Inés Leal-Rico, MA
Dpto. Comunicación y Psicología social
Edificio de Ciencias Sociales
University of Alicante
Carr. de San Vicente del Raspeig, s/n, 03690
San Vicente del Raspeig, Alicante
Spain
ines.leal@ua.es

Inés Leal-Rico is currently a PhD student on the Business, Economics and Society programme at the University of Alicante. Since 2018 she has been an Associate Lecturer at the Department of Communication and Social Psychology at the University of Alicante, teaching the subject Creative Strategy and Conceptualisation in the degree of Advertising and PR. Her lines of research focus on the analysis of the subvertising phenomenon as a social communicative action.

Natalia Papí-Gálvez, PhD.
Dpto. Comunicación y Psicología social
Edificio de Ciencias Sociales
University of Alicante
Carr. de San Vicente del Raspeig, s/n, 03690
San Vicente del Raspeig, Alicante
Spain
natalia.p@ua.es

Natalia Papí-Gálvez has been a Senior Lecturer since 2011, with three six-year research periods. She has been teaching Advertising and PR at the University of Alicante since 2001. She has been Vice-Dean of the Degree in Advertising and Public Relations for 9 years. She has also served as a Coordinator of the Master's degree in Digital Communication since 2020. She has directed the Chair of Generational Digital Divide since 2020 and the E-COM group. In recent years, her main lines of work revolve around digital skills, gender and generational approach. Her lines of research are mainly two: gender, policies and advertising effectiveness and advertising media research, strategy and planning.

Cande Sánchez-Olmos, PhD.
Dpto. Comunicación y Psicología social
Edificio de Ciencias Sociales
University of Alicante
Carr. de San Vicente del Raspeig, s/n, 03690
San Vicente del Raspeig, Alicante
Spain
cande.sanchez@ua.es

Cande Sánchez-Olmos has been a Senior Lecturer at the Department of Communication and Social Psychology at the University of Alicante since 2020. Since 2010 she has been teaching Semiotics of Mass Communication on the Advertising and PR degree, has coordinated the Master's degree in Communication and Creative Industries and she has 12 years of experience between media (El Mundo, Ràdio 9) and cultural management at Fnac. Her main lines of research are cultural and creative industries, discourse analysis and transmedia culture. During the academic year 2022 – 2023 she has been visiting research fellow at the Department of Media, Communication and Cultural Studies at Goldsmiths, University of London funded by the European Union, Next Generation EU, Spanish Government and PRTR.

WHAT IS SUBVERTISING? A PROPOSAL OF DELIMITATION AND DEFINITION

Inés LEAL-RICO – Natalia PAPÍ-GÁLVEZ – Cande SÁNCHEZ-OLMOS

ABSTRACT:
The understanding of "subvertising" has been approached from different perspectives as a phenomenon framed within the Culture Jamming movement. Even though both subjects focus on the symbolic guerrilla communication system, the specific allusion to corporate and advertising culture delimits the subvertising field of study. However, it seems that the two phenomena are analysed jointly by the literature that has addressed the subject, so that the terminology used for reference and analysis can be imprecise and confusing. This study aims to clarify the terminology used in literature to refer to the concept of "subvertising" and its actors. For this, data was collected through a previous scoping review, in which 253 documents focusing on subvertising dating from between 1980 and March 2020 were located and analysed. The main terminology used to refer both to subvertising and to the actors who carry it out was extracted and classified. The results highlight an excessive terminology used in this field of study, as well as a lack of correlation in linking subvertising object and subjects. Possible consequences of this finding may lead to a problem for the standardisation of the discipline and publications transfer, especially in the academic world.

KEY WORDS:
activism, advertising, anti-advertising, contrapublicidad. culture jammer, culture jamming, subvertiser, subvertising, symbolic subversion

1 Introduction

"Culture Jamming" is an anti-capitalist movement that targets symbols of dominant discourses in order to subvert them and reintroduce them in an alternative social context, revealing their contingency and

ideological content.[1] Subvertising is *"one of the most popular forms of culture jamming"*[2] which addresses symbolic subversion mainly by focusing on creating parodies of advertising messages. Based on this concept, subvertising proposes that *"instead of trying to build an alternative from scratch, why not capitalise on the ubiquity of corporate messages, ads, and media by finding a way to use them against themselves?"*[3] In this way, subvertising appropriates not only the elements, formats and messages of advertising, but also the medium itself, in order to subvert its meaning and reintroduce this modification into the communicative flow.[4]

Due to its own multifunctional nature, subvertising is understood not solely as a movement, but also as a tool. As a movement, some authors consider subvertising as an anti-consumerist discourse framed within consumer culture.[5] The delimitation of subvertising as a tool, in contrast, implies an understanding of the concept as a technique based on certain objectives within a specific movement. As Calvignac states, anti-advertising, as a simple activist practice, can be adopted by various alter-globalist, environmentalist or feminist activists.[6] Finally, some authors advocate for the perception of symbolic and cultural attacks on brands as a mixed phenomenon that can function both as a movement and as a technique. Carducci, who maintains that culture jamming, including actions of altering advertisements, *"(...) can be seen as a movement, but also as a technique in the same way that cubism or dada are both movements in the history of, and techniques for making, art"*.[7]

This logic of appropriation[8] makes sense in a context where branding produces a corporate space of advertising texts and images that try to monetise social behaviours.[9] Attacking advertisements entails a battle against the authority of advertising, which lies in the cumulative impact of the entire advertising machinery, which itself comprises a whole paradigm of beliefs and behaviours.[10] The achievement of subvertising is to use the same codes of advertising to speak with the same capitalist language to reveal a dissenting message.[11] Amidst anti-brand and anti-advertising movements, a wide variety of tactics and actions have been developed by a range of social agents with similar aims.[12] All these actions imply the use or manipulation of symbolic resources related to specific trademarks, advertising styles or corporate culture in general. In its broadest sense, referring to general corporate culture, subvertising shares resources, and sometimes targets, with culture jamming. Although this movement is focused on the misrepresentation and manipulation of the dominant culture in general, the fact that advertising is part of this culture can cause confusion with regard to its terminological accuracy.

In this regard, some studies apply the global term "culture jamming" as being synonymous with subvertising.[13] In her book *No Logo*, Naomi Kleinemploys the terms "adbusting", "anti-advertising" and "culture jamming" as synonyms in certain contexts.[14] Kalle Lasndoes the same, using the terms "jammers", "culture jammers" and "media activists" to reference the practitioners of advertising subversions.[15] Other authors use generalist terms such as "semiotic disobedience"[16] in reference to all kinds of sign imagery, including advertisement manipulations. Other authors specify the advertising manipulation tactic within the culture jamming movement and use terms such as "anti-advertising",[17] "spoof adverts"[18] and "adbusting".[19]

The observed assortment in vocabulary could be attributed to a high proliferation of subvertising actions. One possible implication of this is the generation of terminological confusion to refer to both subvertising actions and the agents who execute them. However, there is no previous systematic review related to this topic that contributes to the understanding of subvertising. The main objective of this study is to clarify the terminology used in literature to refer to the concept of subvertising and to its actors. To achieve this, it is necessary to delve into the texts and studies that address subvertising and deepen the terminology used to reference its principal concepts and actors, in order to identify the approaches taken and suggest a definition.

2 Methodology

Data for this study was collected through a previous scoping review, in which 253 documents focusing on subvertising found between 1980 and March 2020 were identified and analysed (Figure 1). This study uses the systematic review as a method *"(...) for mapping areas of uncertainty and identifying where little or no relevant research has been conducted, but where further studies are needed"*.[20] When searching for information, it is always desirable to eliminate as much silence as possible and also as much noise.[21] For this study, however, the final selection of databases and keywords was conditioned by the exploratory nature of the research, assuming greater noise in the results in order to achieve a more complete body of theory, from both academic and non-academic publications.

In the scoping review, the search was limited to publications that explicitly alluded to advertising, any media or corporate culture generally, including mentions of commercial brands. For this reason, publications containing references to identical terminology but with content that extends the advertising landscape were not selected. However, although the analysis only extracts results from the included documents, it does also provide information to help understand the use of terms found in the excluded publications.

The final sample comprised 253 publications, consisting of scientific articles, doctoral dissertations, end-of-study projects, books, book chapters and other publications (Figure 1). To meet the objective, the approach taken to selecting the documents involved the following steps:

1. Of the documents found (n = 2,320), any duplicates were eliminated (n = 725) and the remainder (n = 1,595) were filtered according to the inclusion criteria, by checking within the title, abstract and keywords. Any documents with a subject matter that was not related to corporate culture were excluded (n = 1,086).
2. The remainder of the documents (n = 509) formed the first sample. Each text was read in full, and any that did not fit the thematic criteria (n = 240) or that could not be retrieved (n = 16) were discarded. To retrieve documentation, all available university services were used, and direct requests were made to authors, but ultimately not all could be retrieved.

1   WETTERGREN, A.: Mobilization and the Moral Shock: Adbusters Media Foundation. In FLAM, H., KING, D. (eds.): *Emotions and Social Movements*. London : Routledge, 2005, p. 99-118.
2   SANDLIN, J. A., CALLAHAN, J. L.: Deviance, Dissonance, and Détournement: Culture Jammers' Use of Emotion in Consumer Resistance. In *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 2009, Vol. 1, No. 9, p. 97.
3   IRZIK, E.: A Proposal for Grounded Cultural Activism: Communication Strategies, Adbusters and Social Change. In FIRAT, B. Ö., KURYEL, A. (eds.): *Cultural Activism: Practices, Dilemmas, and Possibilities*. Leiden : Brill, 2011, p. 138.
4   PACHECO RUEDA, M.: El discurso disidente de la contrapublicidad verde. In *Pensar la Publicidad. Revista Internacional de Investigaciones Publicitarias*, 2009, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 55-81.
5   CHERRIER, H.: Anti-Consumption Discourses and Consumer-Resistant Identities. In *Journal of Business Research*, 2009, Vol. 62, No. 2, p. 181-190.
6   CALVIGNAC, C.: Ne pas tomber dans le panneau: Réflexions sur le contre-affichage anti-publicitaire. In *Sciences de la Société*, 2010, Vol. 80, p. 163-175.
7   CARDUCCI, V.: Culture Jamming: A Sociological Perspective. In *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 2006, Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 134.
8   LEKAKIS, E. J.: Culture Jamming and Brandalism for the Environment: The Logic of Appropriation. In *Popular Communication*, 2017, Vol. 4, No. 15, p. 311-327.
9   See: DEKEYSER, T.: *Subvertising: On the Life and Death of Advertising Power*. [Dissertation Thesis]. Southampton : University of Southampton, 2018.
10   CORTÉS GONZÁLEZ, A.: Contrapublicidad y valores alternativos. In *Razón y palabra*, 2009, Vol. 67, p. 20-27.
11   See: WINKLER, A.: *Manufacturing Dissent? The Cultural Politics and Communicative Strategy of the Adbusters Media Foundation*. [Dissertation Thesis]. Alberta : University of Alberta, 2004.
12   See: HAROLD, C.: *OurSpace Resisting the Corporate Control of Culture*. Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 2007.
13   Compare to: MICHELETTI, M., STOLLE, D.: Fashioning Social Justice through Political Consumerism, Capitalism, and the Internet. In *Cultural Studies*, 2008, Vol. 5, No. 22, p. 749-769; CAMMAERTS, B.: Jamming the Political: Beyond Counter-Hegemonic Practices. In *Continuum*, 2007, Vol. 21, No. 1, p. 71-90; GABRIEL, Y.: Spectacles of Resistance and Resistance of Spectacles. In *Management Communication Quarterly*, 2008, Vol. 3, No. 21, p. 310-326.

14   See: KLEIN, N.: *No Logo, No Space, No Choice, No Jobs: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*. Toronto : A. A. Knopf Canada, 2000.
15   See: LASN, K.: *Culture Jam: The Uncooling of America*. New York, NY : Eagle Brook, 1999.
16   KATYAL, S. K.: Semiotic Disobedience. In *Washington University Law Review*, 2006, Vol. 3, No. 84, p. 489-571.
17   RUMBO, J. D.: Consumer Resistance in a World of Advertising Clutter: The Case of Adbusters. In *Psychology and Marketing*, 2002, Vol. 2, No. 19, p. 127-148.
18   LITTLER, J.: Beyond the Boycott: Anti-Consumerism, Cultural Change and the Limits of Reflexivity. In *Cultural Studies*, 2015, Vol. 2, No. 19, p. 227-252.
19   LEE, M. S. W., MOTION, J., CONROY, D.: Anti-Consumption and Brand Avoidance. In *Journal of Business Research*, 2009, Vol. 62, No. 2, p. 169-180.
20   PETTICREW, M., ROBERTS, H.: *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences: A Practical Guide*. Malden, MA : Blackwell, 2006, p. 2.
21   See: KEENAN, S., JOHNSTON, C.: *Concise Dictionary of Library and Information Science*. Berlin, Boston : De Gruyter Saur, 2000.

3. The final sample (n = 253) was analysed during the sample selection process. The aim was to identify the documents that addressed the phenomenon from a corporate or advertising approach. The full text of each extracted sample was analysed to identify the predominant approach of the text, attending firstly to whether it mainly used the term "movement" (or similar) or "tool" (or similar), always taking the meaning attributed by the author into consideration. In texts that did not use any such terms, attention was paid to how the subject was set out in order to determine the author's predilection. In this regard, for all documents the main approach was identified based on their preference for defining the phenomenon as a movement of its own, with intrinsic and inalienable ideals and values, or, on the contrary, as a tool of a more neutral nature, which can be applied by any movement or ideological current. Within this dichotomy, in which a mixed approach was also contemplated, the nature attributed to the phenomenon was specified, so that the social, cultural, political or artistic variants in each text could be detected.

4. Finally, the terms used in the exposition were recorded, both of the topics dealt with in the documents and those used to name the actors of the phenomenon described.
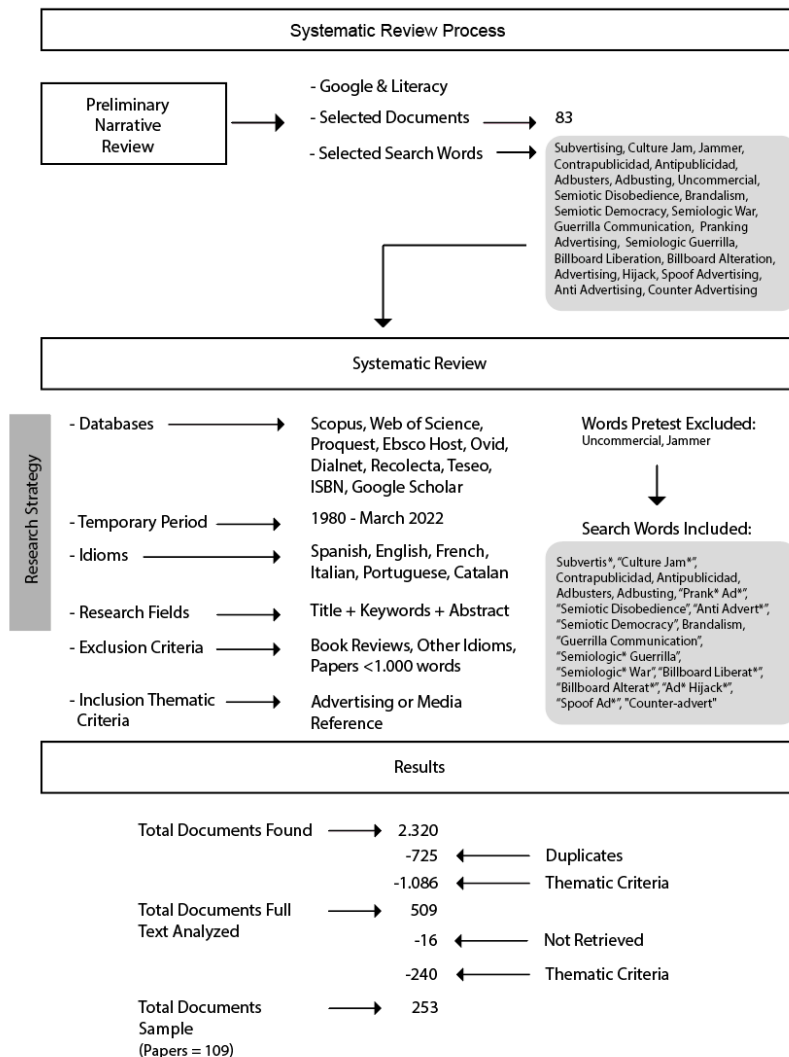

Figure 1: Systematic review workflow
Source: Own processing

3 Results

Main Approaches to the Phenomenon

Of all the documents found in the research (n = 2,320), a total of 1,326 documents were deleted for not meeting the pre-established criteria. Of these, 1,154 documents were discarded for not referring to the specific subject matter of subvertising. Two main thematic deviations were detected among the excluded publications. The first of these relates to texts addressing culture jamming generically, such as documents focusing on jamming from a more political and cultural conception of the use of codes. As explained by Wettergren, *"Culture Jamming is a symbolic and controversial policy, largely contingent on thriving consumer culture. The controversial issue that unites culture jammers is the question of democracy and public space in the context of late capitalism and the information society".*[22] This conception favours the polysemy of the term "culture jamming" and its application to other approaches (musical, narrative, political, etc.) that deviate from the standard corporate and media landscape. Secondly, other documents were found to interpret subvertising as dissuasive social advertising, focusing on the production of advertising against an idea and promoted by an institution, without the intervention of other agents and usually communicated by NGOs or government departments. In these cases, subvertising is understood as *"counter-advertising, where the government tries to refute private companies (...)".*[23]

Various approaches to defining subvertising were therefore detected within the sample (n = 253). In the first place, no consensus was found on the definition of subvertising as a movement or as a practical tool, although the predominant description is of the phenomenon as a movement. In this regard, 59% of the sample offers a prevailing definition of subvertising as a movement, 33% choose to define it as a tool, and 8% interpret it as a mixed phenomenon that acts as a tool and a movement at the same time. Similar results were found regarding the definition of culture jamming as an independent movement of subvertising, in that 2% of the sample focuses on its utility as a tool, and 23% describe it as a proper movement, with social, political and cultural elements (the remaining 75% make no such distinction).

Regarding the nature of subvertising, it should be noted that most approaches offered a multidisciplinary view, but all definitions were limited to its social, artistic, cultural and political aspects. Thus, social values associated with the phenomenon were found, both in its use as a tool, described as a *"(...) general tool of social resistance",*[24] and in its aspect as a social movement. As stated by Bordwell, culture jamming, including subvertising, *"(...) may indeed be the social movement of the new millennium".*[25] This suggests that the social aspect attributed to subvertising can also be adapted to its facet as a movement. The same was observed with the artistic aspect of certain subvertising modes, such as billboard banditry, defined as *"(...) an artistic expression for critiquing (...)".*[26] Some misrepresentative actions against corporate power were also seen as political actions, where faking ads supposes a *"(...) particularly apt form of anti-corporate activism, given that corporations have such an outsize voice in the public sphere".*[27] Similarly, some authors attribute a cultural aspect to subvertising and its practice.[28]

Of all the approaches, the social aspect of subvertising, understood both as a movement and as a tool, was identified in 54% of the sample, with close to 23% focusing on its artistic side, 13% highlighting its

22   WETTERGREN, A.: Mobilization and the Moral Shock: Adbusters Media Foundation. In FLAM, H., KING, D. (eds.): *Emotions and Social Movements*. London : Routledge, 2005, p. 100.
23   GLAESER, E. L., UJHELYI, G.: Regulating Misinformation. In *Journal of Public Economics*, 2010, Vol. 3–4, No. 94, p. 100.
24   BOISEN, L.: *Going Viral: A Critical, Post-Structural Exploration of Feminist Culture Jamming as Cultural Therapeutic*. [Dissertation Thesis]. Pittsburgh : Duquesne University, 2015, p. 86.
25   BORDWELL, M.: Jamming Culture: Adbusters' Hip Media Campaign against Consumerism. In PRINCEN, T., MANIATES, M., CONCA, K. (eds.): *Confronting Consumption*. Cambridge, London : MIT Press, 2002, p. 252.
26   DAVIS, C. H. F.: *Dream Defending, On-Campus and Beyond: A Multi-Sited Ethnography of Contemporary Student Organizing, the Social Movement Repertoire, and Social Movement Organization in College*. [Dissertation Thesis]. Arizona : The University of Arizona, 2015, p. 67.
27   DAY, A.: Throwing Our Voices: Ventriloquism as New Media Activism. In *Media, Culture and Society*, 2018, Vol. 40, No. 4, p. 627.
28   Compare to: FIRAT, B. Ö., KURYEL, A.: *Cultural Activism: Practices, Dilemmas, and Possibilities*. Leiden : Brill, 2011; SCATAMBURLO-D'ANNIBALE, V.: Beyond the Culture Jam. In SANDLIN, J. A., MCLAREN, P. (eds.): *Critical Pedagogies of Consumption: Living and Learning in the Shadow of the «Shopocalypse»*. London : Routledge, 2009, p. 224–236.

political side, 2% its cultural side and 8% defining it as a mixed phenomenon, without specifying its nature. It is worth noting that 47% of the documents consider subvertising as a social movement, either exclusively or in combination with other definitions.

Detected terminology preferences resulting from the actual definition of the phenomenon were found in the sample. For example, all the documents that use the term "counteradvertising" (3%) or "counter-advertising" (0.4%) to define subvertising consider its definition to be that of a tool or as a movement-tool mix, but in no cases is it defined as a proper movement. Similarly, most terms with the prefix "anti" allude to an understanding of subvertising solely as a movement or a movement-tool mix, and not as a more neutral tool, such as "anti-publicitaire" (0.4%), "anti-advertising" (1%), "antipublicidade" (1%) and "antipublicidad" (0.8%). These examples suggest a predilection in the use of terminology that is dependent on the viewpoint. However, it should be noted that the most-used terms in the sample do not adhere to this definition trend, but rather tend to be used indistinctly.

The opposite seems to occur with the naming of subvertising based on its definition. In this case, no terminological preference is observed according to the definition of "subvertising" as a tool or movement, such that the use of terms seems random, regardless of this context. In addition, in the use of terms to refer to actors, there seems to be no direct correlation of meanings with regard to how subvertising is approached. With some exceptions, such as the term "consumer", which is used in 100% of the sample to refer to actors when subvertising is understood as a tool, in general, a high degree of dispersion is observed in the use of related terminology between actors and subject. Taking subvertisers as an example, this term is used in documents defining "subvertising" as a social, artistic and politic movement, as well as a social tool and a tool-movement mix.

Terms Used to Refer to Subvertising

Once the sample had been selected (n = 253) and the terminology extracted, a total of 38 terms were found to reference the subvertising phenomenon. Given the quantity and variety of this terminology, it was decided to classify them according to the type of reference made. It is worth noting that a wide range of terms and categories is used throughout the publications. Through this classification, as Figure 2 shows, various terms are used to make explicit references to advertising and its counter-argument (47%), such us: "subvertising" (15%), "contrapublicidad" (13%), "adbusting" (4%), "counter-advertising" (3%), "anti-advertising", "antipublicidade" and "subvertisement" (1%), "spoof advertising", "antipublicidad" and "mouvement anti-publicitaire" (0.8%). To a lesser extent, 0.4% of documents employed the terms "piratería publicitaria", "anti-publicitaire", "contrapublicitat", "counteradvertising", "hijacked advertising", "anti-brand spoof advertising", "anti-branding", "antipublicité", "parody of advertising", "subversion of advertisements", "counter-advertisement" and "ad parodying".
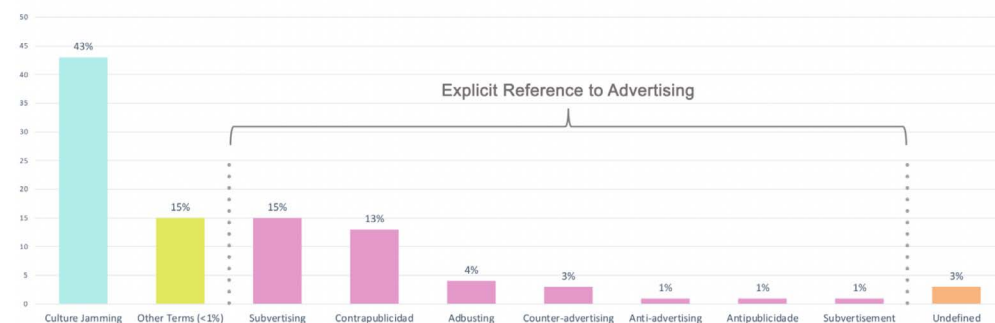

Figure 2: Major terminology used to refer to subvertising
Source: Own processing

The second most-used term category relates to "culture jamming". This terminology is used by 46% of documents, with the identical term located in 43% of the sample, making it the most-used expression of all the categories. Some variations in the term were found, such as "culture-jamming", "culture jammer", "culture jam", "jamming cultural", "jamming and culture jammers", all of which were used in less than 1% of the documents. Despite the duplication of expressions due to the different languages included, several textual and grammatical variations exist for very similar words.

Finally, a more combative terminology was categorised. These expressions allude to ways of countering or attacking persuasive communication in general. In this category, the term "guerrilla de la comunicación" appeared in 0.8% of the sample. Other terms were: "guerrilla communication", "spoofing", "billboard alteration", "brandalism", "branded political communication", "détournement publicitaire", "media piracy" and "subvertise". It should be noted that 3% of the sample did not specify any one expression to name subvertising, using generalist terms and explanations, or simply naming the actors.

Terms Used to Refer to Subvertisers

The analysis presented similar results regarding the terminology used to refer to subvertising actors. In this area, 33 terms were found within the sample. Firstly, as with the previous categorisations, it is worth noting the predominance of terminology related to "culture jamming" in 45% of the cases. Included in this group are the expressions "culture jammers" (36%), "jammers" (7%) and, at less than 1%, "culture-jammers" (0.8%), "cultural jammer" (0.4%), "street jammers" (0.4%), and "jam artists" (0.4%).
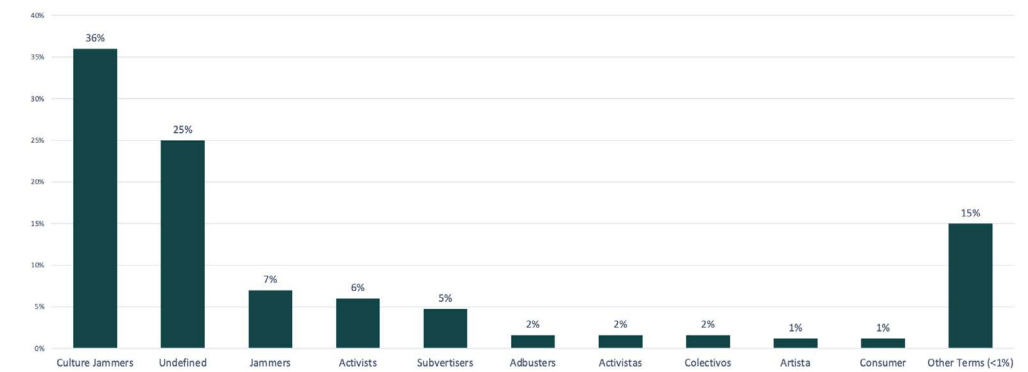

Figure 3: Major terminology used to refer to subvertisers
Source: Own processing

Terminology related to subvertising appeared in 12% of the sample, with a predominance of the words "subvertisers" (5%) and "adbusters" (2%). At less than 1%, the terms "piratas publicitarios", "rompeanuncios", "contrapublicitario", "contrapublicistas", "destroza-anuncios", "rompe-anuncios", "contrapublicistas", "publi-dissidents", "billboard liberationists", "anti-advertisers" and "anti-publicitaires" also appeared. Terms related to attack methods appeared in 10% of the sample. This category includes the "expressions" activists (6%), "activistas" (2%) and, at a frequency of less than 1%, "cyberpirates", "grafitista", "graffitist", "pranksters", "snipers", "ativistas" and "hacktivists". Regarding the terminology used to refer to actors, another category was added to include expressions with a more neutral approach, making no reference to advertising or its attack formulas, but focusing instead on the actors' own training. This category, which represents 8%, encompasses the terms "colectivos" (2%), "artista" (1%), "consumer" (1%) and, at less than 1%, "groups", "groupes", "users", "grupos", "protestantes", "organización" and "artist". As with the definition of the phenomenon, the wide variety of terminology used is also confusing, beyond the simple repetition of terms due to language variations. The use of synonyms, both general and specific expressions, together with

the lexical and grammatical variations of the names, can be diffuse. It should be noted that, as seen in the references to the phenomenon of subvertising, 25% of the sample has been categorised as undefined, as these documents did not specify any particular expression as a way to describe subvertisers, using generalist terms and explanations instead, or simply naming the phenomenon under study.

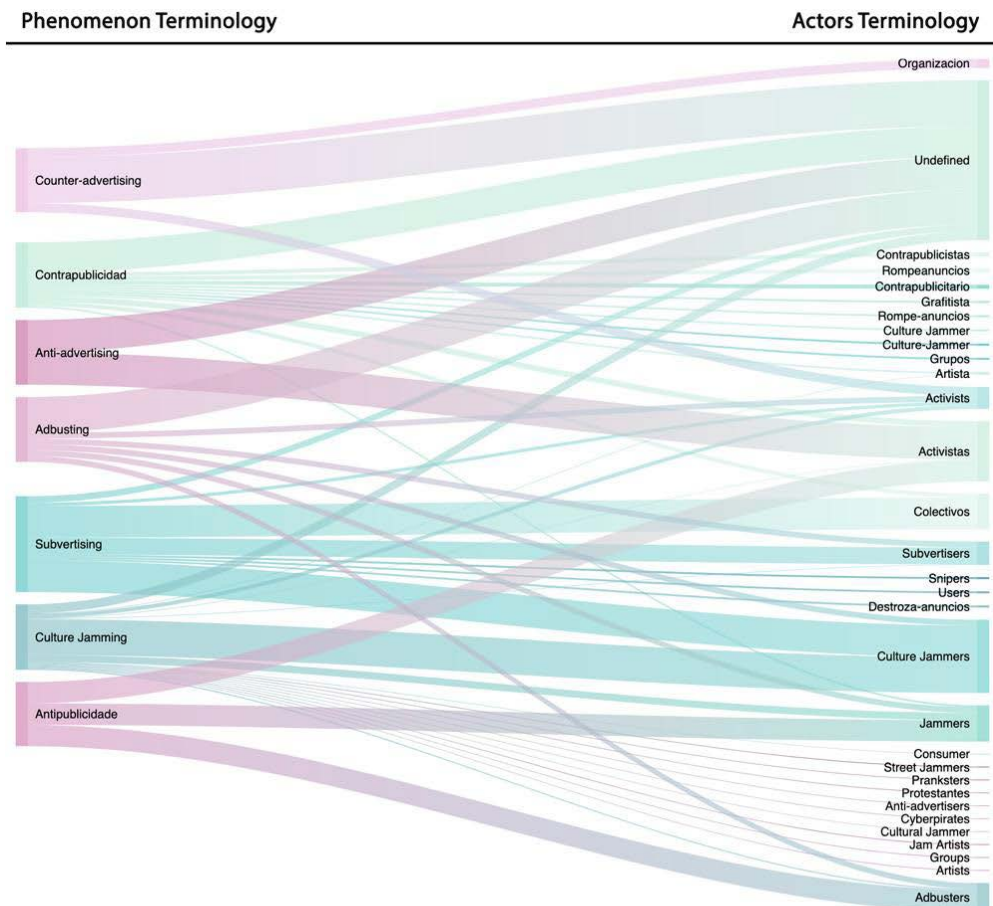## Correlations in the Terminologies of Subvertising and Subvertisers

Figure 4: Correlation of most popular terminologies to refer to subvertising and its actors
Source: Own processing

As Figure 4 shows, a lack of linear correlation is observed when comparing the most popular (>1%) terms and expressions used to refer to actors with the term used to refer to the phenomenon. For instance, in the case of the term "subvertising" to refer to the object of study, it was observed that the term used to refer to the actors is not grammatically closest ("subvertisers"). In these cases, "subvertisers" was only used in 26% of the cases, in addition to "culture jammers" (49%), "activists" (5%), "colectivos", "snipers", "users" and "destroza-anuncios" (3%), and 10% of the sample did not explicitly name the actors. This relation of non-direct terminologies appeared in most of the documents analysed.

4 Discussion and Conclusions

This study has found that this excessive terminology can be a problem when it comes to standardising the discipline and achieving a common theoretical basis that favours future publications and their transfer. In this research we selected the predominant expressions in each document for analysis, but in most documents different terms were used as synonyms, despite the fact that, in their definition, different parameters or applications were established.

The research discarded 88% of the identified documents for not adhering to the established criteria. Taking into account that there is no record of a previous systematic review related to this subject, as well as the established objective in this paper, we considered this greater level of noise in the search acceptable because it facilitates the compilation of a sufficiently useful sample to be representative. At the same time, it allows the state of the matter to be visualised within the different scientific, academic and other fields. The aim, therefore, is to highlight the exploratory nature of the search, by focusing on the characteristics of the publications related to the subject as a defining fact of the very delimitation applied to the object of study. According to the outcome, the analysis allows for subvertising to be correctly delimited.

Overall, a preference for the use of the term "culture jamming" is observed (34% of the sample); however, 42% of these cases were discarded for not fitting the subject matter criteria. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that the term "culture jamming" is too general to define the phenomenon of subvertising. This movement acts as a frame for subvertising, but cannot define it correctly. Subvertising can be understood as the manipulation of advertising symbols that are subversively reintroduced into the communication flow. Culture jamming, however, not only encompasses any subvertising phenomenon, it also accommodates other phenomena based on the same principle of interrupting the usual flow of messages, provided it is related to a cultural aspect of some kind. By applying this criterion, it is possible to differentiate between subvertising and wider culture jamming actions that are unrelated to advertising or branding attacks.

To resolve this terminological confusion between "subvertising" and "culture jamming", and to delimit their fields of study, documents that specify the concept of "subvertising" within "culture jamming" were included in the sample. The results show that 16% distinguish subvertising as a specific proceeding within the Jamming Movement. The remainder use both concepts synonymously. Considering that the sample only encompasses documents that address "culture jamming" related to the media and corporate culture, it could be suggested that 84% of the sample uses imprecise terminology, employing concepts that exceed the object of study and which are too diffuse to reference it.

In this research, the key terms used in each document were selected. However, a proliferation of different nomenclatures to express the same meaning was detected in most of the texts in the sample. In this sense, the research detects that 85% of the analysed texts use more than one term to refer to the subvertising phenomenon or its actors. Beyond the need to use synonyms to avoid redundancy in texts, this practice negatively affects the dispersion of the discipline and hinders its standardisation. Consequently, this common practice of multiplying terms and using them as synonyms could be also a handicap for the understanding and delimitation of subvertising as a field of study. In this sense, the use of multiple terms can lead to confusing delimitation regarding the meaning of each one. Within this terminological imprecision, we find a great diversity of terms used as synonyms for subvertising and subvertisers from different approaches. For instance, some of these terms refer to specific subvertising tactics ("skulling", "bubbling", "sticking", "sticker bombing", "squatting", etc.); some focus on the use of media ("hijacking billboards", "billboard banditry", "billboard alteration", "billboard liberation", "media hoaxing", "media jammer", "media pranksters", "spoof posters", etc.). In addition, there are terms that refer to the relationship with the corporate world ("brand hijack", "uncommercials", "anti-brand", "anti-marketing", "contramarca", "publiactivistas", "demarketing", "anti-logos", etc.). Besides, there are terms focused on the semiotic essence of message distortion ("semiotic jujitsu", "detournement", "rhetorical criticism", "semiological warfare", "semiotic terrorism", "rhetorical sabotage", etc.) and some highlight the prankster nature of the phenomenon ("hoaxing", "prankerism", etc.). Finally, some proper names of subvertisers groups ("adbusters", "brandalism", etc.) are also used to refer to the phenomenon under study.

All these examples of confusing terminology, even if they are not used as main terms in the articles of the sample, offer a clear view of the level of terminological dispersion detected in this research and reinforce the idea that it is needed to be stablished a coherent and concise terminology for the correct dissemination of the subvertising phenomenon.

Regarding the language, a clear preference for English as the predominant language in the use of terminology on this discipline was also detected. In most of the non-English texts, in addition to terminology written in the language of each text, English terminology is used to refer to both the phenomenon of subvertising and the actors involved in it, even though these texts were not written in English. In this sense, texts written in Spanish, Catalan, French, Portuguese and Italian have been identified, and all of them combine the terminology in their own language with English nomenclatures. In these non-English texts, there is a clear tendency to reinforce the terminology in the native language with its translation into English. Terms such as "subvertising" appear in several texts written in Spanish and are used as synonyms of "contrapublicidad", "resistencia cultural", "hacktivismo publicitario", "piratería publicitaria", "antipublicidad", etc.

The same could be said with texts written in other non-English languages. It is observed that each language has its own adaptations of subvertising terms. For instance, the term "subvertising" is used to refer the phenomenon at the same time as "antipublicidade" (Portuguese), "contrapublicitat" (Catalan), "antipublicité" (French), or "interferenza culturale" (Italian). However, beyond the language versions of the same concepts, a clear predominance in the inclusion of English terminology is appreciated in 94% of the sample. This high percentage confirms the dominance of English terminology as the main language used for disseminating the subject at the international level.

With the aim of reaching a consensus and improving the traceability of academic production in this area, we propose the use of terms that refer to advertising in a more specific way and that also include the protest nature of subvertising. The terms related to jamming techniques ("cultural interference", "media sabotage", "cultural sabotage", etc.) seem too broad and can be applied to other actions within the cultural field unrelated to the advertising or corporate world. Terminology focused on subvertising-specific techniques ("billboard alteration", "hijacked advertising", "sniping", "prank ad", etc.) seems too specific and excludes some more general actions related to other media or methodologies, as well as new practices. Therefore, we recommend the use of "subvertising" as the most appropriate term to define the movement, as well as using "subvertiser(s)" to refer to its actors. Expressions in English were selected, as it is the current standard language in academic and non-academic publications, and in recognition of its international nature.

This terminological proposal, in addition to attempting to standardise the terminology in the English language, advocates for the elimination of possible morphological variations detected in the sample that could add more dispersion in the normalisation of terminology. These morphological deviations were detected in the sample using hyphens in terms such as "anti-publicidad", "culture-jam", "culture-jamming", "anti-advertising", "counter-advertisements", "anti-publicitaire" or "spoof-ads", among others. The use of hyphens hinders the standardisation of key words and multiplies terms whose meanings are identical.

Regarding the use of terminology according to the proposed definition, the use of specific terminology to refer to subvertising is observed to be more conditioned by the definition than by the terminology referring to the actors. Therefore, there seems to be no terminological determinism in the nomenclature of subvertising and its actors determined by the actual definition of the object of study. However, a thematic influence is observed, depending on the viewpoint when addressing the subject matter in question. Accordingly, a correct definition and delimitation of the specific techniques used within the subvertising field would help to clarify the terminological confusion and would enable precise definitions to be applied.

In this study, we have classified all the terms, but a more qualitative analysis could help to clarify the reasons for the use of different terms depending on the perspective applied and if this terminological selection could imply a way of understanding subvertising practice. A deeper analysis could help to understand the different points of view raised in each document. Another possible area of future research would be to investigate who subvertisers are, what specific actions have been developed in different countries, what their intrinsic characteristics are and what impact they have at a social and corporate level.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

BOISEN, L.: *Going Viral: A Critical, Post-Structural Exploration of Feminist Culture Jamming as Cultural Therapeutic.* [Dissertation Thesis]. Pittsburgh : Duquesne University, 2015.

BORDWELL, M.: Jamming Culture: Adbusters' Hip Media Campaign against Consumerism. In PRINCEN, T., MANIATES, M., CONCA, K. (eds.): *Confronting Consumption.* Cambridge, London : MIT Press, 2002, p. 17-253.

CALVIGNAC, C.: Ne pas tomber dans le panneau: Réflexions sur le contre-affichage anti-publicitaire. In *Sciences de la Société*, 2010, Vol. 80, p. 163-175. ISSN 2275-2145.

CAMMAERTS, B.: Jamming the Political: Beyond Counter-Hegemonic Practices. In *Continuum*, 2007, Vol. 21, No. 1, p. 71-90. ISSN 1030-4312.

CARDUCCI, V.: Culture Jamming: A Sociological Perspective. In *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 2006, Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 116-138. ISSN 1469-5405.

CHERRIER, H.: Anti-Consumption Discourses and Consumer-Resistant Identities. In *Journal of Business Research*, 2009, Vol. 62, No. 2, p. 181-190. ISSN 1873-7978.

CORTÉS GONZÁLEZ, A.: Contrapublicidad y valores alternativos. In *Razón y palabra*, 2009, Vol. 67, p. 20-27. ISSN 1605-4806.

DAVIS, C. H. F.: *Dream Defending, On-Campus and Beyond: A Multi-Sited Ethnography of Contemporary Student Organizing, the Social Movement Repertoire, and Social Movement Organization in College.* [Dissertation Thesis]. Arizona : The University of Arizona, 2015.

DAY, A.: Throwing our Voices: Ventriloquism as New Media Activism. In *Media, Culture and Society*, 2018, Vol. 40, No. 4, p. 617-628. ISSN 1460-3675X.

DEKEYSER, T.: *Subvertising: On the Life and Death of Advertising Power.* [Dissertation Thesis]. Southampton : University of Southampton, 2018.

FIRAT, B. Ö., KURYEL, A.: *Cultural Activism: Practices, Dilemmas, and Possibilities.* Leiden : Brill, 2011.

GABRIEL, Y.: Spectacles of Resistance and Resistance of Spectacles. In *Management Communication Quarterly*, 2008, Vol. 3, No. 21, p. 310-326. ISSN 1552-6798X.

GLAESER, E. L., UJHELYI, G.: Regulating Misinformation. In *Journal of Public Economics*, 2010, Vol. 3-4, No. 94, p. 247-257. ISSN 1879-2316X.

HAROLD, C.: *OurSpace Resisting the Corporate Control of Culture.* Minneapolis : University of Minnesota Press, 2007.

IRZIK, E.: A Proposal for Grounded Cultural Activism: Communication Strategies, Adbusters and Social Change. In FIRAT, B. Ö., KURYEL, A. (eds.): *Cultural Activism: Practices, Dilemmas, and Possibilities.* Leiden : Brill, 2011, p. 137-155.

KATYAL, S. K.: Semiotic Disobedience. In *Washington University Law Review*, 2006, Vol. 3, No. 84, p. 489-571. ISSN 2166-7993.

KEENAN, S., JOHNSTON, C.: *Concise Dictionary of Library and Information Science.* Berlin, Boston : De Gruyter Saur, 2000.

KLEIN, N.: *No Logo, No Space, No Choice, No Jobs: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies.* Toronto : A. A. Knopf Canada, 2000.

LASN, K.: *Culture Jam: The Uncooling of America.* New York, NY : Eagle Brook, 1999.

LEE, M. S. W., MOTION, J., CONROY, D.: Anti-Consumption and Brand Avoidance. In *Journal of Business Research*, 2009, Vol. 62, No. 2, p. 169-180. ISSN 0148-2963.

LEKAKIS, E. J.: Culture Jamming and Brandalism for the Environment: The Logic of Appropriation. In *Popular Communication*, 2017, Vol. 4, No. 15, p. 311-327. ISSN 1540-5710X.

LITTLER, J.: Beyond the Boycott: Anti-Consumerism, Cultural Change and the Limits of Reflexivity. In *Cultural Studies*, 2015, Vol. 2, No. 19, p. 227-252. ISSN 2111-4382X.

MICHELETTI, M., STOLLE, D.: Fashioning Social Justice through Political Consumerism, Capitalism, and the Internet. In *Cultural Studies*, 2008, Vol. 5, No. 22, p. 749-769. ISSN 2111-4382X.

PACHECO RUEDA, M.: El discurso disidente de la contrapublicidad verde. In *Pensar la Publicidad. Revista Internacional de Investigaciones Publicitarias*, 2009, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 55-81. ISSN 1887-8598X.

PETTICREW, M., ROBERTS, H.: *Systematic Reviews in the Social Sciences: A Practical Guide.* Malden, MA : Blackwell, 2006.

RUMBO, J. D.: Consumer Resistance in a World of Advertising Clutter: The Case of Adbusters. In *Psychology and Marketing*, 2002, Vol. 2, No. 19, p. 127-148. ISSN 1520-6793.

SANDLIN, J. A., CALLAHAN, J. L.: Deviance, Dissonance, and Détournement: Culture Jammers' Use of Emotion in Consumer Resistance. In *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 2009, Vol. 1, No. 9, p. 79-115. ISSN 1469-5405.

SCATAMBURLO-D'ANNIBALE, V.: Beyond the Culture Jam. In SANDLIN, J. A., MCLAREN, P. (eds.): *Critical Pedagogies of Consumption: Living and Learning in the Shadow of the «Shopocalypse»*. London : Routledge, 2009, p. 224-236.

WETTERGREN, A.: Mobilization and the Moral Shock: Adbusters Media Foundation. In FLAM, H., KING, D. (eds.): *Emotions and Social Movements*. London : Routledge, 2005, p. 99-118.

WINKLER, A.: *Manufacturing Dissent? The Cultural Politics and Communicative Strategy of the Adbusters Media Foundation*. [Dissertation Thesis]. Alberta : University of Alberta, 2004.