

Agents of Imperial Propaganda A Multimodal Analysis of the British Empire Marketing Board Poster Campaign

أدوات الدعاية الإمبراطورية: تحليل متعدد الوسائط لملصقات مجلس تسويق الإمبراطورية البريطانية

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Abstract:

Amid the turmoil of post-war economic instability and anti-empire criticism, the British Empire Marketing Board (EMB) was established as part of a larger strategy to consolidate the empire. This paper focuses on the EMBs poster campaign, having received limited scholarly attention so far, and presents a multimodal analysis examining their textual and visual elements aiming to reveal how they were used as agents or tools of imperial propaganda. Applying a multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis on a sample of twenty-three (23) posters, the analysis shows that, in addition to its economic agenda, the EMBs broader marketing strategy was to rationalize, sustain, and promote the empire. Delving into the interplay between imagery, language, and design, the paper also uncovers clear strategies employed by the EMB to push forward and leverage a narrative of imperial progress, abundance, and convenience at the expense of the exploitation and commodification of colonial territories and subjects. This study ultimately highlights the particular role envisaged for the EMB posters in shaping public perception and justifying the continuation of imperial policies, and also showcases how posters, a type of visual media, can be used as tools of propaganda, pushing forward and sustaining broader social, economic, and political agendas.

Keywords: British Empire Marketing Board, propaganda, posters, multimodal, CDA

ملخص:

وسط عدم الاستقرار الاقتصادي بعد الحرب والانتقادات المناهضة للإمبراطورية، تم إنشاء مجلس تسويق الإمبراطورية البريطانية كجزء من استراتيجية أكبر لتوطيد الإمبراطورية. تركز هذه الورقة على حملة ملصقات مجلس التسويق التي حظيت باهتمام علمي محدود حتى الآن، وتقدم تحليلاً متعدد الوسائط يدرس عناصرها النصية والمرئية بهدف الكشف عن كيفية استخدامها كأدوات للدعاية الإمبريالية. وتطبيق تحليل الخطاب النقدي على عينة من ثلاثة وعشرين ملصقاً، يظهر التحليل أنه بالإضافة إلى أجندتها الاقتصادية، كانت استراتيجية التسويق الأوسع نطاقاً هي ترشيد الإمبراطورية واستدامتها وتعزيزها. من خلال الخوض في التفاعل بين الصور واللغة والتصميم، تكشف الورقة أيضاً عن استراتيجيات واضحة تستخدمها هيئة إدارة الانتخابات للمضي قدماً والاستفادة من سرد التقدم الإمبراطوري والوفرة والراحة على حساب استغلال وتسليع الأراضي والموضوعات الاستعمارية. الكلمات المفتاحية: تحليل متعدد الوسائط، تحليل الخطاب النقدي، مجلس تسويق الإمبراطورية البريطانية، للدعاية الإمبريالية :

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1. Introduction

The 1920s were the interwar years, a time when the British Empire was in a complex phase of both consolidation and gradual decline. Following the First World War, the British Empire reached a historical peak, encompassing nearly a quarter of the world's landmass and governing a population exceeding 400 million individuals (Howells 2022). Nonetheless, while the empire still held vast territories and continued to exert influence globally, historians commonly indicate a shift towards decline after the end of WWI. Indeed, the economy in particular was facing significant challenges in the inter-war years as well as fierce competition from other imperial powers. There was also a growing anti-imperialism sentiment at home and anti-colonial movements developing in various overseas territories, all contributing to the belief that the empire was becoming unmanageable.

The Empire Marketing Board (EMB) was established in 1926 as an official government agency whose primary focus was promoting trade within the British Empire and to encourage consumers to “Buy Empire”. The Board used a variety of means to foster its aims from newspapers to pamphlets, film, songs, exhibitions and poster displays (Barnes 2023). In addition to employing various media, advertising, and economic advisors, the EMB also made commissions to some of the most well-known artists of the time to create posters as part of their “Buy Empire” campaign.

The EMB can be seen to fit within a larger landscape of organizations that appeared after the First World War having clear economic interests, these include the British Empire Producers Organisation, the British Commonwealth Union, the Empire Resources Development Committee, the Empire Development Parliamentary Committee, the Empire Development Union, the Empire Industries Association and the Empire Economic Union (McKenzie 1986). These bodies and the timing of their creation are indicative of a clear imperialist economic agenda and could also be understood as mechanisms for a broader and much older socio-political and cultural dominant ideology pertaining to the British Empire.

This is line with established scholarly arguments in British imperial history that highlight how imperialism and patriotism had been weaponized to direct the people’s attention and distract them, particularly the working-class, from issues of class conflict, anti-capitalism, and anti-imperialism (McKenzie 1986: 196)

Despite its short-lived experience, the EMB played a pivotal role in advancing the interests of British imperialism amongst the British public. The role of mass communications, such as posters, was essential as the latter provided concrete tools for imperial propaganda.

This present research paper delves into the colonial history of Britain in general and the history of the EMB in particular, closely examining the discursive practices of the latter in their collection of posters. The paper aims to uncover how these posters contribute to the ideological reinforcement of imperial propaganda. In order to address these aims, the following questions are used to guide the analysis and conduct of the research:

- How are the visual and textual elements combined in the posters to foster the EMBs aims?

- What underlying visual and textual patterns, narratives, and strategies can be uncovered from the posters in relation to Britain’s imperial propaganda?

The key findings which are explored in more detail in the upcoming sections highlight how the posters, both individually and collectively, were designed to reinforce a specific economic agenda and a larger imperial narrative characterised by prosperity and development, unity and mutual benefit, at the expense of the clear objectification and commodification of Britain’s overseas territories and its people.

2. Literature Review

Considering the vast nature of the empire boards operations and activities, the amount of research conducted on the latter is fairly modest in volume, making this present contribution highly pertinent.

Older contributions were more general in scope having explored the impact of imperial ideologies and imagery in the public sphere through visual arts, literature, and media such as those created by the EMB (Mackenzie 1986). Constantine for example looked at the EMB as part of examining the role of imperialism within British popular culture. His book chapter highlighted how the availability of media outlets and the technical changes linked to printing and communication fostered the EMBs propaganda efforts where imperialism became part of the “dominant ideology of the day” in inter-war Britain. This work also particularly highlights how the EMB sought to foster a sense of shared imperial identity among British and colonial citizens, leaving a last impact on how the empire was perceived by the public (in Mackenzie 1986: 192).

A similar work by Anthony (2012) looked at the Empire Marketing Board as part of the broader picture of public relations in early 20th-century Britain and showcased that the professionalizing public relations served as a valuable tool for government communication including advertising through agencies such as the EMB. Other contributions such as Barnes (2013) have specifically looked at the EMBs advertising campaign focusing on the presentation of Britain’s dominions—Australia, New Zealand and Canada—in a set of posters. This particular study found that the dominions were purposefully enlarged in poster maps and that there were distinct representations of dominions as semi-autonomous nations compared to colonies of the South.

In addition to various other studies ² that looked into the economic activities of the Empire Marketing Board (Sharma 2012; Kothari 2014; Higgins and Varian 2021), there has been to date no comprehensive analysis of the advertisement production of the EMB. Those that have examined some posters mostly use it as illustrative material rather than actual data to be analysed. Not only that, but these works also lack a theoretically-grounded approach in their analysis and do not present a systematic approach to the content of the EMBs propaganda material. While existing research certainly adds to our understanding of the history and legacy of the EMB, the present study contributes fresh and in-depth insights into sizeable section of the material created by the EMB.

3. Methodology

In order to tackle the research question(s), a multimodal analysis was conducted to reveal the strategies used by the Empire Marketing Board in their posters, considering both the linguistic and visual modes. Indeed, multimodality has become an increasingly popular area of research since the last few decades for exploring how different modes of communication come together to create specific, multi-layered and meaningful expressions.

The methodology of this study is informed by the work of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (2006) in combination with Fairclough’s model of Critical Discourse Analysis (1992). This combination is useful for exploring the interplay of visual elements and language within the relevant context of the posters including the socio-historical of their production and their intended audiences

3.1. Data collection

² Including an unpublished symposium paper by Peter Atkins (2003) and a Masters dissertation by Kristen Bower (2020). See full reference list

Visual materials such as advertisement posters are commonly used as the object of study in various disciplines. Posters have specifically received noticeable attention in various research fields including cultural studies, political studies, and media and communication studies.

In terms of access, the posters examined in this study were collected from the UK government National Archives ³ and the Canada Library and Archives ⁴. They were specifically accessed through the official Archive website of each government. The websites offer a comprehensive and authoritative source for authentic historical documents related to Britain and the British Empire.

Twenty-three (23) posters were selected for analysis, all of which were created by the Empire Marketing Board. The posters date back to the period between 1926 and 1931 and were advertised by the Board at home and overseas in Britain's imperial territories. All the posters feature text and imagery with depictions of colonial goods, portrayals of the Empire's vast geographical reach, and appeals to nationalistic pride in supporting the Empire's trade and economy. The posters were selected through purposeful sampling based on several criteria including their relevance and accessibility online and having specific attributes or features such as posters that represent key themes including trade, industries, commodities, shopping, etc. The number of posters selected for this study was limited to 23 posters to maximize the depth of the analysis and strike a balance between depth and diversity or variety. Copies of the posters are included at the end of the paper in the appendix.

3.2. Data analysis

The analysis presented in this article is a multimodal analysis as it examines multiple modes of communication including visual elements (i.e. design, colour and the linguistic elements (text, slogans, language)—and how these modes work together to convey particular messages and narratives.

The analysis combines the framework provided by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to provide the necessary tools for examining how these different modes of communication contribute to supporting and maintaining power and ideology as expressed by the EMB.

At the Representational metafunction (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006) the analysis explores what is represented in the content of the posters. This includes what is depicted, who is involved, and what actions or processes are they involved in (static or dynamic movements etc) as well as the circumstances surrounding them (background or setting).

At the Compositional level, we deal with how the different elements that make up the poster are arranged and structured. The focus can be on placement of elements (right or left, top or bottom) and salience (what draws attention first) and the overall visual hierarchy of elements. It also looks at the connotations behind colour choices by examining the different symbolic meanings of the colours used in the posters and how they complement other visual and textual elements.

At the interactive metafunction, we explore the relationship between the image and the viewer. Kress and van Leeuwen stress that in addition to the represented participants who are those depicted in the images, there is also interactive participants who are the viewers that engage directly with the image. Therefore, the analysis will also look at the angle and distance at which the characters of the posters are depicted and how this might engage the viewers as

³ The British National Archives does not require copyright clearance for material used for research purposes

⁴ The copyright for the posters acquired from these archives has expired, meaning no permission is required for their use.

well as other aspects such as color choices as they can influence the emotional response and engagement of the viewer as well.

Combining this with Fairclough's three-dimensional model of conducting a critical discourse analysis, the paper considers these questions when scrutinizing the posters:

1-What are the linguistic features of the poster (e.g., vocabulary, grammar, pronouns)?

2-How was the poster created and used in society (i.e. who produced it, for what, and for whom)?

3-How are the posters connected to the broader context (i.e. how do they reflect, reinforce, or challenge social and political structures and power relations)?

Overall, the analysis is grounded in continuous contextualization, with interpretations being anchored in the relevant cultural and historical contexts of the posters production and dissemination. Indeed, as many have argued, the context is not merely something to take into account when analysing visual medium, it is essential to understand that both the medium and the context are mutually constitutive, that is, the medium shapes and is shaped by the context (Fairclough 1992, Stuart Hall 1992)

4. Results and Discussion

4.1. Prosperity and Life in the Empire

A superficial look at a good number of posters produced by the EMB directly puts in focus the reach and bounty of the British Empire, particularly showcasing the variety and availability of products from across the empire. Indeed, a key theme espoused by the posters under analysis is the portrayal of a prosperous and flourishing life within the empire.

Following Kress and van Leeuwen's three-dimensional model of meanings, we find that components at the level of representational meaning, such as participants, processes, and circumstances help build a dynamic narrative characterised by productivity and prosperity which are attached to the visual representation of empire.

One of the dynamic processes/ acts evident in the posters is that of shopping. One of the posters for example (figure 3) contains the writing 'the good shopper' at the bottom and portrays a well-dressed woman shopper as its central figure. Her attire, posture, and the goods she is carrying signify affluence, prosperity, modernity, and consumerism. Similar examples are found in Figures 2, 9, 11, 18, and 22 all depicting male and female shoppers getting into or out of shops or directly in the act of shopping. One poster for example depicts a bustling shop with an array of vibrant fruits, where the visual emphasis is equally be on the shoppers as well as the goods (figure 18). We can also observe that some of the participants facial expressions have slight smiles engaging the viewers to relate to a sense of ease, comfort, and satisfaction.

Another clear emphasis in the posters is on the goods produced by the various territories of the British empire which contributes to this theme of prosperity and flourishing. Indeed, empire goods feature in the majority of the posters produced by the EMB. They are of varied nature but predominately consist of food items. All the posters depicting foods commonly emphasize the high quality and place of origin of these good being 'empire grown'.

Furthermore, key British cultural traditions also feature in the posters to anchor the advertisements in the socio-cultural reality that is relatable and homely. Such traditions include Christmas for example (Figures 6 and 20) and tea drinking (figure 21). These create an image of stability, comfort, and abundance which all align with the broader imperial discourse of prosperity. Indeed, the depiction of these traditions makes the posters more relatable to their intended audience aiming to shape the viewers perception where the empire is seen as the source of this prosperity and abundance. Another poster with the phrase "The empire is your garden" (figure 18) includes this interesting imagery that equates the empire

with a home garden, helping to soften the idea of an empire, making it seem like a place of care and natural growth rather than exploitation control.

It is important to note a racial disparity that is evident in the posters relating this sense of prosperity. All the participants that are depicted as experiencing or profiting from prosperity are British white folks whereas the colonial subjects of overseas territories are not once depicted in the actions of shopping or eating/ drinking. Rather, the latter are most often illustrated in the dynamic processes of production, working in fields, and loading/ unloading cargo (figures 5, 7, 10, 13). This distinction is explored further below in relation to the objectification and functionalisation of overseas colonial subjects.

4.2. Representing Industrial Power

Some of the EMB posters depict factories and workers inside them operating large heavy machinery (figures 4 and 16) the theme of industry and industrialisation is without doubt a key one of Britain's imperial pursuits. Britain used to and still heavily identifies its identity with industrialisation being the first industrial nation, holding pride in this fact and also framing industrial power and labour as a cornerstone of its power and dominance at various fronts.

Given the visual elements present in these posters (running factories, workers using heavy machinery, blast furnaces, and colours like red and orange), we clearly see an emphasis on the strength and advanced technological capability of Britain's industries. The connotations of the colors for example are strength and energy (red, fiery orange). Visually, these saturated colors are used to draw attention which black and grey being neutral background colors that make the vivid red and orange further stand out.

The depicted machinery conveys a sense of technological mastery and industrial strength, effectively tying industrial development with a sense of superiority. Besides the obvious importance of machinery, the workers are another essential part in supporting and maintaining through their labour of a large powerful system of imperial production. There is evident dynamism in the actions of the works denoting strength and hard work. The workers facelessness further puts the emphasis not on the personal effort but the purpose or collective outcome of their work. Showcasing industrial capabilities through these posters is indeed crucial for projecting the power and strength needed to make people believe in Britain's ability to maintain and protect its empire.

It is interesting to note that the posters also contain some implicit class connotations. These are apparent in the posters depicting lower-class factory workers (Figures 4 and 16) and middle and upper-class shoppers and people consuming empire goods (Figures 3, 9, 11, 18, 21, 22). This can be interpreted as subtly reinforcing a class-based ideology that places the working class at the heart of empire-building through their labour while the middle and upper classes engage in consumption and spending that further maintains the empires economic balance.

4.3. Imperative Messaging: "Buy Empire"

At first glance, we find that many of the EMBs posters contain text. This is a common feature of most types of advertisements where according to Barthes, text often works as anchorage (1977: 38-41). This text anchorage helps guide interpretation of the audience. From the perspective of what Kress and van Leeuwen describe as the interactive or interpersonal meaning (2006), we can see how visual elements including both imagery and text help to establish relationships and create engagement with the reader or audience, particularly as the posters in question have the explicit aim of encouraging consumer to "*buy empire*".

In some of the EMBs posters, the text stands alone and at the centre with little to no imagery (see Figures 1, 12, 14, 15, 19, 20, 23). The absence of imagery in some of the posters puts the

focus on the textual statements themselves. In such cases, the linguistic message becomes the dominant communicative tool, ensuring that the intended appeals are communicated clear and directly. Considering the economic strain of foreign competition, the EMB's strategy was to be as straightforward as possible with their appeal to the British people, using simple concise and direct language in their posters. The use of bold typography, often in capital letters, also enhances the authoritative and direct tone of the text message. High-contrast color choices for the text such as black or bold red also help towards this by ensuring visibility as the first thing to catch the viewers' attention.

In some posters, the directive messages reference both broad and specific product categories. Some posters generically promoted "Empire Products", or say "Buy from the Empire" while others detail specific goods, such as "*Bananas*", "*Fish*", and "*Tobacco*".

As highlighted by Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), the interactive meaning in visual communication helps to establish relationships between the text and its audience. The EMB posters are found to have employed imperative verbs (e.g., "*Do your share*", "*Buy from the Empire*", "*Eat more fish*", "*Keep your money in the Empire*") to directly address and instruct viewers. The texts in question are used to compel immediate consumer engagement with clear directive orders. This key strategy coupled with the use of second-person pronouns ("you", "your") transforms the posters from general advertisements into personal appeals by addressing the consumers directly through personification. In addition to the explicit text, visual representations are also used for the purpose of directing viewers' actions. Looking specifically at the represented participants, we find that many of the posters depict British shoppers that symbolize the ideal citizen who supports the Empire's economy through their consumption of empire goods.

It becomes clear through the analysis that, in line with the EMBs' aims, the imperative messages have as a long-term goal the embedding of consuming empire goods into everyday British consumer habits. The posters worked to ensure that the EMB delivered this clear and authoritative message where the viewers feel they are being directly addressed through the posters in order to prioritize Empire goods over foreign imports, thus becoming active participants in sustaining imperial economic strength.

4.4. Empire Unity and Mutual Benefit

Another key narrative of the EMBs' posters is imperial unity and mutual benefit. The posters, collectively, seem to project an image of unity, cooperation, and mutual benefit, presenting the British Empire as a harmonious network of territories with a reciprocal relationship.

This can be seen in some posters through the depiction of the flow of goods through imports and exports to and from the different parts of the empire. The posters emphasize economic benefit not just for Britain but for the colonies too as they benefit from the creation of new markets and having access to empire resources. This helps to effectively obscure the unequal relationship between colonizer and colonized where the viewer does not have to experience guilt or have moral concerns about the exploitative nature of the empire's economic system. This can be illustrated from one of the posters containing the sentence "*Every time you buy empire produce you help the empire to buy the goods you make at home*" (Figure 23)

In another poster, using precise numerical figures of imports and exports within the empire (Figures 11, 21, 23) creates a sense of balance and reinforces this idea of mutual benefit and mutual exchange. Looking further into the textual elements of the posters, the combination of phrases like "*home grown*" with others like "*apples from overseas*" suggests a complementary relationship between local and imperial efforts where the outcome is more abundance for all. Some posters also represent closeness despite actual geographical distance reinforced the unity of the territories that make up the British Empire. Figure 23 for example depicts a map where the British Isles are englobed or enveloped by Australia, suggesting the latter offers support to the former being a valuable and resource-rich colony.

Despite the promoted narrative of imperial cooperation and unity, the posters however still clearly reinforce hierarchies between Britain and its overseas territories. Using insights from CDA, it becomes clear that the posters are based on and further work to normalize the colonial economic structure which involves sharp power imbalances and exploitation of the colonial territories. These imbalances are masked by the discourse of mutual benefit which ultimately works to reinforce the legitimacy of the empire.

Overall, both the text and imagery align in a complementary way to emphasize the economic interdependence of all the territories that make up the British empire. The relevant posters promote a sense of unity for a common purpose where domestic and overseas people are both producers and consumers of empire goods that work together to sustain and support the empire

4.5. Commodification and Functionalization of Imperial Territories and their People

The final key theme revealed by the analysis of the posters is commodification, that is, the reducing of people, territories, and places to the basic economic value or utility.

Starting with the represented participants, we find that they differ in terms of identity, role, and activity. The posters depict both white British individuals and colonial subjects, but their representation varies significantly. Clearly, British people are depicted in more familiar domestic settings (home, kitchen, garden) or engaging in leisurely activities in shops compared to colonial subjects who are consistently portrayed in working roles. This contrast is indeed essential.

Figures 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, for example all depict the places where colonial goods originate from (either visually through the image of fields or ports or only textually through the naming of the territory and the goods associated with it). The posters that depict colonial labour of cultivating, harvesting, or transporting these goods represent the labourers through small figures that are positioned distant in the background. They are always represented in a dynamic mode, one of labour, and the processes they are involved in are processes of production. This is what Kress and van Leeuwen would describe as “functionalisation”, looking at the representation of people in terms of their functions or occupations in order to emphasize their contribution to a particular system or process (2006). Through the use of colour and backgrounding, we see in figure 10 a small number of black farmers that are difficult to spot, blending to the background whereas the produce is at the forefront of the poster with the banana trees standing out in bright green and yellow towering over the farmers.

Saïd's concept of the “*Other*” is relevant here as we uncover how the posters depict colonial subjects in ways that alienate, marginalize, or categorize them as fundamentally different from the viewers and hence justify their exploitation. Indeed, it is not just the colonial subjects but also the colonial economies and cultures that are reduced to mere sources of commodities for British consumption. In essence, the colonies exist to serve the economic needs of the empire and it is evident from this analysis that the EMBs posters work to normalize this distorted colonial economic structure which involves sharp power imbalances and exploitation.

Indeed, while the posters promote a vision of the British Empire as a provider of high-quality goods, they simultaneously conceal the exploitative relationships that underpin this economic system and their effects on people by placing the workers in the background, faceless, so as to sever any potential connection that might evoke empathy or personalisation from the viewers. This persistent depiction of colonial subjects as labourers emphasises their functionalisation,

where the participants are only represented by their function. Colonial subjects are only shown in ways that highlight their utility to the empire.

There is an additional aspect of collectivization where the posters represent colonial subjects not as individuals but rather as a collective entity that is of “laborours”. This reinforces their functionalisation where colonial subjects are marginalised, denied agency, and occupy a mere subordinate role in the grand imperial scheme.

In addition to this, it is clear from the many phrases used in the posters that Britain’s colonies are first and foremost valorised by whatever benefit they may provide for Britain, specifically in the case of our selected posters, the commodities and raw materials they produce and supply. This is evident in phrases that juxtapose the colonies with the food they produce, such as “*Finest Australian butter*”, “*South African orange orchards*”, “*West Indian grape fruit*”, “*Ceylon coconuts*”, “*Northern Ireland flax*”, and so on.

6. Conclusion

The posters analysed in this paper are a potent example of British imperial propaganda constructed with underlying patterns, strategies, and narratives that feed into, sustain, and advance the mission for which the Empire Marketing Boards had been created. Informed by a postcolonial lens, the analysis has examined how different modes are manipulated within the posters. The paper demonstrates that the EMB was constructing and promoting an idealist and appealing picture of the British empire to fuel support, both physical and emotional, for the latter. In reality, this contradicted with the actual picture on the ground, one characterised by strong foreign competition and increasing anti-empire sentiment at home and abroad.

In its mission, using an abundance of illustrations that were well advertised in a variety of places and mediums, it is clear that the EMB was primarily focused on influencing everyday consumers purchasing decisions and consumption patterns. Seeing how the majority of the posters are concerned with and depict food, the analysis shows that the posters promote a vision of prosperity where the British Empire is the provider of high-quality goods, while simultaneously concealing the exploitative dynamics of imperial production that underpin this system. The posters effectively objectify imperial subjects and their territories as mere instruments of production and economic expansion.

In doing this, the posters relied on various strategies to normalise and legitimise its narratives. Through a combination of text and visual elements, the EMB emphasised Britain’s industrial power and technological strength to feed into people’s satisfaction and pride. Understood within the context of post WW1 imperial decline, the poster campaign is a potent example of the use of accessible visual media not just as commercial tools but also mechanisms that communicate values and ideologies for public mobilisation.

Finally, it is important to note that the EMB produced a variety of media whose contents remain unexplored to date. Future research ought to give careful consideration to these in order to add to existing research and uncover their significance within the broader historical and cultural context of the British empire.

It includes a summary of what was contained in the research content, with reference to the most important results achieved, and to provide suggestions and recommendations.

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7. Appendix

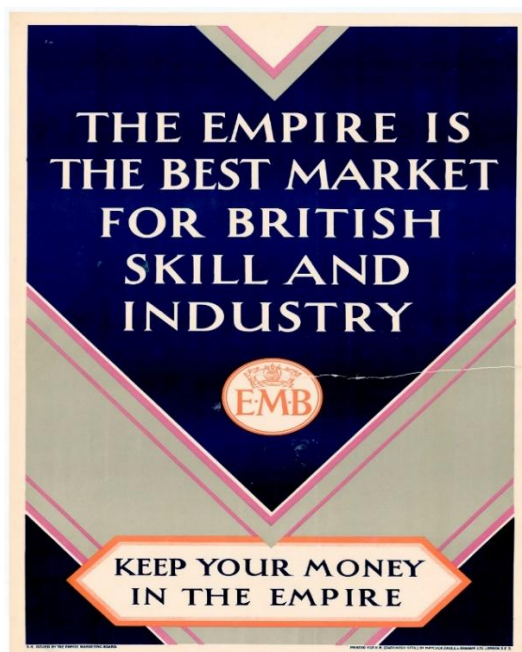


Figure 1 The Empire is the Best Market for British Skill and Industry
Canada Library and Archives

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2844835&ecopy=e010758997-v8>

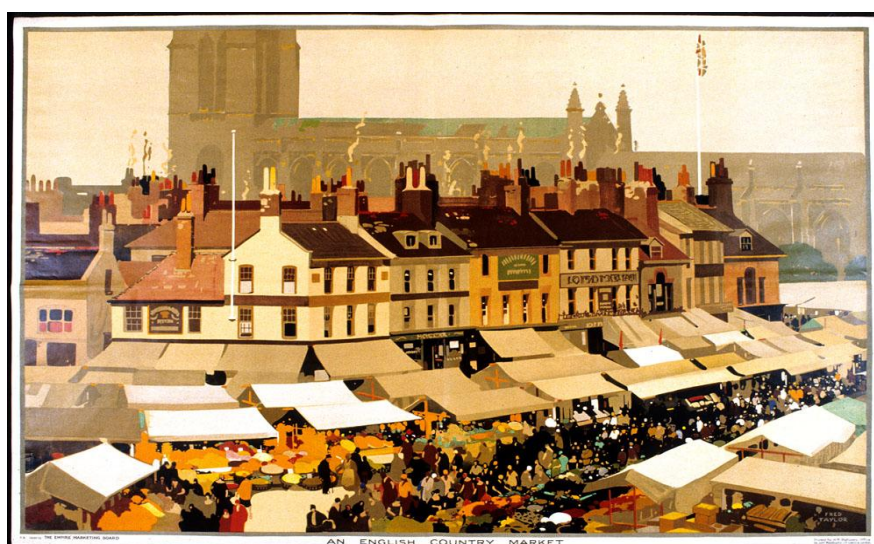


Figure 2: an English country market
Canada Library and Archive

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845052&ecopy=c109476k-v8>



Figure 3: the Good Shopper
British National Archives- -Image Library
<https://images.nationalarchives.gov.uk/groupitem/72/>

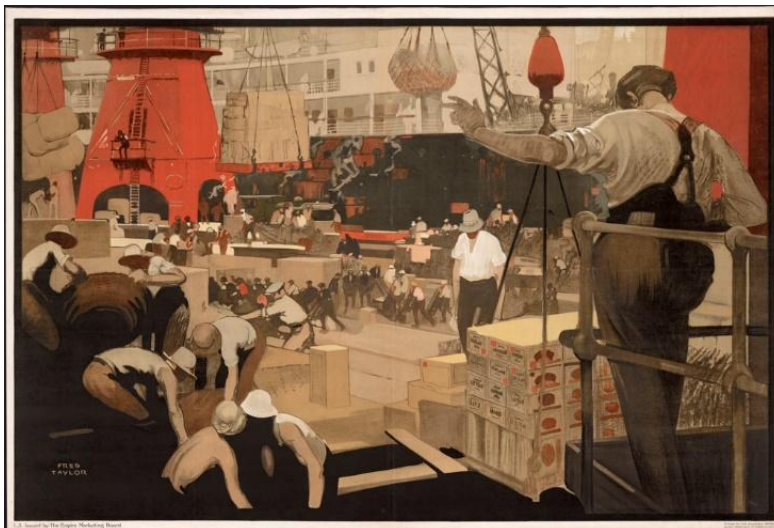


Figure 4: Empire Builders
Canada library and Archives
<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2897675&ecopy=e011538009>



Figure 5: Colombo Ceylon
Canada library and Archive

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845139&ecopy=e007913045-v8>



Figure 6 The Produce of the Home Country Crowns the Christmas Feast

Canada library and Archive <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2897667&ecopy=c109466k>



Figure 7: A cocoa estate in Trinidad
Canada library and Archive

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2834290&ecopy=c109453k>



Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

Figure 8: Dairy factory of Newzealand
Canada Library and Archive

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845215&ecopy=e010758961-v8>



Figure 9 Untitled

Canada Library and Archive

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2897690&ecopy=c109485k>

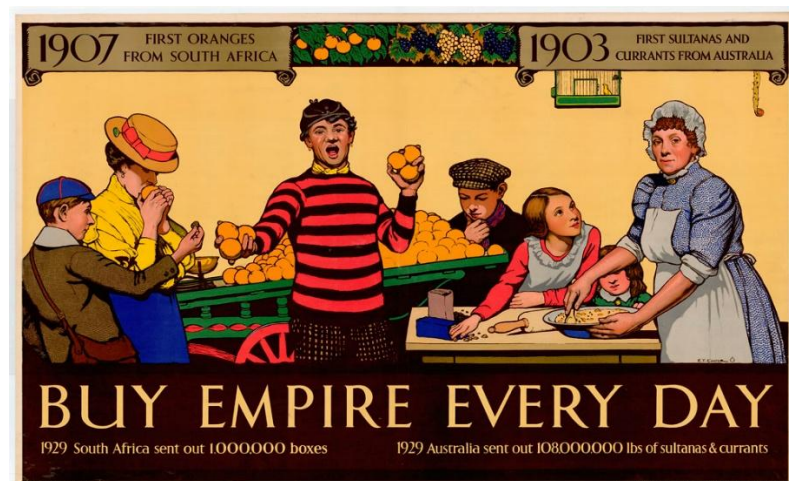


Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

Figure 10: Bananas

Canada Library and Archive

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845247&ecopy=c109750k-v8>

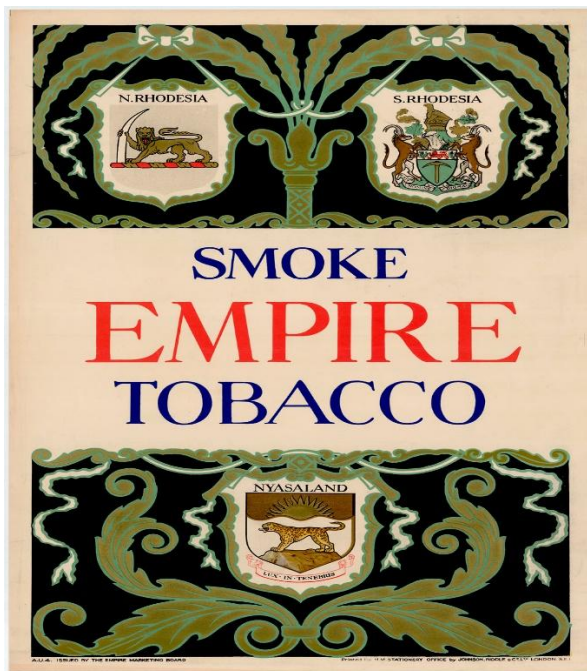


Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

Figure 11: Buy Empire Everyday

Canada library and Archive

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845186&ecopy=e010758917-v8>



Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

Figure 12: Smoke Empire Tobacco

Canada library and Archive

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845033&ecopy=e010759067-v8>



Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

Figure 13: untitled

Canada library and Archive

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845087&ecopy=e010758945-v8>

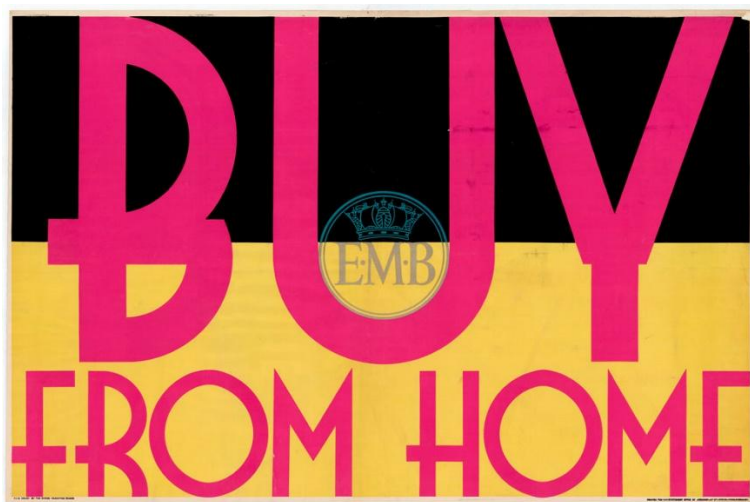


Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

Figure 14: Do Your Share, Buy Empire Products : buy Empire products
Canada Library and Archive

[https://recherche-collection-search.bac-](https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845281&ecopy=e010758915-v8)

[lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845281&ecopy=e010758915-v8](https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845281&ecopy=e010758915-v8)



Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

Figure 15 Buy From Home
Canada Library and Archive

[https://recherche-collection-search.bac-](https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845300&ecopy=e010758912-v8)

[lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845300&ecopy=e010758912-v8](https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845300&ecopy=e010758912-v8)



Figure 16: Motor Manufacturing

UK National Archives

<https://beta.nationalArchives.gov.uk/explore-the-collection/explore-by-time-period/interwar/empire-marketing-board-posters/>

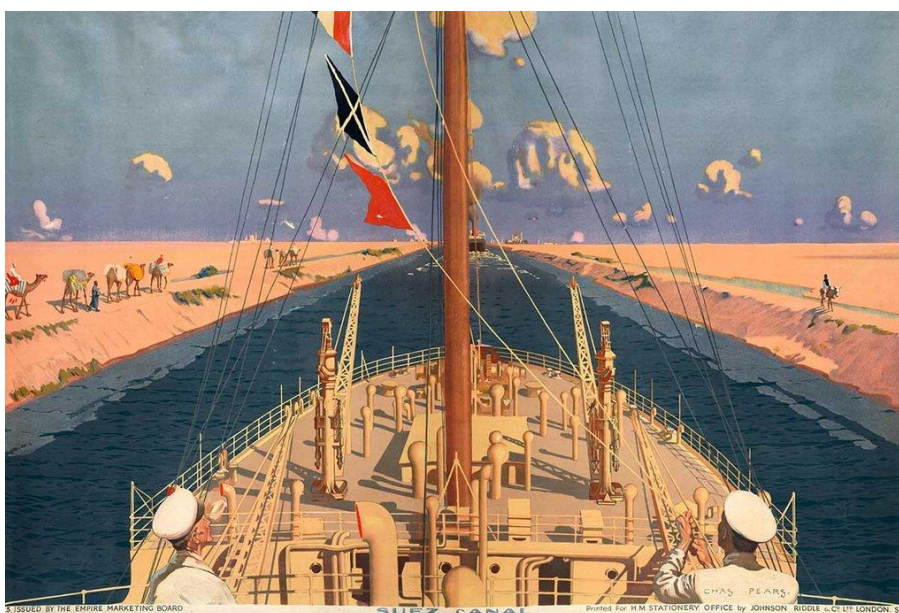


Figure 17 Suez Canal

UK National Archives

<https://beta.nationalArchives.gov.uk/explore-the-collection/explore-by-time-period/interwar/empire-marketing-board-posters/>



Figure 18 John Bull and Sons (1928) Ltd

UK National Archives

<https://beta.nationalArchives.gov.uk/explore-the-collection/explore-by-time-period/interwar/empire-marketing-board-posters/>

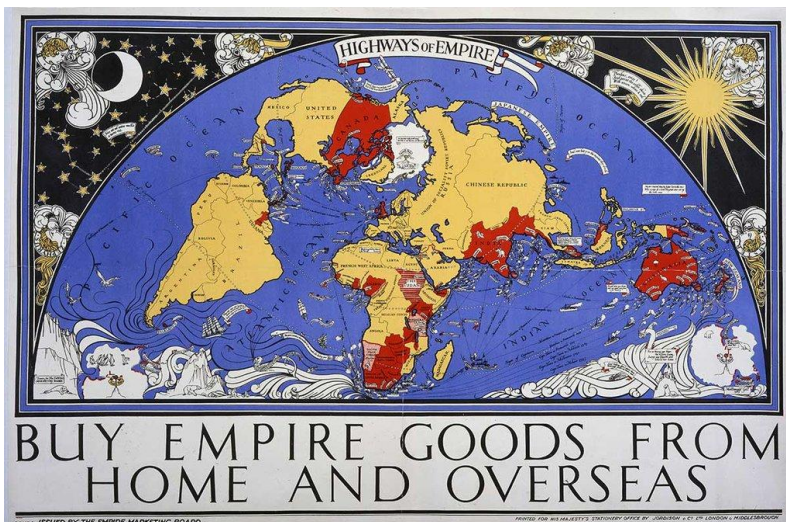


Figure 19: Highways of Empire

UK National Archives

<https://beta.nationalArchives.gov.uk/explore-the-collection/explore-by-time-period/interwar/empire-marketing-board-posters/>

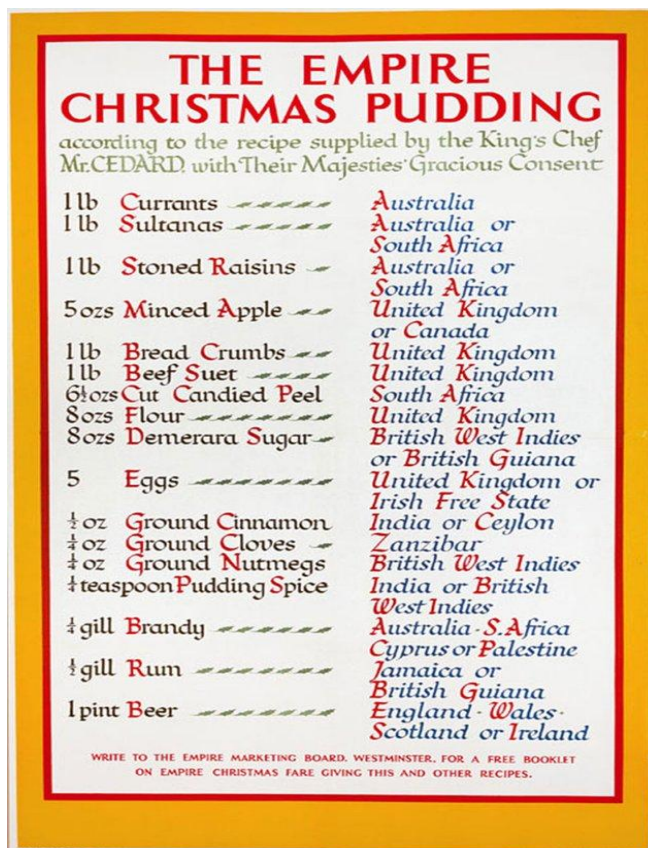


Figure 20 The Empire Christmas Pudding

UK National Archives

<https://beta.nationalArchives.gov.uk/explore-the-collection/explore-by-time-period/interwar/empire-marketing-board-posters/>



Figure 21: Buy Empire everyday

UK National Archives- Image Library

<https://images.nationalArchives.gov.uk/asset/11739/>



Figure 22: The Empire Shop

UK national Archives -Image Library

<https://images.nationalArchives.gov.uk/asset/11760/>



Library and Archives Canada / Bibliothèque et Archives Canada
www.collectionscanada.gc.ca

Figure 23 : untitled

UK national Archives -Image Library

<https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=FonAndCol&idNumber=2845088&ecopy=e010758833-v8>