

## Banksy in commercial communication. Street Art and appropriationism

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### Abstract

The advertising market draws on elements and aesthetics from other areas and disciplines, appropriating artistic imaginaries of Street Art, subverting them to change the user's perception of messages. The media increasingly show creative solutions that take ideas from the art world as a reference. They reuse pre-existing images to give them a new message that responds to a different discourse. In this article, we will study how the imaginary of advertising appropriates urban movements, analysing the influences of the artist Banksy on persuasive commercial activity and vice versa. The conclusions of this analysis are that the very appropriation, an inherent consequence of the art and advertising binomial, improves the creative dimension of the works in both areas. Communication tends to reuse the artistic imaginary for commercial purposes, while the artist drinks from commercial aesthetics to represent the reality in which he lives. There is also a proliferation of the number of pieces related to the actions of the author Banksy in recent years. Observing iconography and techniques of persuasive communication in the work of this anonymous author.

### Keywords

Spatial augmented reality; Digital place-making; neglected spaces; DIY urbanism.

### 1. Introduction

When analyzing an issue related to advertising creativity and street art, we cannot ignore the current problem that advertising faces every day: consumers and the cities are saturated of messages. It is interesting to investigate which is leading the advertising market to adapt to new formats as graffiti (Jacobson, 2017.) that encourage remembrance and make the message stand out above other impacts (Visconti, 2010). At this juncture, the image gains importance and, with it, the use of the technique of artistic

appropriation by advertising that aspires, through its use, to generate pieces capable of being remembered by the viewer as artists do with their works.

Banksy's work has been chosen for its media capacity to get all its messages to viewers and to be heard despite the large number of artists that coexist in the current scene. Building a brand from anonymity, interrupting the narratives of global ethics, distorting the viewer's imagination to make him reflect and his media character, are just some

of the characteristics that make Banksy the perfect artist for the study of how advertising takes advantage of their works to generate a greater impact on consumers.

The techniques and imaginaries of art by advertising are reviewed. As well as the artists who have used advertising iconography or have stood out for their contribution to advertising.

Appropriationism is addressed as a creative production technique. Noting Banksy as the main author of the current today. And, therefore, the main inspiration for advertising creatives who seek to appropriate a work of this movement.

## 2. Methodology

In the first place, a consultation of sources related to the binomial art - advertising, Appropriationism - advertising and Street Art - advertising has been carried out. Following the criteria of Roca and Mensa in their article The methodologies used in creativity research (Roca & Mensa, 2009). It was decided to approach the analysis from the perspective of case study and content analysis Krippendorf (1997) for the analysis of secondary sources: advertising campaigns and Bardín (1983) for the analysis of advertising campaigns. Clemente and Santillana (1991) indicate selecting various works of art and advertising pieces help us to have a descriptive view of the situation.

The corpus of primary sources stems from the analysis of advertising campaigns that are directly inspired by Banksy. Under this premise, we compile graphic material of advertising creativity that are related to the artist. The analysis is based on the observation of advertising campaigns through an analysis template that focuses its objective on unraveling the typology of appropriationism and its relationship in space and time with Banksy's artistic production.

It is based on a technical file where we find a photo of the piece to be analyzed, the title of the campaign, if it had one, as a way of designating and differentiating the campaigns, the type of product to which it refers, the brand, the agency in charge of creativity and a technical/typological

description of the format: audiovisual, graphic, radio spot, etc. (Vega Cedeño, 2012).

Secondly, the part of the analysis that focuses on the formal aspects of the piece will be made up of an objective description of the work in a general overall view, an iconographic description of form and content where the formal description is explained in detail (Júnior, 2021). of the image: including outstanding elements such as the use of form, a presentation of the composition giving importance to the different weights of the messages, the predominant color and their meaning, if any. The creative dimension: if it comes from an original idea, copy or reference of an existing work. Text description: analysis of the closing or copy of the campaign, messages that the brand wants to convey with the piece. Iconography: description of the artistic elements with symbolic content. Style and/or aesthetics: Do you use any of the techniques followed by Banksy? Is it a photomontage or an illustration?

It is important for the analysis to determine to which people the ad is directed, to try to determine if the use of the artist's works is focusing on a specific group. It is for this reason that in third place we will study the target. We need to know the tone of the message to know with what approach or in what way Banksy is being used to sell a product or service. When we come across campaigns that base their creativity on the connections between Social Media and Urban Art, (Sauda, et al., 2021).

Finally, we must present within the analysis several aspects directly related to the object of study: Banksy and Appropriationism. It is for this reason that we must emphasize whether the iconography used coincides with some of the most outstanding stages of the artist's production, and whether they coexist over time. As we saw in the section related to Appropriationism. We must classify the type of use of visual art in commercial communication (Díaz & Martín, 2016) focusing on the form of expression of the insertion of art in advertising and whether the artistic reference is found in the text or in the image.

### 3. Results and discussion

#### 3.1. Advertising appropriation of Banksy's work. Banksy-inspired advertising works

We exemplify in the figure of Banksy, since he is the most notorious and well-known representative worldwide within the artistic current of Street Art. To limit the spectrum of analysis of advertising campaigns that have as their central axis some work of the mysterious artist, given his prolific career and the great number of years that he has been active, we will focus on the creativities that emerged after the last and famous piece of the British artist *Love Is In The Bin*. Which generated a stir in the art world, since it was a self-destructed canvas in an auction house. This action should be highlighted because the media quickly picked up on it and transferred the news to all the front pages, both physical and online, and to the main newscasts. The impact on the networks was not long in coming. On Instagram alone, the artist's photographic publication has more than 1,300,000 likes in addition to 17,127 comments and the video, 15,025,876 million views and more than 96,200 comments. According to Direct Marketing, 2018, as of October 8, more than 1,578,325 conversations had already been generated on social networks on this topic.

#### 3.2. People make design come to life. Furniture, Ikea

We observe located under the message "People make design come to life" some stairs going down to the Milan metro with 6 stencils that integrate with the place where they have been placed. They are white with black shadows, well-defined but without volume. Regarding the composition and arrangement of the elements, we can see how they are arranged along the stairs, we have a central element for weight load, which would be the bodycopy with the message «People make design come to life» where we can also find the brand logo at the top. In the central part we find a dog and two children. The boy is playing with a ball, and the girl resembles the girl with the famous artist's balloon. On the right side of these, we find a ballet dancer who finds her dance bar on the railing of the subway. To the left of the composition, we can see a figure climbing the stairs with her dog.



**Figure 1.** People make design come to life (2012). Campaign title: People make design come to life. Product: Furniture. Brand: Ikea. Launch date: 2012. Typology: Installation. Source: <https://www.pinterest.es/pin/491455378071118473/>.

All template composition is under the message: "People make design come to life". It makes reference that for this campaign they use this urban art technique to insert it on top of their conventional campaign. As for the iconography of the graphic, we see Banksy's stencil technique very present together with a piece that resembles one of his best-known works, such as the girl with the balloon.

The technique used to carry out this action is the black stencil combined with a white background paper that would act as a canvas to capture the illustration and, later, put it on the wall. The creative dimension does not come from an existing work, but is a reinterpretation of the technique with a mix of creativity.

Given the repercussion of Banksy's work, we could affirm that we would find ourselves before a universal target. However, we must take into account the product and the brand that is advertised in this digital piece. IKEA sells furniture, decoration and products for the home, so we must limit the target to which the advertisement is directed: couples, young people with a low budget, young people, stu-

dents, parents with children, etc. Seeing this segmentation, we would have a target audience of 22 and older. The tone of the message of this campaign is neutral; however, we can see how the use of such a guerrilla technique and support as the wall gives the brand a certain dynamism and freshness.

The Banksy coincidence is very subtle. In 2012, we find the production of some small stencils. But not yet, to talk about a great work by the artist, famous enough to enter the imagination of creatives and users, we have to go back to 2010 with the release of his documentary *Exit Through the Gift Shop*

Following the scheme of Díaz and Martín (2016) type of use of visual art in commercial communication, we would find an art reference in the image with a free representation of a part of the work. We are at the first “reference” level, since it evokes a technique or a style without emphasizing a specific piece.

3.3. Turn Back. Garlic, Clear cellophane tape, Scotch  
In the work, we see a photograph of a frame on a flat white background that contains a stencil of a girl who loses her heart-shaped balloon. This image references Banksy's *Girl with Balloon* canvas. We can see the product that signs this ad: a cellophane tape and a Scotch brand box.

Regarding the composition of the graph, we see a predominance of the size of the central box that occupies almost all the space. The frame is centered. In the right corner and weighing less than the central element, we find the still life of the product, which is made up of a cellophane tape and its box. In this announcement, we do not find any campaign closure message. As for the iconography of the graphic, it attends to a specific moment marked by the event of Banksy's latest work. As we saw before, the work self-destructs moments after being auctioned. Using this, Scotch highlights the main function, its product, which is to glue things that are separated. The style is based on the work of the British artist, he uses the stencil. It maintains a creative dimension that comes from the reinterpretation of an existing painting.



**Figure 2.** Girl with Balloon or There is Always Hope, version in South Bank (Banksy, 2004). Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Banksy\\_Girl\\_and\\_Heart\\_Balloon\\_\(2840632113\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Banksy_Girl_and_Heart_Balloon_(2840632113).jpg)



**Figure 3.** Campaign Title: *Turn Back Time*. Product: Transparent cellophane tape. Brand: Scotch. Release date: October, 2018. Agency: Garlic. Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/dropstuff/2840632113/> [https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/scotch\\_turn\\_back\\_time](https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/print/scotch_turn_back_time)



**Figure 4.** *Love is in the Bin* (Banksy, 2018) Technical description / Typology: art intervention by Banksy at Sotheby's London. Source: <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2021/oct/14/banksy-auction-record-shredded-painting-love-is-in-the-bin>

The audience is not limited by an age segment, but is only suitable for people who previously knew how *Love Is In The Bin* was created. Based on this premise, we find that, given its worldwide viralization, it would be a universal target.

We are facing a graphic that has meaning only at a visual level that objectively transmits the values of the product, so the tone of it could be said to be rational or informative. There is a month and year coincidence with the production of *Love Is In The Bin*, both actions were created in October 2018, only a few days apart. We are before a work whose existence would not be possible without the previous work. The work presents a type of use of visual art in commercial communication, according to Díaz and Martín, (2016). Following the scheme mentioned above, we find ourselves before a graphic that presents an art reference in the image, with a point-by-point representation of the complete work and with a direct use of it.



**Figure 5.** *Masterpiece*. (The Smarts, 2018). Campaign title: *Masterpiece*. Product: Carpet. Brand: IKEA. Release date: October, 2018. Agency: The Smarts. Technical description / Typology: Digital Graphics Source: [https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/digital/ikea\\_masterpiece](https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/digital/ikea_masterpiece)

Fernández Herrero, (2018) points out that we are between a level of inspiration, another of recreation that serves as a connection. At the level of inspiration we see how the image of the campaign emphasizes a specific intervention, but since it is a point-by-point representation of the complete work, with a direct use of it, we would enter the third level of "recreation" in where you can find the works made by artists, although Banksy has not directly carried out the campaign.

#### 3.4. Masterpiece. The Smarts. Carpet, Ikea

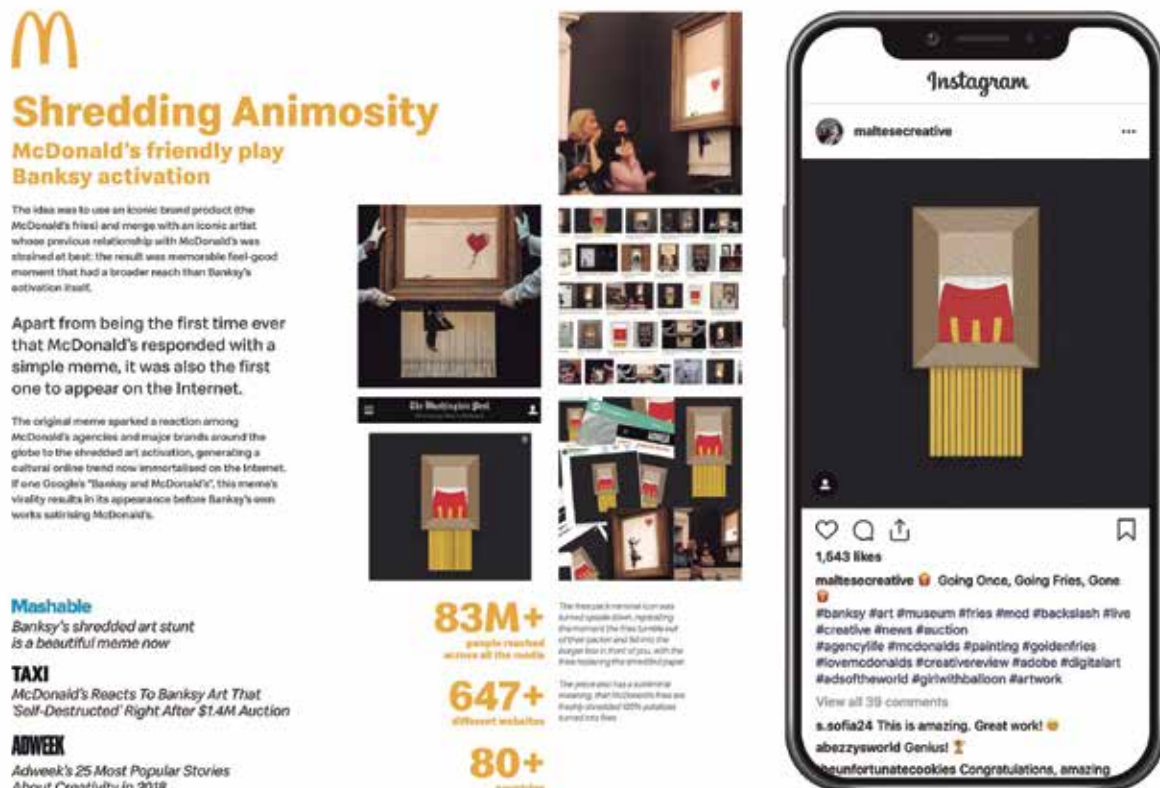
We see a photographic frame on a dark navy blue textured background (Figure 5). The painting contains a rug whose fringes peek out from under the aforementioned frame. We see a copy that says: "Masterpiece that everyone can own" and another within the canvas that mentions the product and its price. We can see the Ikea signature at the bottom of the ad.

As for the composition and layout of the elements and messages in the graphic, we find that the photographic frame occupies the central part of the advertisement, competing in dimensions with the body of text «Masterpiece that everyone can own». Both, as a composition, occupy the center of the piece. Inside what appears to be a rug from the Swedish brand, we find the name, description and price of this product. In the lower part on the right, with less significant weight, we find the IKEA logo.

In this work we find several blocks of text. If we take into account the weights, we would first have the concept of the graph that says «Masterpiece that everyone can own» – «A masterpiece that everyone can own». At a second level of information we see «RORKAR Rug with stripes flatwoven 39.90 lv» which refers to the product and its price.



**Figure 6.** *Going Once, Going Fries, Gone.* TBWA, 2008. Campaign Title: *Going Once, Going Fries, Gone.* Product: Fast Food. Brand: McDonald's. Release date: October, 2008. Agency: TBWA. Digital Graphics - Instagram Post Source: <https://www.reasonwhy.es/media/library/mcd-malta-parodia-banksy.jpg>



**Figure 7.** Storyboard with the results of the McDonald's Going Once, Going Fries, Gone campaign. TBWA, 2018. Source: [https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/digital/mcdonalds\\_going\\_once\\_going\\_fries\\_gone.tif](https://www.adsoftheworld.com/media/digital/mcdonalds_going_once_going_fries_gone.tif)

This work can only be understood if we previously know the events that occurred around the British artist in the month of October. Banksy's work was sold for \$1.4 million at auction and then destroyed. IKEA refers to the fact that, with its rugs, you can have a piece of art at home for much less money.

Use the photographic composition technique with Photoshop to create a realistic image of the overlapping of various elements. Regarding the creative dimension, reference is made to an existing painting, appropriating the imagery of the frame and the moment of launch, but it changes the image, giving it a new meaning.

Given the repercussion of Banksy's work, we could affirm that we would find ourselves before a universal target. However, we must take into account the product and the brand that is advertised in this digital piece. IKEA sells furniture, decoration and products for the home, so we must limit the target to which the advertisement is directed: couples, young people with a low budget, young students, parents with children, etc. Seeing this segmentation, we would have a target audience of 22 and older.

The tone responds to a fun character, since, although the graphics do not visually give rise to this interpretation, the message wants to make fun of the price of the work second prices before its self-destruction.

There is a month and year match with the production of Banksy *Love Is In The Bin*, both actions were created in October 2018, only a few days apart. We are before a work whose existence would not be possible without the previous work. We are faced with a piece that has the artistic reference in the image and presents a free representation of a part of the work.

As for the degree of connection between advertising and urban art, we could classify this digital graphic in a level two of inspiration, since they evoke in the viewer a memory of an imaginary Street Art that they already know previously, but they allude to a specific one. It is the general aesthetics of the image that is done with the iconographic value of Banksy's work; neither the frame nor its interior respond to the original of the piece.

### 3.5. Going Once, Going Fries, Gone. Comida Rápida, McDonald's

The creative features a photo frame on a black background with a grainy texture. We found a canvas with a figurative representation of an inverted McDonald's potato container. Protruding from the bottom of the frame, we see some textured yellow rectangles. We do not find the closure with the brand, but it is integrated into the image that contains the frame.

Regarding the composition and arrangement of the elements, we have as the only and central element of the graphic the photographic frame that contains a canvas of a representation of a container of McDonald's potatoes turned vertically. The frame is centered.

In this announcement, we do not find any campaign closure message. We can mention the text that was inside the Instagram post: «Going Once, Going Fries, Gone» which refers to the first Instagram post about the self-destruction of the work that it titled on social networks: «Going, going, gone».

The iconography of the graphic uses one of the most iconic products of the McDonald's brand and mimics it with the work of Banksy. We see a direct relationship between the position of the original canvas and the appropriation created by the brand.

The technique is pictorial, it is a figurative representation with brush strokes texture. Aesthetically, it comes from the reinterpretation of an existing painting.

We are facing a piece created to live, be seen and shared by social networks, so the target is very different. The brand is positioned before a universal target that is multiplied in scope due to the virality of this type of publication on social networks. The creative agency responsible for the piece, TBWA indicates that the number of people impacted by the ad was more than 83 million.

Following the scheme of the type of use of visual art in commercial communication, we would find an art reference in the image with a free representation of a part of the work. But since on the inner canvas of the frame we find the product, the French fries, as a work of art, we could also speak of the category of content, product as a work of art or artification.

According to Fernández Herrero, we are at a second advertising level «inspiration» since the image of the campaign emphasizes a specific intervention, exactly *Love Is In The Bin* (2018).

## 4. Conclusions

The creative dimension of the works always responds to some kind of representation of an existing work. After carrying out the analysis of the records of several of the pieces produced by the creative agencies that had some relationship with Banksy, we can observe a proliferation of the number of pieces related to the actions of the author in recent years. Due to the growing popularity of his works and their media magnitude, we found a high percentage of advertising campaigns related to Banksy as of October 2018, coinciding with the presentation of his work *Love Is In The Bin*.



On the other hand, it is worth taking into account the fact that, like the original piece, all advertising adaptations are made in graphic format. However, there is a characteristic that differentiates them and that is that advertising graphics are mostly shown in an online or digital format, because they take advantage of the moment of maximum effervescence of the news to make their creativities, since, once this boom has passed its launch would not make sense. It is for this reason that the advertising pieces of this period related to the British were mainly launched in October 2018.

One of the first things that should be highlighted and that is what makes us realize that we are dealing with a creative technique based on appropriation is the fact that in all the pieces the essential thing is a part of Banksy's iconography. If there is something that makes the Briton distinctive, it is his defined style as an artist that stands out for the use of forms such as the police, children or rats. In the graphs analyzed above we see how the technical element that is repeated in all the compositions is not the famous stencil of the girl with the balloon, but rather the frame that it makes was what, thanks to its mechanism, formed a new work and that generated the most stir in the media.

On the other hand, we find in all the pieces an informative space that coincides with the end of the campaign, the brand or the advertised product, normally at the bottom right, as in most graphics. However, something differentiating is that we are faced with scarce or practically non-existent narratives or texts. They focus on the image speaking for itself, they seek for the viewer to draw their own conclusions or interpret the message based on their previous baggage of the work that starts from its virality. If we affirm that the message focuses on the image, it is logical that, following the typology of use of visual art in commercial communication, according to Díaz and Martín (2016), we find references to art in the image with a free representation or not of a part of the work, corresponding to the frame of the painting. In the type of advertising-urban art connection analysis, according to Fernández Herero (2018), the vast majority of us would find ourselves facing campaigns belonging to a second level, since the image of the campaign emphasizes a specific interventi-

on. We could say that the tone of the pieces produced as a result of Love Is In The Bin is humorous, it refers to what happened in the auction house, ironizing or satirizing it. This fact, although it may go unnoticed, is interesting since it corresponds to the tone used by Banksy for his artistic production.

Although Banksy and the appropriation movement tend to have a transgressive, acid and strange character for the public, analyzing the files we realize that most of the advertised products have a very broad or universal target, without segmenting the viewer. They are brand products that are focused on giving maximum coverage to the maximum number of people.

As we mentioned before, it is interesting to see how the generated pieces are published the same month as the work of the artist from Bristol. Because they respond practically in real time to a media event that was happening, the graphics do not appear in conventional media and are transferred to digital media that respond to the immediacy that a viral phenomenon demands.

If we look at the first advertising campaigns before 2018, we find that the appropriation years before was lower. As we mentioned before, these graphics look for digital media that reward immediacy. When we focus on advertising we find an importance of the support resembling what was done by the artist. The works were reflected, many of them, on the walls. All of them following the marked aesthetics of Banksy, using techniques that remind the viewer of the artist's templates. These first Banksy-based creativities do not temporarily coincide with an event in the artist's pictorial production. We can affirm that, for this reason, the form of appropriation focuses on the image, but at first it does not allude to a specific painting, but to the technique so characteristic of the artist. By providing Banksy's procedures with new messages, these campaigns do not have the ironic tone of those launched after October 2018. On the other hand, the target does coincide with the one we mentioned previously, once again we are dealing with products with a target universal.

It is logical to find these differences between the creativities inspired by Banksy, since his long history in time entails a coexistence with very different forms of advertising. Nowadays, real time, social networks, low-budget campaigns and their virality are rewarded. On the contrary, before we saw formats that went out to the streets to seek the viewer's attention differently, they lasted for months on display and with larger budgets.

In response to this reason, we find a clear statement that emerged from the analysis, the creative dimension of the works always responds to some type of representation of an existing work.

#### 4.1. Creative appropriation. The importance of artistic imagination

We see how the artistic imagination and new creations influence the creativity of advertisers who try to make campaigns stand out in a saturated market. The user feels more and more reticent before advertising messages, but, as we have verified throughout this work, with the incorporation of a work of art, a transmission of values previously obtained is produced that favor the acceptance of advertising creativity by part of the target (Bengtson, 2016).

Today, creative agencies find themselves with an added handicap to reach the user in the digital medium: immediacy. They need to generate messages that respond to current issues and at the same time talk about the brand. This is where art becomes important, since when a work of art goes viral, as content, it is much easier to adapt to the attributes of a brand than other highlights because it has visual content.

In the practical block, after carrying out the analysis, conclusions can be drawn such as that there is a growing number of campaigns that have some work related to Banksy due to the growing popularity of his works and the media magnitude of them. Previously, it was stated that a high percentage of advertising campaigns related to Banksy occurred during the month of October 2018, coinciding with the presentation of his work *Love Is In The Bin*. Faced with appropriations that have to respond to the immediacy of social networks, we find representations that focus on

the image and that respond to integrating the differential element of the work into the advertising piece, in the case of the campaigns inspired by *Love Is In The Bin* we find in all the shredding framework (Vicente, 2018).

We find multiple differences with the creative production of a decade ago that related to Banksy's works, but it is logical to find them given that he has been active for more than twenty years and society in this time has changed greatly.

#### 4.2. The symbiosis between advertising and art. Appropriationism, an inherent consequence of the art-advertising binomial.

Since Appropriationism emerged as a current with Pop Art due to the rise of consumer culture and the mass media, the imaginary of brands and advertising in art began to be used intensively and vice versa (Gúzner & Polanco, 1991). . This appropriation is understood as the reuse of pre-existing images to give them a new message or meaning (Agustin, & Chan, 2022). The works are separated from their original context and the messages are subverted, altered or simply copied, thus turning the piece into a new one that responds to a different discourse.

From that moment on, the symbiotic relationship between advertising and art is strengthened. In the case of the use of appropriation as a creative technique, we see that it serves to capture attention, generate memory and change the user's perception. Due to the speed with which current trends change, it focuses on disruptive movements such as urban art and, in recent years, it is valued that the work is current. In conventional media where everything is already seen, where nothing surprises, people continue to admire street art. as something disruptive (Sauda, Wessel, & Karduni, 2021).

We can affirm that there is a conscious use by brands of Banksy's iconography and aesthetics, since, as an artist, he responds to the premises necessary to make a success of an advertising campaign based on a pictorial work. Banksy is an author known worldwide, with a strong easily recognizable aesthetic, which is always current. That is why such different brands are made with his aesthetic to

empathize with the target.

The main objective of the work was to respond to the hypothesis that, due to the evaluations of the current advertising system, we could find a direct relationship between the works produced by the artist and the advertising creativities that base his image on him. Given this assumption, we can affirm that Banksy's artistic production has experienced different stages of advertising, where creativity did not respond to the same criteria to be based on a work. At first, observing the campaigns of previous years housed in the annexes, we discover how there are differences with those analyzed in the body of this work. However, we must focus our attention on the analysis criterion that responds to the aforementioned hypothesis.

These creativities do not temporarily coincide with an event in the artist's pictorial production, since when social networks did not mark the day-to-day of agencies there was no prevailing need to launch campaigns that coincided with what was happening in the world. On the other hand, if we change our gaze towards the artist's latest works, we see how social networks were filled, by the brands, with pieces in digital format that alluded to the artist.

The use of social networks as a means in which brands are directly related to the target, transforming the advertising world. We are talking about a world where formats can be uploaded for free and will be valued by the user in the form of likes. From here arises the importance of general content related to current affairs, with which the user is interested in interacting.

We observe a growing tendency to use appropriation as a creative technique with works by artists that have gone viral or are current. This would lead us to confirm that there is a direct temporal relationship between the works produced by Banksy and the advertising creativities that base his image on him, and that it will continue to be so in the future. This does not happen when we focus on advertising pieces from previous years. Since, in these cases, the form of appropriation focuses on the image, but does not allude to a specific painting, but to the artist's representative technique: the stencil. The works were reflected,

on multiple occasions, on the walls, as Banksy does.

The union of the binomial art - advertising is something to preserve, from this type of relationship comes not only great advertising campaigns, but also great artistic works. In a world where all borders are blurred: we can move freely through space, obtain practically unlimited information thanks to the internet, communicate with people from all over the world. We are always connected in real time. We must follow trends that allow us to grow. That they help advertising in this difficult task of speaking in a global code that people understand, despite being increasingly segmented. Art is that tool that gives advertising creativity a universal character. It represents a common imaginary that facilitates the understanding of the message. Create a positive memory of the brand and give the brands that implement it a differential element, highlighting it among the thousands of impacts that each user receives.

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