitudes. In the inner Sydney suburb of Chippendale there is an advertising agency by the name of Bloke Advertising Pty. Ltd.

10 ‘Shengnu’ is an official term of China’s Ministry of education. It comes from ‘sheng’ meaning ‘leftover.’ For example: ‘shengcai’ meaning leftover food. But there are different grades of leftover. Women under 25 are taught to ‘fight’ and ‘hunt’ for a partner. Aged 28 and unmarried, women are presumed to be ‘fighting against the odds.’ Unmarried and between 31 and 34 women are described as ‘advanced leftovers.’ At 35 years and still single women become the ‘ultimate leftover’ and ‘spiritually flawed.’ (Collinsworth, 2015, p. 17)

11 Suit is a colloquial term common throughout advertising agencies in all cultural sites in which research for this study was conducted. It refers to those executives who have direct contact with clients and who would be expected to wear a business suit for these encounters. It originated when account service was an all male function and continues despite the dominance of women in this role.

12 The article was published on 17 February 2015 in the Rear Window column of the Australian Financial Review. The story was then picked up and reported in Mumbrella: Everything under Australia’s media, marketing & entertainment umbrella.

13 Tony White was a founding director of the Australian advertising agency Thompson White in Melbourne that started in the 1970s.

14 M&C Saatchi, Sydney have a café inside their agency building that is opposite the reception and concierge desk. The café is open to staff and visiting clients and managed by catering staff. It provides a range of meals and snacks prepared by professional chefs. The agency’s latest TV productions are projected on the walls. together The latest edition newspapers and magazines are available in the café.

15 The Royal Easter Show is an important and very popular annual event that runs for ten days in Sydney over the Easter holidays where the farming and rural communities exhibit their livestock that ranges across cattle, sheep, pigs, poultry. The show also features arena events such as showjumping and sheep dog trials; traditional ‘bush’ skills like wood chopping as well as a large fun fair. It is a tradition for families to buy their children show bags that contain a surprise assortment of toys, puzzles, games and confectionery.
Chapter 4 - Manxiety

1 The quotes are take from two poetic works by W.D. Auden written when he was living in New York during the Second World War. The first quote is the opening of 'September 1, 1939' which is the date the Second World War started. The second quote comes from Auden's long poem 'The Age of Anxiety: A Baroque Eclogue' that is made up of six parts.

2 First use of 'manxiety' found in the online Urban Dictionary, 9 January 2005, meaning the state or condition of anxiety or nervous panic when having to deal with the male gender. http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=manxiety

In a recent adaptation 'manxiety' refers to an ongoing condition of anxiety experienced by men and is used in this sense in the M&C Saatchi, The Modern [Aussie] Man White Paper 2013, p. 12. The chapter is headed: Would the real [Aussie] man please stand up. The introductory sentence reads as follows: Do we even know who the Aussie male is anymore? It's difficult to identify today's real Australian man among a tsunami of stereotypes, political correctness and media reports of 'manxiety' and emasculation.

3 Table shows the nine affect pairings in Silvan Tomkins Affect Theory.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
<th>Affect</th>
<th>Reaction to</th>
<th>Impulse to</th>
<th>Physical expression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enjoyment/Joy</td>
<td>Success</td>
<td>Share</td>
<td>Smiling, lips wide</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest/Excitement</td>
<td>New situation</td>
<td>Attend</td>
<td>Eyes tracking, eyes looking, closer listening.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEUTRAL</td>
<td>Surprise/Startle</td>
<td>Sudden change</td>
<td>Resets impulses</td>
<td>Eyebrows up, eyes blinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGATIVE</td>
<td>Anger/Rage</td>
<td>Threat</td>
<td>Attack</td>
<td>Frowning, clenched jaw, red face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Disgust</td>
<td>Bad taste</td>
<td>Discard</td>
<td>Lower lip raised and protruded, head forward and down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dissmell</td>
<td>Bad smell</td>
<td>Avoid</td>
<td>Upper lip raised, head pulled back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distress/Anguish</td>
<td>Loss</td>
<td>Mourn</td>
<td>Crying,rhythmic sobbing,arched eyebrows,mouth lowered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fear/Terror</td>
<td>Danger</td>
<td>Run or hide</td>
<td>Frozen stare, pale face, coldness, sweat, erect hair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shame/Humiliation</td>
<td>Failure</td>
<td>Review behavior</td>
<td>Eyes lowered, head down and averted, blushing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4 Anguish (noun): Extreme pain, distress or anxiety. (Merriam-Webster Dictionary).

5 The details of Project P can be seen on the summary video posted on: http://www.dandad.org/en/nothingmattersmore/

6 'Dumb Ways to Die' campaign created by John Mescall, Executive Creative Director, McCann Melbourne who wrote the lyrics for the song, with music by Ollie McGill from The Cat Empire. Performed by Emily Lubitz, the lead vocalist of Tinpan Orange. When it was released on iTunes it was attributed to the artist Tangerine Kitty, a reference to Tinpan Orange and The Cat Empire. 'Dumb Ways to Die' became the most awarded campaign in the history of the Cannes Lions winning 28 Gold Lions and 5 Grand Prix. At the time of writing this footnote the video has been watched more than 120 million times. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IJNR2EpS0jw

7 To reinforce their reputation as one of the top awards in advertising, Design & Art Direction (D&AD) mounted an online promotion in January 2016 that featured the mysterious kidnapping and disappearance of D&AD pencil awards around the world as a way to underline their importance as an award that has value and integrity. The following appeared online on 23 January 2016. 'We confess. On 11 January 2016, D&AD Pencils simultaneously started disappearing around the world. The time has come to put our hands up and confess. It was us. Why did we do it? To remind the creative community of the true value of a D&AD Pencil, and that when it comes to awards, nothing matters more. By
showing the passion a D&AD Pencil can evoke, we want to inspire future talent so the creative industries can continue to grow. We wanted to remind people of all the hard graft that goes into each award and why striving for creative excellence is still so important. 

To be eligible to enter for an advertising award the advertising must have appeared in commercial media within the period specified by that award. Sometimes an advertisement is prepared for a specific award category without being part of the main campaign. The creators will pay for the concept to appear in the media to meet the criteria for entry. For example, a mainstream brand might only use television but the creative team come up with an idea that uses print. They produce the advertisement and run it once in an obscure and cheap publication. The concept is not part of the main brand campaign and the client may never be aware of the print idea, but because it has appeared in the required media it can be entered in a print category. Its performance is not measured, it produces no response and it has not been reviewed or approved by the client, but the creators can win an award for it. This is a ‘scam-ad.’

The Jing’an temple is a Buddhist shrine meaning ‘The Temple of Peace and Tranquility’. Originally built in 247AD in the Wu Kingdom, the current temple was rebuilt during the Qing dynasty (1644-1912). During the Cultural Revolution the temple was converted to a plastic factory but was returned to use as a temple in 1983 with restorations completed in 2010.

In ‘ITV’s Best Ads Ever’ programme broadcast in 2005, the British Airways television commercial Face ranked #15. In a poll conducted by Channel 4 and The Sunday Times, the commercial was ranked #62 in the 100 Greatest TV Ads and is generally considered to be a classic.

Chapter 5 - Manmade

1 Yellow Submarine is a British, animated, musical-fantasy-comedy film released in 1968. Inspired by the music of the Beatles it was directed by animation producer George Dunning, and produced by United Artists and King Features Syndicate. Yellow Submarine received widespread critical acclaim when it was released in the midst of the psychedelic pop culture of the 1960s. The film was a box-office success winning a Special Award at the 1968 New York Film Critics Circle Awards.

2 Optus is the second largest telecommunications company in Australia providing a range of products and services across mobile, broadband and television. The trading name is Singtel Optus Pty Limited, a wholly owned subsidiary of Singapore Telecommunications Limited (Singtel) since 2001.

3 The Office is a mockumentary sitcom that was first broadcast in the United Kingdom on BBC Two on 9 July 2001. Created, written, and directed by Ricky Gervais and Stephen
Merchant, the programme is about the day-to-day lives of office employees in the Slough branch of the fictitious Wernham Hogg Paper Company. Gervais also stars in the series, playing the central character, David Brent.

4 AdNews, 20 October 2015, article by Lucy Carroll, ‘Optus called again: Aussie creatives unpack Ricky Gervais ads.’

5 An estimated 6,000 people gathered at Perth’s Cottesloe Beach ... amid nationwide protests against Western Australia’s catch-and-kill shark policy. Reported on the ABC on 2 February 2014.

6 The Optus Clever Buoy project is explained in an animated form on the M&C Saatchi Sydney website: http://mcsaatchi.com.au/work/optus-cleverbuoy/

7 Padma Awards were instituted in 1954 to be awarded to citizens of India in recognition of their distinguished contribution in various spheres of activity including the Arts, Education, Industry, Literature, Science, Sports, Medicine, Social Service and Public Affairs. Padma Shri is the fourth highest category of these awards with the recipients being announced each year on India’s National Day, January 26.

8 ‘Happydent Palace ad is among 20 best this century’, Hindustan Times, 2 December 2015. Author: Suveen Sinha. The article covers The Gunn Report that is an annual publication identifying and detailing the most awarded new work within the advertising industry.

9 Paan is a combination of betel leaf and areca nut which is then mixed with a binding agent and then chewed. It is an addictive substance that produces mild euphoria. When finished it is either swallowed or spat out. Some authorities have banned the chewing of paan as the ochre coloured spit stains pavements and walls.

10 A zamindar on the Indian subcontinent was an aristocrat, typically hereditary, who held enormous tracts of land and exercised control over the peasants, from whom the zamindars reserved the right to collect tax (often for military purposes). Over time, they took princely and royal titles such as Maharaja (Great King). Zamindars were considered to be equivalent to lords and barons and in some cases were seen as independent, sovereign princes.

11 Mallakhamba derives from the terms malla which denotes a wrestler and khamba which means a pole. Mallakhamba can therefore be translated to English as “pole gymnastics”. On April 9, 2013, the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh declared mallakhamba as the state sport. The earliest recorded reference to mallakhamba is found in Someshvara Challukya’s classic Manasollasa (1135 AD). This is an encyclopedic Sanskrit work covering topics such as polity, governance, ethics, economics, astronomy, astrology, rhetoric, veterinary medicine, horticulture, perfumes, food, architecture, sports, painting, poetry and music. Originally mallakhamba was used as a supporting exercise for wrestlers. Although known to have been practiced in medieval Maharasthra and Hyderabad sport didn’t become visible in practice and well recorded until the 18th century. See the making of the Happydent commercial featured in this online segment titled Happydent White ‘the craft behind.’: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s6T4pHz0cr0

12 Piyush Pandey is the co-executive chairman and national creative director for Ogilvy & Mather, India. A former first class cricketer who played in the Ranji Trophy and was also a tea taster before entering advertising. Pandey was awarded the civilian honour Padma Shri by the Indian government in 2016 and is well known for breakthrough advertising campaigns and award-winning work for Ficovil: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jTav-vdh0E

13 Schwabach is a small Franconian town where the Articles of Schwabach were introduced in 1529 becoming the primary confession of faith in the Lutheran church. It is assumed this is how the name became associated with a particular type style used to publish religious texts. On 3 January 1941 under instructions from Adolf Hitler, the Normalschrifttextluss was signed by Martin Bormann ordering that ‘Authorities will refrain from using the Schwabacher Jew-letters in future.’

14 The interview featured in the September 1968 issue of the Doyle Dane Bernbach agency magazine. www.d.hathena.ne.jp
In Australia typographers formed associations to represent their interests as early as 1857 with the Ballarat Typographical Society, and 1888 with the Western Australia Typographical Society. A national union was only possible following federation in 1901 when the Printing Industries Employees Union of Australia (PIEUA) was formed in what was the start of a complicated history. After a number of mergers this became the Printing and Kindred Industries Union (PKIU) in 1966. In the early 1970s the PKIU failed to unionize the typographers and graphic artists working in advertising agencies. Technology reduced dramatically the number of jobs in the industry that resulted in falling membership numbers. In 1995 the PKIU amalgamated with the Automotive, Food, Metals and Engineering Union to become the printing division of the Australian Manufacturing Workers Union.

16 1984 is an American television commercial which introduced the Apple Macintosh personal computer. It was conceived by Steve Hayden, Brent Thomas and Lee Clow at the Chiat\Day advertising agency and directed by Ridley Scott. Its only national airing, was on January 22, 1984, during a break in the third quarter of the telecast of Super Bowl XVIII by CBS. Originally a subject of contention within Apple, it has subsequently been called a watershed event and a masterpiece in advertising. In 1995, The Clio Awards added it to its Hall of Fame, and Advertising Age placed it on the top of its list of 50 greatest commercials. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VtvjbmoDx-I](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VtvjbmoDx-I)

17 'Mankind Is No Island' is a film made by Sydney artist and filmmaker, Jason van Genderen. Shot entirely on a cell phone for a total budget of only $US40. The film features found signage on the streets of New York and Sydney to tell a touching story from the very heart of these two cities. The film was the winner of the 2008 Tropfest New York. The film has been viewed more than a million times to date. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZrDxe9gK8Gk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZrDxe9gK8Gk)


19 A reel refers to the time when television commercials were all shot on film and creatives would take an edited reel of film of their work to interviews where it would be projected on screen. The film reel turned into a video cassette and when that technology became obsolete, creative work is now presented online, or on a DVD in digital format. However, the term ‘reel’ is still used to mean an edited compilation of a creatives’ work.