

**#Metovertising: The institutional work of creative women
who are looking to change the rules of the advertising game**

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Conflict of Interest: Author A declares that she has no conflict of interest. Author B declares that she has no conflict of interest.

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Abstract

In the wake of #Metoo, the ad industry is coming to terms with its own issues of sexual harassment. While the industry has publicly committed to address this, recent surveys indicate that the problem persists. We therefore explore the institutional work of actors who are constrained by these gendered institutional arrangements. We consider how they might be involved in changing established dynamics and seek to erode the sexist attitudes and behaviours prevalent in ad agencies. We consider the work of Les Lionnes, a collective of women working in French advertising agencies, who form a boundary organisation to address sexual harassment in the French industry. By conducting critical discourse of their 2019 poster campaign, together with a netnographic study of their social media sites and an interview with its founder, we identify how communicative resources are used to expose the sexist attitudes and behaviours embedded in discourse. Our findings show actors can use advertising to challenge the continued legitimacy of institutional logics. The success of this work may be further enhanced when it is aligned with a wider social discourse, such as #Metoo. We therefore conceptualise the advertising undertaken by Les Lionnes as institutional work which seeks to expose sexual harassment and abuse within the ad industry. We call this novel form of advertising #Metovertising.

Keywords: gender, advertising, critical discourse analysis, social networks, #Metoo, #Metovertising

Contribution statement

We identify that the formation of a boundary organisation adjacent to an institutional field, enables actors to overcome institutional constraints.

We provide evidence of advertising which appropriates the sexist language of men, reframing it to expose and challenge the inequities of institutional logics.

We find that the success of institutional work is enhanced when it is aligned with social discourse.

We conceptualise advertising which exposes sexist and established institutional logics as

#Metoovertising

“He fired me because I tweeted #MeToo” (Les Lionnes)
“I’ll put you on the brief if you suck my dk” (Les Lionnes)**

#MeToo, the social-media hashtag, has been used to share experiences of sexual abuse and done much to increase the visibility of gender issues within society (Rubery, 2019). Few industries have been exempt from criticism but the two quotes above from women working inside advertising reveal something of advertising’s own gendered power dynamics in which sexual harassment is described as, “a continuing blight on [the] industry with significant emotional and professional impact on the people in advertising” (Advertising Association, 2019). Over the last decade advertising has made strides to address its gender issues by looking at how women are portrayed in adverts, and tackled the often negative stereotypes which have been shown to reduce women’s professional performance and their career aspirations (Eisend, 2019). However, it has been much slower to address the gendered nature of the industry itself, particularly the persistent sexist attitudes and behaviours still experienced by many of its female employees.

Women now make up almost fifty percent of the advertising workforce in the UK, US and Spain (Windels & Mallia, 2015), but as highlighted by Maclaran & Catterall (2000), increased feminisation of the marketing workplace does not necessarily lead to changes to existing structures or to the balance of power. Across the sector women hold only a third of all leadership roles, accounting for less than 15% of all creative directors worldwide (Grow & Deng, 2014; Wohl & Stein, 2016), while continuing to be less rewarded by the field for their work (Singh & Lepitak, 2018). A steady stream of literature has highlighted the institutionalised practices (Broyles & Grow, 2008; Grow & Broyles, 2011; Grow, Roca, & Broyles, 2012; Mallia, 2009; Thompson-Whiteside, Turnbull, & Howe-Walsh, 2020;

Windels, 2018; Windels & Lee, 2012) which limit women's career progression, yet few studies have explored the issue of sexual harassment in the advertising industry. Recent surveys however, highlight both the persistence and scale of the issue. A study, conducted in 2016 by the AAAA in the US, found that more than 50% of the women surveyed had experienced sexual harassment at least once (Hill, 2016), while another conducted in the UK by Credos, the ad industry think tank, indicates that the problem remains a clear and present danger. It found that 69% of those who have been sexually harassed have experienced it within the last 5 years, and 28% in the last 12 months (Mason, 2019). The results also show that ad agencies in the UK have not made women feel comfortable in coming forward about the issue. Over three-quarters of all those that had experienced sexual harassment had not reported the incident. Not surprisingly, almost half of those who participated in the UK survey said their company would benefit from very clear sexual harassment guidelines and policies, while a third called for training on how to deal with sexual harassment (Faull, 2019).

So do advertising's interests in gender equality extend beyond the women in the ads to include the women who work in advertising? Prompted by the global #Metoo movement, the ad industry has at least now acknowledged its own problems of sexual harassment. Time's Up/Advertising in the US, supported by leading women in prominent positions, called for the transformation of an industry which has been, "mythologized for its misogyny" (Gordon, 2018, p.1). In the UK, over 100 ad agencies signed up to the initiative TimeTo, which calls for wholesale cultural change to tackle systemic sexual harassment (Kemp, 2018). In France, Les Lionnes, a French non-profit organisation, formed to identify and address sexual harassment and gender inequality within the French advertising industry (Little Black Book, 2019a). Such initiatives have publicly acknowledged the widespread problems of gender equality, diversity and sexism in advertising (Lambiase & Bronstein, 2020). Yet, the industry has been widely criticised for not acting fast enough to bring about change (Rittenhouse,

2018). Time's Up/Advertising appears to have, "disappeared from the scene", leaving the fight to individuals (Lambiase & Bronstein, 2020, p.1), while in France, Les Lionnes have fought for the concerns of advertising's women to be heard, in a culture in which #Metoo is seen by some as a puritanical affront to French values (Kantor, 2020; Lehrer, 2020.)

So, how can the sexist institutionalised practices, which appear to particularly disadvantage the women working in advertising, be changed? There have been limited studies within the field of marketing which have considered the role marketing might play in addressing gender equality (Hein et al., 2016) and even less studies which consider any institutional work inspired by #Metoo. Furthermore, a number of scholars agree that the literature has tended to highlight the institutional work of those imbued with power and resource (Coskuner-Balli & Ertimur, 2017; Dolbec & Fischer, 2015; Ertimur & Coskuner-Balli, 2015; Humphreys, 2010; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013; Weijo, Martin, & Arnould, 2018). Therefore, we set out to understand how actors constrained by institutional arrangements, might be involved in changing established dynamics. We also emphasise the role of communication in this institutional work in response to a call by Cornelissen (2015). Therefore the objectives of our paper are to firstly explore how actors who are constrained by institutional arrangements can challenge existing logics, and secondly to identify the role of communicative resources in this institutional work. We explore the institutional work of Les Lionnes in two separate stages of data collection, firstly undertaking Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), then secondly undertaking netnography and an in-depth interview.

Our findings therefore, contribute to our understanding of institutional theory and advertising practice. Firstly, we add to an emerging stream of literature that considers the institutional work of actors who are constrained by institutional arrangements and may arguably have less power (Courpasson et al. et al., Dany & Delbridge, 2017; Scaraboto &

Fischer, 2013). We also identify how the formation of a boundary organisation adjacent to an institutional field (O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008) can provide an effective means to overcome such institutional constraints.

Secondly, we contribute to knowledge by providing evidence of how women working in advertising in France are using the medium of advertising to challenge persistent institutional logics. While prior literature had recognised the potential of communicative resources within institutional theory (Cornelissen et al., 2015; Green & Li, 2011; Harmon et al., 2015; Hofer & Green, 2016; Philips 2004; Moisander et al., 2016), we identify the role of advertising in not only exposing institutional logics, but also the role it can play in de-legitimising persistent practices. We also extend knowledge of the role of language in institutional work, providing evidence of how language might provide a discursive resource. We find that through a strategy of recontextualisation, the same language used by those in power to defend and maintain existing institutional logics, can be appropriated, repurposed and reframed, to expose and highlight the inequities of the workplace.

Thirdly, we add to the understanding of how the success of institutional work can be enhanced. We identify how institutional actors, constrained by institutional arrangements, can use a strategy of interdiscursivity (Wodak, 2015), to draw on discourse in the public domain (Fairclough, 1992), to provide context and legitimacy for their actions. The success of this strategy may be further enhanced when there is a strong alignment between the two.

The paper is structured as follows. To inform our study, we provide a review of the literature on women in advertising. An overview of relevant literature in institutional logics and institutional legitimacy is then undertaken to position our study. We outline our research approach and discuss the findings of our study. Finally, we provide a discussion and conclusion together with limitations, suggestions for future research, and managerial implications.

Women in advertising

While many professional fields including entrepreneurship (Thompson-Whiteside, Turnbull & Howe-Walsh, 2018), politics (Fawcett Society, 2018), finance (Boateng, 2018), and STEM (Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016) are similarly dominated by men, advertising agencies are seen to display their own particular rules and distinct gender dynamics (Tuncay Zayer & Coleman, 2015). A steady stream of literature has deepened our understanding of how these established rules within advertising limit the progress of women. The creative department in particular is considered a discrete culture (Nixon & Crewe, 2004), distinguished by particular rules, codes (Stuhlfaut, 2011), and collectively shared ideas (Alvesson, 1994; Mallia, 2009). The established rules of the advertising game privilege male norms (Windels & Lee, 2012), masculine hedonism, and homosociability (Gregory, 2009; Nixon & Crewe, 2004). Under these arrangements, women can struggle to gain recognition from their peers; are often excluded from certain accounts (Broyles & Grow, 2008), and less recognised for their work (Singh & Lepitak, 2018). Criteria considered important for success include personality factors more often associated with men, such as perseverance, toughness, competitiveness, and a thick skin (Grow & Broyles, 2011), with senior creative men tending to hire in their own image (Broyles & Grow, 2008). A culture of presentism offers little flexibility in work arrangements, with staff expected to work extremely long hours (Mallia, 2009; Mallia & Windels, 2011), making motherhood a particular issue for women (Grow & Broyles, 2011; Mallia, 2009). These factors conspire to create a hostile and gender-bound working environment in which few women thrive (Grow & Deng, 2015), and are often forced to adopt inauthentic behaviours to secure belonging (Thompson-Whiteside, Turnbull & Howe-Walsh, 2020). In addition, late nights and little, or no, separation between work and social activity, often create uncomfortable situations for women, and have given rise to a wide-spread culture of sexual harassment (Kemp, 2018). Many women feel it is easier to

leave the industry than to try and change it (Bronwin, 2018), with recognition that retaining and developing female talent, particularly in creative departments will require significant changes to agency culture and practices (Magee, 2016).

Theoretical Background

Institutional logics and institutional legitimacy

An institutional field, such as advertising, achieves stability through the adoption of similar practices by a range of actors (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). Once established, accepted practices within an institutional field become the prevailing logic (Converse, 1987; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). These logics become institutionalised (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005) and are given legitimacy (Harmon, Green, & Goodnight, 2015; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Legitimacy is defined by Suchman (1995, p.574) as a, “generalised perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate within some socially-constructed system of norms, values, beliefs and definitions”. Accepted logics then prescribe appropriate behaviour (Greenwood et al., 2011) and determine what is considered legitimate within an institutional field.

In recent years, there has also been growing interest in how the legitimacy of institutional arrangements are not only created, but changed or even transformed (Micelotta, Lounsbury, & Greenwood, 2017). The process by which existing practices are eroded, or even abandoned because they have lost their legitimacy, is termed deinstitutionalisation (Clemente & Roulet, 2015; Oliver, 1992; Scott, 2001). If as Cornelissen et al. (2015, p.11) argue, communication is, “potentially formative of institutional reality”, we might assume that it may equally be involved in eroding existing arrangements. Deinstitutionalisation may result from logics evolving over time (Ertimur & Coskuner-Balli, 2015), or stem from multiple, or potentially conflicting logics (Hartman & Coslor, 2019), which challenge

existing notions of legitimacy. For example, what has come to be accepted as the legitimate *rules of the game* within male-dominated advertising agencies, may come into conflict with wider societal logics, which view gender equality as both legitimate and desirable.

The role of social environment in institutional legitimacy

A call for the cessation of certain practices may come from within an institutional field (Oliver, 1992), but may also come from outside (Maguire & Hardy, 2009). Calls for change may stem from technological or regulatory changes (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005), from changes in the social environment, or even prompted by consumers who engage in diffuse, institutional work in the form of public opinion (Clemente & Roulet, 2015; Maguire & Hardy, 2009). For example, Brunner & Partlow-Lefevre (2020) highlight the success of the #MeToo movement in raising awareness of sexual harassment and abuse, making the private very public and shaping social attitudes. This is key, as institutional theory indicates that the values of an institution or organisation are made legitimate by their links to the norms of wider societal structures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Scott, 2008). When these norms shift, we might logically expect institutions to do the same. Changes in public opinion can be reflected but also influenced by the media (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Media coverage sets an ‘agenda’ for public debate by framing issues in the way it selects, interprets and presents content (Graf-Vlachy et al., 2020). Consequently, media discourse can exert external pressure, even social control (Noelle-Neumann, 1993), having a profound influence on perceptions of legitimacy (Pollock & Rindova, 2003), with influencers also known to have an impact on social media. Many influencers attract large numbers of followers on social media, forming associations between the influencers and the audience members (Reinikainen et al., 2020; Munnukka et al., 2019). While social media influencers have been widely studied within a brand context, influencers can also act as advocates on issues (Archer & Harrigan, 2016).

Institutional work and communicative resources to challenge institutional legitimacy

However influenced, shifts in public opinion may present opportunities for change (Cherrier, Goswami, & Ray, 2018). Institutional actors might engage in institutional work to, “shore up, tear down, tinker with, transform, or create anew the institutional structures within which they live, work, and play” (Lawrence, Suddaby, & Leca, 2011, p. 53). Some will use the opportunity to engage in resistance, while others prefer to maintain the status quo (Battilana, Leca, & Boxenbaum, 2009; Fiss, Kennedy, & Davis, 2012).

The literature has tended to focus on the institutional work of ‘hypermuscular’ actors (Suddaby, 2010), but more recent studies have usefully highlighted the institutional work undertaken by those individuals with arguably less power due to institutional constraints (Courpasson et al., 2017; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013). Scaraboto & Fischer (2013) consider how marginalized consumers can gain greater inclusion in mainstream markets, while Courpasson et al. (2017) consider the role of place and space in offering sites of resistance for middle managers. Based on a shared desire for change (DiMaggio, 1982), individuals may come together in organised groups which exist on the boundaries of institutional fields (O’Mahony & Bechky, 2008). Although some previous work found these groups to be disorganised micro-level practices (Ansari & Phillips, 2011), other studies have shown they can be successful (Dolbec & Fisher, 2015; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013), by disrupting accepted practices, and even renegotiating existing institutional logics (Rao, 2008). However, as Micelotta et al. (2017) remind us institutional work to bring about change may not always be successful.

The role of communicative resources in institutional legitimacy

Research has developed our understanding of how communication can be used to shape ideas of legitimacy (Harmon et al., 2015; Lefsrud & Meyer, 2012; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005;

Suddaby, 2010). Yet, despite the resurgence of academic interest in resistance to inequities within the workplace, as charted by Mumby, Thomas, Marti, & Seidl (2017), less is understood about the role of communication in the de-legitimisation of practices (Cornelissen et al., 2015). To address this gap, we therefore explore how actors may perform institutional work to render established practices socially, culturally and even politically unacceptable, (Maguire & Hardy, 2009; Seo & Creed, 2002).

Language is given agency to produce and reproduce institutions (Philips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2004). Texts and spoken word form discourse which, in turn, constructs reality by determining both acceptable and unacceptable ways to speak and behave (Hall, 2001).

Discourse analysis can therefore involve the close examination of the use of language to reveal accepted assumptions within a community (Harmon et al., 2015). As Phillips, Sewell, & Jaynes (2008) argue, social actors are placed in social spaces in positions from which they produce texts, with different positions offering different levels of agency, and differing rights to produce new texts and influence discourse. Analysis of discursive practices might reveal that some actors are granted a louder voice than others, whereas others may have no voice at all (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Scott (1990) additionally highlights the idea of a ‘hidden transcript’ to explain how the logics of domination can create two versions of discourse within the same context, one is public while the other is “hidden” and occurs backstage. Wodak (2015) similarly argues that power relations between parties might be hidden within discourse, in threats and promises used to obtain and maintain power. This discourse might create and reproduce social inequality, particularly when there is asymmetry between actors (Philips et al., 2004).

If however, institutions are discursive products (Phillips et al., 2004), then deinstitutionalisation may logically result from the discursive struggles between actors pressing for the abandonment of established practices, and those who prefer to maintain the

status quo (Clemente & Roulet, 2015; Greenwood, Suddaby, & Hinings, 2002; Vaara & Tienari, 2008). Therefore, language expressed as ideas, norms and even *truths* could also provide discursive resources (Moisander, Hirsto, & Fahy, 2016) which might be harnessed to drive change. Actors pressing for change will need to deploy communicative resources to convince others (Hoefler & Green, 2016). Grow (2008) highlights how women working on Nike's advertising within an agency developed a feminist antenarrative as a form of collective resistance to the masculine storytelling which had previously characterised the brand's advertising. Actors can also produce other texts in the form of statements, interviews and press releases (Elsbach & Kramer, 1996) to disrupt 'everyday' uses of language, and manage language differently (Green & Li, 2011). However, their work may be more successful when their cause achieves a degree of *fit* with external conditions (Suddaby, Bitektine, & Haack, 2017) and draws on the language of public discourse to amplify institutional tensions and contradictions and legitimate their calls for change (Lounsbury, 2002).

In this way, social actors seeking to disrupt the status quo can expose, and manipulate the institutional logics evidenced by language (Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005). Those with less power may also recode public language, signs and symbols and rework them into an opposing-message (Greenhouse, 2005). Therefore, language can provide a discursive resource for those seeking to erode established practices. If such texts are then taken up by the media they can, "leave meaningful traces that become embedded in new or existing discourses" (Phillips et al., 2004, p. 640).

Summary

While the processes of institutionalisation and legitimacy have been widely explored (Converse, 1987; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Greenwood et al., 2011; Harmon et al., 2015; Phillips et al., 2004; Suchman, 1995; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005), there is growing interest in how institutions and their legitimacy might equally be dismantled and eroded through

processes of de-institutionalisation and de-legitimation (Clemente & Roulet, 2015; Ertimur & Coskuner-Balli, 2015; Hartman & Coslor, 2019; Micelotta et al., 2017). In contrast to prior literature which has focussed on the institutional work of those with power (Suddaby, 2010), we focus on the institutional work undertaken by individuals rendered less powerful due to the institutional constraints placed upon them (Courpasson et al., 2017; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013). In particular, we consider the role of communication and communicative resources in the de-legitimation of practices (Cornelissen et al., 2015). We explore this in the context of a shift in public opinion which as Cherrier et al. (2018) argue, presents opportunities for change.

Our analytical framing therefore draws upon the constructs of institutional theory, legitimacy and communication enacted in the institutional setting of French advertising agencies in the wake of #MeToo. We theorise that women constrained by existing institutional arrangements might seize the opportunity presented by shifts in public opinion to challenge and question the continued legitimacy of the existing *rules of the game* by leveraging communicative resources. Furthermore, the formation of a boundary group, adjacent to existing institutions, may also play a role in the renegotiation of existing institutional logics. To develop our theoretical understanding of how those constrained by institutional arrangements might challenge their continued legitimacy, we are guided by the following research question:

How do females in French advertising use communicative resources to challenge the institutional logics of French advertising agencies?

Institutional setting

The French advertising industry

Two of the biggest players in global advertising are the French companies, The Publicis Groupe and Havas (Jones, Comfort, & Hillier, 2018). In 2016, both groups very publicly signed up to the initiative ‘Common Ground’ in support of the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), agreed at a General Assembly in 2015. The fifth of these wide ranging goals which encompass environmental and social issues, was ‘to achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls’, while goal 10 refers to the reduction of all inequalities. Such commitments from these global players seemed, “to herald a new era. One that could see the marketing and advertising industry take a much more active and prominent role promoting the transition to a more sustainable future.” (Jones et al., p. 1). In the sustainability reports that followed there is a recognition from the The Publicis Groupe that it is the company's responsibility to cultivate the talents, uniqueness, and diversity of their staff. Agencies in Paris do appear to be more keen to make their workforce more representative of society (Swinton, 2018), and there is clear evidence that women can be successful in French advertising. Agathe Bousquet heads The Publicis Groupe in France, while Mercedes Erra is executive president of Havas Worldwide and is seen as one of the most influential women in French advertising (Barrett, 2017). However, the sexism and sexual harassment which are both still considered rife in the French ad industry were made evident (Bouchez & Bougon, 2019) when women used #Metoopub, a strand of the wider #Metoo movement, to record their own experiences. Some men from advertising agencies, were also identified as members of the ‘LOL League’, a high profile group of male cyber bullies engaged in appalling sexist and victimising behaviour, spreading pornographic memes and doctored photos of women to humiliate their victims (Willsher, 2019). Saniye Gülser Corat, the Director of the Gender Equality division of Unesco refers to, ‘a dark core of

sexism within the [French] industry' and the urgent need to communicate to agencies that their abusive patterns of behaviour are unacceptable (Little Black Book, 2019a).

Research approach

We consider the institutional work of Les Lionnes, <https://www.instagram.com/leslionnesfrance/> a French non-profit organisation set up by Christelle Delarue, a self-identified feminist and agency CEO, to specifically address sexual harassment and gender inequality within the French advertising industry (Little Black Book, 2019a,b; Stewart, 2019). Inspired by #Metoo, they set out to, "terminate women's invisibility" (Stewart, 2019, p.1), and shine a light on, "the violent and iniquitous and unequal truth of an industry that makes women its main casualties over and over" (Smiley, 2019, p.1).

We undertook differing methods of data collection in two stages. The authors conducted Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), combined with netnography and an interview with the founder of Les Lionnes, Christelle Delarue. We conducted CDA (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997) to understand how discourse both constructs and maintains the gendered nature of creative departments, and considered any role it might play in the de-legitimisation of current practices. CDA is an appropriate methodological context to examine the consequences of current marketing practices, revealing what might otherwise have remained hidden and unchallenged (Fitchett & Caruana, 2015), and making the "masculine visible" (Maclaran, Parsons, & Surman, 2009, p.722). In a second stage, we also engaged in netnography and interview methods to explore additional perspectives of the same phenomenon. Such triangulation can enhance the validity of the study, adding rigour, breadth,

richness and depth to any inquiry (Denzin, 2007) and improves the ability to draw conclusions from the data (Scandura & Williams, 2000).

Stage 1

Firstly, we analysed a guerrilla poster campaign (see <https://lbbonline.com/news/french-ad-industrys-lionesses-ready-to-roar-again-at-cannes-lions/> to see posters) undertaken by Les Lionnes on the nights of June 5-6th 2019. As the posters were in French, the authors used the published translations of the campaign posters as the source of data (see Table 1) as provided on an industry website (Little Black Book, 2019a), which we acknowledge is a potential limitation of this study. These posters featured the language and sexist practices of men in advertising agencies, as reported to Les Lionnes by women, and some men, as evidence of sexism and sexual harassment. All 37 posters were used in the study and numerical ordering was added by the study's authors to aid identification.

CDA allows for a close examination of language patterns in texts, together with wider discourses within the social and cultural context (Paltridge, 2012). This holistic view of patterns of language, links the micro scale of everyday language with the discourses of macro scale social structures (Fairclough, 1992). CDA allows for consideration of how power dynamics and inequities are reproduced by group members through both spoken word and text (van Dijk, 1995, 2001). Discourse analysis uses a number of different approaches to analysing data (Štumberger & Golob, 2016). Here, we are guided by the notion that discourse can be analysed as a form of social action with a focus on not just the words themselves, but on what is done with words (McGannon, Berry, Rodgers, & Spence, 2016).

Actors may use discursive strategies (Wodak, 2015) to mobilise support and establish legitimacy for their institutional work. These include: *Referential/nomination* strategies used to label and categorise social actors; *Predication* which involves the discursive qualification

of social actors and phenomena in more or less positive terms, *Argumentation* which involves justification and questioning claims of truth; *Perspectivation* which allows for the framing or positioning of the speaker and indicates involvement or distance from the issue; and *Intensification or Mitigation*, which modifies the, “epistemic status of a proposition” (Wodak, 2001a, p.73). Of particular interest however, is ‘*Recontextualization*’ whereby elements of language are taken out of their original context and put into a new setting (Wodak, 2015), therefore providing new framing and possibly new understanding.

Stage 2

To obtain a richer contextualised understanding of the Les Lionnes poster campaign and its impact, the researchers also undertook a netnographic study of the movement’s Instagram and Twitter accounts. Following protocols suggested by Kozinets (2019) and in line with agreed ethical procedures, interactions were traced through Les Lionnes’ Instagram and Twitter accounts with 12,000 and 2,515 followers respectively. The accounts were used by Les Lionnes to share the posters with followers to prompt the sharing of experiences and promote mutual support. Additionally, journalists were contributing to the discussion by posting and reposting which was also picked up within the netnographic study. This allowed the researchers to gain an etic understanding of the movement. To support this netnography, and to triangulate this data, we also interviewed the movement’s founder, Christelle Delarue.

The netnographic study examined data from the launch of the poster campaign on social media sites on June 10, 2019 to April 30, 2020. Posts in English and French from Les Lionnes’ Twitter and Instagram accounts were examined to explore interactions between the movement, social media viewers and media outlets. In the case of French posts, the language was translated by both authors which is recognised as be a potential limitation of the study. However, an in-depth interview with Les Lionnes Founder, Christelle Delarue allowed the

researchers to confirm their interpretations of the data and through exploratory, open-ended questions, gain insight into the impact of the poster campaign on the French advertising industry.

A request for an interview with Christelle Delarue was made through an approach to the French movement via email and the interview lasted 70 minutes. Following agreement to share the quotes verbatim and having gained ethical clearance to do so, the interview quotes provided in the findings are attributed to Christelle Delarue.

The data from the netnographic study and interview was analysed thematically using a three stage approach recommended by Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton (2013). Care was taken not to reveal the identity of the contributors with the exception of the interview with Christelle Delarue. In the first stage, the data was read and coded independently by each researcher to develop first order themes. Following this initial coding, the researchers met to discuss each of the themes and agreed a set of second order themes. Finally, the themes were reviewed and aggregated into third order themes; *Legitimacy; Exposing institutional logics, and Organised resistance* (See Table 2). This process of analysis allowed the researchers to discuss interpretations of the data and corroborate coding from across data sources (Kjeldgaard et al., 2017).

Findings and Analysis

Guided by the research question: *How do females in French advertising use communicative resources to challenge the institutional logics of French advertising agencies?*, we present the findings of Stages 1 and 2 of the study.

Stage 1

Our findings reveal how language is used to construct, justify and maintain power within advertising agencies. CDA has enabled the researchers to identify the discursive strategies employed by Les Lionnes. Analysis of this language also reveals the unequal power relations between groups of actors within advertising and makes visible the language used by men to establish and maintain male oppression, which might otherwise have remained hidden and unchallenged (Fitchett & Caruana, 2015; Maclaran, Parsons, & Surman, 2009).

In the first stage of analysis, the researchers identified the discursive strategies women used to challenge the legitimacy of current practices, and raise awareness of the inequities within the advertising industry. Les Lionnes used strategies of Recontextualisation, Interdiscursivity, Referential/Nomination strategies and Perspectivation as outlined by Wodak (2015). In appropriating the words and phrases used by men and reframing this language alongside a characterisation of these comments, the posters provide evidence of recontextualisation. These posters make public the abusive comments which were originally made privately, and are then posted by Les Lionnes within the agencies where the abusers work. Such an “invasion” not only provides further evidence of recontextualisation but represents a very direct challenge to the legitimacy of accepted practices within the gendered working environment. The inclusion of #Metoo within the posters is also evidence of further recontextualisation and of interdiscursivity, as the inclusion of the hashtag clearly links the activity of Les Lionnes to wider discourses. By placing the language of the male perpetrators alongside the women’s

categorisation of these comments, Les Lionnes also create two groups of actors, and engage in referential/nomination strategies. The use of “HIS” to indicate the male perpetrator, and “MY” to refer to the victim or witness, underlines the separation of these actors, e.g. HIS BLAME, MY DIGNITY; HIS BLACKMAIL, MY DIGNITY. The authors however, accept that there will be further actors in the institutional field, who are operating outside of the two groups of actors cast by this campaign. Those actors may include women who might not recognise, or wish to be associated with movements such as #Metoo, and men who would not wish to be associated with the language and practices of the male, as evidenced in these discourses. Perspectivation is also evident in the posters. The use of personal deixis such as “HIS” and “MY” clearly positions the women’s relationship to the discourse. All the posters consistently use, “MY DIGNITY”, signalling the women’s response to their experience and providing personal framing, allowing for their point of view to be heard.

In the second stage of this study, we used CDA to reveal the power relations and institutional logics which are embedded in language. All of the posters were coded with the exception of Poster 29, which both coders found difficult to deconstruct without additional context. From topics including sex, dignity, games, threat, power, and dominance, three main themes emerge; *Sex*, *Power* and *Justifications* (see Table 1).

Sex

The language used by men to women in this context is highly sexualised (Posters 1, 3,5,6,7,10,11,12,13,14,18,19,21,22,24,27,28,30,31,32,33), and shows how discourse is constructed to reinforce male dominance and female oppression. References to male sexual organs e.g. ‘dick’ and acts of sex included in many of the posters, highlights how men are using language within agencies to construct their heterosexual masculine identity (Cameron, 1998), define their relationship to women, and reinforce their dominance in the social setting. To perpetuate this dominance, men use language to oppress women, making demeaning

references to women's bodies. Examples such as, "*I love it when you sit in front of me, I can see your little pussy*" (Poster 11), and, "*He would bet on the weight of my boobs*" (Poster 9), have the discursive effect of dehumanising women. Such discourse highlights how language is used to reduce women to sexual body parts in an attempt to maintain female oppression.

Power

The discursive approaches used by men however, extend beyond demeaning language and the objectification of women to a discourse of power often enacted through physical and sexual violence (Posters 2,3,4,8,14,16,20,21,26,30,31,32). Power is also communicated through the use of threatening language (Posters 4,16,20,21,26,30,31). Words and phrases such as, "*If you say a word, you're dead*" (Poster 16), provide evidence of how language is constructed to maintain existing power relations within agency settings. Many threats and opportunities were linked to sexual acts and inferred unequal power relationships, "*I'll put you on the brief if you suck my dick*" (Poster 21).

To maintain these power relations, language is also used to humiliate women and undermine women, e.g. "*Hey, lesbian, do you fuck your girlfriend like a dude?*" (Poster 33) and, "*You thought I was going to be nice with you if I wasn't going to fuck you?*" (Poster 18, see also Posters 6,7,13,18,20,22,23,25,27,28,30,31,34,37).

Justifications

Men also appear to blame women for sexual harassment (Posters 3,11,12,13,22,24, 25,27,31), and find justifications for their actions. The discourse places the responsibility of the sexual aggression on the women as the perpetrators of the sexual aggression, e.g. "*She makes me want to shake her in every way*" (Poster 2), and, "*She wears skirts because she wants to get spanked*" (Poster 3). Words are used to transfer the blame for the aggressive acts and language to women, inferring that it is women who are responsible for the culture of sexual harassment. Justifications for workplace inequalities and discrimination are also

clearly embedded within the discourse, examples include, “*He told me I wasn’t pretty enough to get the job*” (Poster 23), “*Sorry, the client doesn’t like women*” (Poster 25), and, “*Put on more skirts, so you’ll have a nice promotion*” (Poster 37). #Metoo itself is also implicated and used as justification for male action, e.g. “*He fired me because I tweeted #MeToo*” (see Poster 8).

Stage 2

To obtain a richer contextualised understanding of the Les Lionnes poster campaign and its impact, the researchers undertook a netnographic study of the movement’s Instagram and Twitter accounts, together with an interview with the founder of Les Lionnes. From our findings we identified three themes: *Legitimacy*, *Exposing institutional logics*; and *Organised resistance*.

Legitimacy

Prior studies suggested that institutional work may be more successful if the cause achieves a degree of fit with external conditions (Suddaby, Bitektine, & Haack, 2017) and draws on the language of public discourse to amplify institutional tensions and contradictions and legitimate their calls for change (Lounsbury, 2002). Les Lionnes signalled their alignment with wider movements such as #Timesup, #Metoopub (Pub is the abbreviated form of Publicite- French for advertising) and #Metoo.

Les Lionnes, women who want to put an end to sexism and sexist and sexual harassment in the Pub. "#MeTooPub #CannesLionnes #CannesLionesses and its in@lobs [Twitter, LesLionnesFR, June 12th 2019]

This enabled them to establish legitimacy for their activity, by positioning their institutional work within the context of wider debates around gender equality. Les Lionnes’ founder describes how #Metoo prompted the formation of Les Lionnes. This link is also made by

media. For example, the advertising industry journal, *The Drum*, connect Les Lionnes in their tweet to wider discourses, describing the work of les Lionnes as a, “*guerrilla poster campaign that invited French advertising execs to share their #MeToo experiences.*”

The literature suggests that media coverage sets an ‘agenda’ for public debate, by framing issues (Graf-Vlachy et al., 2020), and influencing public perceptions of legitimacy (Pollock & Rindova, 2003). The findings of Stage 2 suggest that both national media and international industry journals have helped to frame the debate around equality and amplify the institutional work of Les Lionnes. Leading French newspaper, *Le Monde*, describes the work of Les Lionnes on Twitter as the, “fight against sexism both in agencies and in campaigns”.

By identifying how the media pick up on the poster campaign and amplify the work of Les Lionnes, we extend the work of Cornelissen et al., (2015) by explaining how communications can play a role in the de-legitimation of practices. Influencers were also engaged in the campaign, indicating their support for the issue (Archer & Harrigan, 2016) and leveraging their relationship with their audience (Reinikainen et al., 2020; Munnukka et al., 2019) to gain further support for the institutional work of Les Lionnes. This helped to further amplify the campaign message and lend it legitimacy. For example,

The male-dominated French ad industry refuses to address sexism & sexual harassment. So on the night of June 5, @LesLionnesFR wildposted victims' testimonies on Paris agency walls [Global Industry Influencer, Twitter, 76.3K followers, June 12, 2019]

Exposing institutional logics

Prior literature highlighted the existence of a ‘hidden’ discourse (Scott, 1990) in which power relations between parties might be embedded (Wodak, 2015). Les Lionnes’ poster campaign

is a direct challenge to the persistent power relations that characterise French advertising agencies, and is effective in exposing the social inequality and asymmetry between actors in this context (Philips et al., 2004). Delarue says the poster campaign was a deliberate attempt to expose the sexual abuse and harassment by using the language directed at women, thereby making what had been hidden and private very public,

“we chose to use the phrases that women hear all the time...to give women a voice, to tell the truth, using the same materials that are used every day in advertising”

[Christelle Delarue, May 2020]

The findings suggest that the campaign was successful in raising awareness of the hostility and sexually aggressive actions that occur inside French advertising agencies. In the view of Les Lionnes’ founder, journalists were very supportive. In her words, they thought that their work in exposing how men behaved was, *“super cool, super, super right, and super just”*.

The comments on social media are also testament to how the campaign raised awareness, as one participant recorded on Instagram, *“I can’t believe what I’m reading”*. While another congratulates Les Lionnes on raising awareness of the, *“battles which concern us all”* [Instagram post, January 17, 2020]. Their founder, Christelle Delarue, also describes how Les Lionnes expose persistent practices and question their legitimacy, by bringing cases of sexual harassment and abuse to the attention of agencies.

“In the industry, everybody is aware of the bad guy, everyone is aware but no one wants to talk about it. We make them talk about it.”[Christelle Delarue, May 2020]

If agencies do not take responsibility for these practices and take action within two weeks, then Les Lionnes endeavour to put up posters around that particular agency to expose male behaviour. Alternatively, if they have a member of Les Lionnes who is inside that agency, they may put up posters in the elevators or toilets. Whether inside or outside the building, the

message to men and their agency is the same, “*your territory will be our territory now*” [Christelle Delarue, founder of Les Lionnes]. The very act of placing abusive comments made in private spaces by advertising men onto advertising posters for all to see highlights how communicative resources are not merely linguistic. Using posters placed outside the agencies housing men who sexually harass women, turned the instruments of the industry against the abusers within it, and did this by invading “their” physical space.

Organised resistance

Les Lionnes is a boundary organisation (O’Mahony & Bechky, 2008) which has been formed adjacent to the field of advertising. Its existence has enabled 360 women to come together, outside of their institutional arrangements, to collaborate in challenging existing practices and power arrangements. Far from the disorganised micro-level practices, identified by Ansari and Phillips (2011), this group is taking a strategic approach to its collective resistance. While prior literature has identified how women worked together within advertising departments to shape an antenarrative (Grow, 2008), we find that women in advertising are working outside of existing institutional arrangements as a form of organised resistance. Christelle describes how Les Lionnes grew from the emails she received from women prompted by #Metoo, to become a Sunday discussion club at her home for women from many different agencies, to its current form as a formal collective. She describes how she now has a core of seven leading female members working with her, and a number of working groups, undertaking differing aspects of their activity, including legal work (tackling 28 cases in 14 months), and the creative strategy. Delarue also says they have partnered with another organisation, Women Safe, to help women deal with the psychological effects of abuse. She acknowledges that the creative group have been instrumental in developing a strategy which included the design of the posters and the media strategy, to expose the truth of sexual harassment. Delarue describes the approach she made to leading French newspaper, *Le Monde* to share her own

experiences. She also acknowledges that being stopped by the police when undertaking the guerrilla poster campaign, was likely to increase the newsworthiness of their actions, and amplify their message.

The formation of Les Lionnes provides a platform to challenge ongoing sexist discourse and harassment within the industry. It allows women to share their experience,

“My most memorable moment was being sexually harassed at @Cannes_Lions 2015”

[Global industry influencer, 76.3K followers, June 14, 2019]

and provides a focus for those who wish to lend their support,

Congratulations to you. 🍷 How can we help you, solidly support you, in these battles

which concern us All? [Instagram post, January 17, 2020].

Discussion

We set out to understand how females in French advertising use communicative resources to challenge the institutional logics of French advertising agencies. Through the lens of institutional theory and institutional logics, we identify how actors placed in a position which gives them less voice (Philips et al. 2008), have successfully used advertising to expose institutional logics and revealed the previously hidden power relations embedded in discourse (Wodak, 2015). Institutional theory suggests that advertising maintains its legitimacy through its links to the norms of wider societal structures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Scott, 2008), including wider discourse and public opinion (Clemente & Roulet, 2015; Maguire & Hardy, 2009; Slimane et al, 2019). Instead, we identify how public discourse, in the form of #MeToo, has been instrumental in eroding and disrupting the existing *rules of the game* within the institutional field of advertising, and presented an opportunity for change (Cherrier et al., 2018; Hartman & Coslor, 2019).

Our findings therefore, contribute to our understanding of institutional theory and advertising practice. The first objective of our study was to explore how actors with less power can challenge existing logics. We add to an emerging stream of literature that considers the institutional work of actors of those who are constrained by institutional arrangements (Courpasson et al., 2017; Scaraboto & Fischer, 2013), and identify how the formation of a boundary organisation adjacent to an institutional field (O'Mahony & Bechky, 2008) provides an effective means to overcome institutional constraints and offer organised resistance to the status quo. Speaking of the activity of Les Lionnes, gender equality campaigner, Cindy Gallop says, "When you can't find justice within the system, you have to deliver justice outside the system".

The second objective was to identify the role of communicative resources in this institutional work. We contribute to knowledge by providing evidence of how women inside the ad industry in France are using advertising to challenge persistent institutional logics. While prior literature had recognised communication and language as influential in the shaping of legitimacy (Harmon et al., 2015; Lefsrud & Meyer, 2012; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005; Suddaby, 2010), this study identifies the particular role of advertising in institutional work and of its contribution to processes of de-institutionalisation and de-legitimisation. We provide empirical evidence of the potential of communicative resources within institutional theory as suggested by scholars (Cornelissen et al., 2015; Green & Li, 2011; Harmon et al., 2015; Hofer & Green, 2016; Philips 2004; Moisander et al., 2016). We identify that advertising can be a form of institutional work, as it exposes existing logics, and de-legitimises ongoing practices. We also extend knowledge of the role of language in institutional work, providing evidence of how language might be used as a discursive resource (Greenhouse, 2015; Moisander, Hirsto, & Fahy, 2016). We find that through a strategy of recontextualisation (Wodak, 2015), the same language used by those in power to

defend and maintain existing institutional logics, is appropriated by those who are constrained by institutional arrangements, recoded into an opposing-message (Greenhouse, 2005), repurposed and reframed, to expose the inequities of the workplace, and erode institutional logics (Greenhouse, 2015).

Thirdly, we add to the understanding of how the success of institutional work can be enhanced. We identify how institutional actors rendered less powerful can use a strategy of interdiscursivity (Wodak, 2015) to draw on discourse in the public domain (Fairclough, 1992) to provide context and legitimacy for their actions. We provide evidence that the success of this strategy may be further enhanced when there is a strong alignment between the two as suggested by Suddaby et al., (2017). Furthermore, we identify how media coverage, which previous studies have suggested is instrumental in shaping public opinion (Gitlin, 1980; Graf-Vlachy et al., 2019; Munnukka et al., 2019; Reinikainen et al., 2020; Suddaby & Greenwood, 2005) and forming perceptions of legitimacy (Pollock & Rindova, 2003), can further amplify institutional work.

Conclusion

“If you want to be the best agency in the universe, then look at the universe, it’s changing” (Christelle Delarue, founder Les Lionnes May, 2020)

As the universe changes, women working in French advertising have seized the opportunity to launch their own response to #MeToo. They have formed a collective to engage in organised resistance and have leveraged communicative resources to amplify their institutional work. They have gained legitimacy for their campaign and amplified its message by connecting sexist discourse at the micro level, to wider public discourses around sexual harassment. The work of Christelle Delarue and Les Lionnes to expose and de-legitimise existing institutional logics has drawn the attention of the French advertising industry body, the AACC, who are now “convinced” there is a “systematic problem to address” (Reeves,

2019, p.1), and Delarue has taken part in ongoing gender debate at UNESCO (UNESCO, 2020).

While work to address gender stereotypes suggests that the ad industry is serious about women's empowerment, our findings provide evidence that this sadly does not extend to women working inside the field. Instead, women in the French advertising industry are subject to on-going sexual harassment and abuse. Yet, there is hope. As Deuze (2016) identified, the power of advertising is increasingly being harnessed to create a better life for consumers, and we find that it is also being used by women working adjacent to the institutional field, to change persistent power dynamics. The founder of Les Lionnes, Christelle Delarue says that, "*As an ad woman, feminist and activist, I do believe that communication is a major tool to eradicate sexism*". Although, we cannot yet determine whether significant cultural change has taken place within agencies, we can conclude that the guerrilla ad campaign undertaken by Les Lionnes successfully, "renders the masculine visible" (Maclaran, Parsons, & Surman, 2009, p.722), which may have otherwise remained invisible, as the perpetrators may indeed have preferred. Its legitimacy and impact also appear to be further enhanced by its fit with wider discourses around gender issues, particularly #Metoo.

Finally, it is deliberate, but somewhat ironic, that advertising is used to question the legitimacy of the persistent institutional logics of sexual harassment found within advertising agencies. Yet, in the work of Les Lionnes, we identify a new form of advertising linked to the #Metoo movement, which we call #Metooverting. We define #Metooverting as, "*non-personal communication from an identified sponsor using mass media to raise awareness of sexual harassment*". This novel type of advertising promotes female empowerment, not just for the women in advertisements, but for those who make the ads. If the advertising industry cannot move more quickly to change the existing *rules of the game* and create a better life for

its female employees, then it may find that more women in the field will use their creative skills and resources to take matters into their own hands.

Limitations, further research and managerial implications

The current study is however, not without its limitations. In particular, we acknowledge the use of data from a single empirical case. Although, the contribution here does not lie within the generalisability of the study, meaning the validity of our findings cannot be extended to other settings, they do suggest further areas for investigation in the future. In particular, further studies might examine how different genders and those with more power (e.g. influencers, mass media outlets and senior advertising management) engage with this campaign. Additionally, both the frequency of interaction and the nature of the responses on social media sites might be further considered. Future research might also be undertaken to consider the longer term influence of the campaign on the French advertising industry, using a longitudinal methodology.

It would also be interesting to explore if boundary organisations, such as Les Lionnes, which form adjacent to an institutional field to tackle an issue, achieve any degree of permanence. Future studies could examine other contexts to explore how other actors similarly constrained by institutional arrangements, might also draw on wider discourses to legitimise their institutional work. Girls Who Code and the More Than Mean campaign for female journalists working in sports, are just two campaigns currently seeking to highlight inequity. It would be particularly interesting to explore if, and how, advertising has been used to address inequitable institutional logics in these and other contexts.

Finally, no longer willing to be silenced through harassment, threat or intimidation, advertising's women are finding new ways to get their voices heard. However, senior agency management and human resource departments, can do much more to change the culture in

which these institutional logics have become entrenched. Whilst working hours, late nights, and an overlap between business and pleasure all play their part, providing training around the use of both formal and informal language with colleagues would be a start. Yet, what emerges from this study as an urgent priority, is the need for more effective reporting mechanisms. These should allow women to not only report harassment and discrimination more easily, but to be confident these will be taken seriously and investigated. Above all, if fault is found then swift and meaningful sanctions must be imposed. After all, if advertising is actually serious about the empowerment of women, it should not only be advertising's women who are looking to change the *rules of the game*.

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| Posters | Quotes on posters | The characterisation of these comments by Lionnes | Themes (identified by researchers) |
|----------------|---|--|---|
| 1 | “He rubbed his hands on my face and told me he’d be as soft as his dick” | HIS MOVES, MY DIGNITY | SEX |
| 2 | “She makes me want to shake her in every way” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 3 | “She wears skirts cause she wants to get spanked” | HIS STANDARDS, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 4 | “If you keep the baby you are dead” | HIS THREATS, MY DIGNITY | POWER |
| 5 | “He pushed her on the wall to kiss her” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER |
| 6 | “I want to take you doggy-style in the Bordeaux vineyard” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER |
| 7 | “Come suck my dick, I can’t take it any longer. And bring your girlfriend with you” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER |
| 8 | “He fired me because I tweeted #MeToo” | HIS POWER, MY DIGNITY | POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 9 | “He would bet on the weight of my boobs” | HIS GAMES, MY DIGNITY | SEX |
| 10 | “He’d ask me to come over at midnight and greet me wearing a dressing gown” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | SEX |
| 11 | “ I love it when you sit in front of me, I can see your little pussy” | HIS EYES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 12 | “Thanks to you I have to go all the way to Montreuil to get my dick sucked” | HIS BLAME, MY DIGNITY | SEX, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 13 | “You really look slutty with these glasses” | HIS COMMENTS, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 14 | “He’d send me dick pics during client meetings” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER |
| 15 | “He locked me in his car” | HIS RULES, MY DIGNITY | POWER |
| 16 | “If you say a word, you’re dead” | HIS THREATS, MY DIGNITY | POWER |
| 17 | “He took pics of my boobs while I was crying” | HIS MEMORIES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER |
| 18 | “You thought I was going to be nice with you if I wasn’t going to fuck you?” | HIS RULES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 19 | “How wet are you when you hear the sound of my voice?” | HIS WORDS, MY DIGNITY | SEX |

Table 1 also continued overpage. Thematic analysis of the data from the poster campaign of Les Lionnes (Study 1 :

Source: <https://lbbonline.com/news/french-ad-industrys-lionesses-ready-to-roar-again-at-cannes-lions/>

| Posters | Quotes on posters | The characterisation of these comments by Lionnes | Themes (identified by researchers) |
|---------|---|---|------------------------------------|
| 20 | “If I touch your arm, are you gonna say I raped you again?” | HIS LAW, MY DIGNITY | POWER |
| 21 | “I’ll put you on the brief if you suck my dick” | HIS BLACKMAIL, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER |
| 22 | “How am I supposed to focus when you’re dressed like that?” | HIS ISSUES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 23 | “He told me I wasn’t pretty enough to get the job” | HIS STANDARDS, MY DIGNITY | POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 24 | “I’ll go deep inside you, just like you want it” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 25 | “Sorry, the client doesn’t like women” | HIS EXCUSES, MY DIGNITY | POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 26 | “He gave him my number so he would take care of me” | HIS INJUNCTIONS, MY DIGNITY | POWER |
| 27 | “It’s a good thing she’s gone. She didn’t want me to touch her boobs” | HIS STANDARDS, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 28 | “I had my ass grabbed 3 times since 9 AM” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER |
| 29 | “There’s an envelope in case he fucks up” | HIS POWER, MY DIGNITY | <i>NOT CODED</i> |
| 30 | “If you don’t fuck her, I will” | HIS NEEDS, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER |
| 31 | “Your boobs are an issue, either we hate you or we want to fuck you” | HIS ISSUES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 32 | “He threw me on the couch, grabbed me, and pretended to sodomize me” | HIS MOVES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER |
| 33 | “Hey, the lesbian, do you fuck your girlfriend like a dude?” | HIS WORDS, MY DIGNITY | SEX, POWER |
| 34 | “You really are ugly” | HIS STANDARDS, MY DIGNITY | POWER |
| 35 | “She has the perfect space to pass hands between her thighs” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | SEX, JUSTIFICATIONS |
| 36 | “You’re cute, you have a beautiful smile, if you disappear, you’ll not be missed by anyone” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | POWER |
| 37 | “Put on more skirts, so you’ll have a nice promotion” | HIS DESIRES, MY DIGNITY | POWER, JUSTIFICATIONS |

Table 1 (cont.) Thematic analysis of the data from the poster campaign of Les Lionnes (Study 1) Source: <https://lbbonline.com/news/french-ad-industrys-lionesses-ready-to-roar-again-at-cannes-lions/>

| First Order Themes | Second Order Themes | Third Order Themes |
|---|--|--|
| <p><i>Eat lion, again in 2020. #Rooar today begins the trial of the biggest monster of the #Metoo era. Our Women's liberation movement #timesup full support [Twitter, @ LesLionnesFR, January 6th 2020]</i></p> <p><i>After the declarations of intention made in March by the agencies, where are we in the fight against sexism and harassment in advertising? #Metoopub [Twitter, @LesLionnesFR, November 6th 2019]</i></p> <p><i>The Lionesses, these women who want to put an end to sexism and sexist and sexual harassment in the Pub. "#MeTooPub #CannesLionnes #CannesLionesses and it's in@lobs [Twitter, @LesLionnesFR, June 12th 2019]</i></p> <p><i>To garner awareness, the group put up posters highlighting things that harassers have said to their victims.[Twitter @Adweek, June 14th 2019]</i></p> <p><i>launching a guerrilla poster campaign that invited French advertising execs to share their #MeToo experiences [Twitter, @The Drum, June 25th 2019]</i></p> <p><i>The male-dominated French ad industry refuses to address sexism & sexual harassment. So on the night of June 5th, @LesLionnesFR wildposted victims' testimonies on Paris agency walls [Global industry influencer, Twitter , 76.3K followers, June 12th, 2019]</i></p> <p><i>Last week @LesLionnesFR plastered women's testimonies of harassment on Paris ad agencies' walls [Twitter, @LLBOnline, 23.8K followers, June 10 2019]</i></p> | <p><i>Les Lionnes signalling alignment with wider movements: #timesup;#Metoopub ;#Metoo</i></p> <p><i>Media indicate the link between Les Lionnes narrative with #Metoopub;#Metoo</i></p> <p><i>Boundary actors engage with and amplify campaign</i></p> | <p>Legitimacy</p> <p><i>Drawing legitimacy from wider discourse around gender equality</i></p> <p><i>Continued overpage</i></p> |

Table 2 also continued overpage: Thematic analysis of the data from the netnographic study and in-depth interview (Study 2)

c

| First Order Themes | Second Order Themes | Third Order Themes |
|--|---|---|
| <p><i>Reading all this reminds me of my life before and the revolting machismo of the construction industry [Instagram, May 19, 2019]</i></p> <p><i>To garner awareness, the group put up posters highlighting things that harassers have said to their victims [Twitter, @Adweek, 638K followers, June 14th, 2019]</i></p> <p><i>Advertising what a decadence I liked but oh how hated especially those who had power and abused women [Instagram, June 6th, 2019]</i></p> <p><i>This proves that there is still work to change mentalities [Instagram, January 22nd, 2020]</i></p> <p><i>In the industry, everybody is aware of the bad guy, everyone is aware but no one wants to talk about it. We make them talk about it.”[Christelle Delarue, Interview, May 2020]</i></p> <p><i>With 89% of creative directors being male worldwide, there’s no need to say more about the roles left for women. In order to condemn this iniquity and its “various sexist outcomes” [Twitter, @LLBOnline, 23.8K followers, June 11th 2019]</i></p> <p><i>To garner awareness, the group put up posters highlighting things that harassers have said to their victims [Twitter, @Adweek, 638K followers, June 14th, 2019]</i></p> | <p><i>Raise awareness of hostile and sexually aggressive actions</i></p> <p><i>Questioning the legitimacy of practice</i></p> | <p><i>Exposing Institutional logics</i></p> <p><i>Exposing the conflict between institutional logics and prevailing logics</i></p> |
| <p><i>The Lionesses federate some 300 women working in advertising. They fight against sexism both in agencies and in campaigns and join the #MeToo movement [Twitter, @Le_Figaro, 3.3m followers, November 6th, 2019]</i></p> <p><i>My most memorable moment was being sexually harassed at @Cannes_Lions 2015. It really brought home to me the reality of what so many women in our industry go through at #CannesLions and every day at work. [Instagram, global industry influencer, 76.3K followers, June 14th, 2019]</i></p> <p><i>Long live the Lionesses. I dissociate myself from men who do not dissociate themselves from the clumsy people of advertising [Instagram, June 13th, 2019]</i></p> <p><i>Congratulations to you. 👉 How can we help you, solidly support you, in these battles which concern us All? [Instagram, January 17th, 2020].</i></p> | <p><i>Collective to challenge sexual harassment</i></p> <p><i>Platform to share experiences of sexual harassment</i></p> <p><i>Lending support to boundary organisation</i></p> | <p><i>Organised resistance</i></p> <p><i>Boundary organisation acts to empower women to share and challenge ongoing sexist discourse and harassment.</i></p> |

Table 2 (cont.) Thematic analysis of the data from the netnographic study and in-depth interview (Study 2)