

Sex structure of occupations in the advertising industry: Where are the female ad practitioners?

Natalia Pueyo Ayhan*

* Autonomous University of Barcelona

Abstract

This study analyses the presence of female advertising practitioners who have worked on the best advertising campaigns between 2004 and 2008, according to the Spanish advertising trade press. The methodology is based on a quantitative review of 581 campaigns and their advertising staff.

This study finds evidence of the horizontal and vertical segregation in the ad industry. Female advertising practitioners are, all in all, under-represented in the industry accolades. The Creative Department shows the lowest female participation, while women outnumber men in the account and the media services department.

In general, the data shows the trends of vertical and horizontal segregation in the occupational structure of the advertising industry, as women are not only occupying lower job positions than men, but are also barely involved in the ad creation process.

Keywords: gender, occupational structure, advertising professionals, job positions, sex segregation.

Introduction

Modernity and innovation are the motors of the advertising industry, but a closer look at the distribution of women and men in the occupational structure of the advertising industry shows that behind the modern façade, there hides a "sexist business category inside a sexist business community [...]" (Iezzi, 2005:31).

Indeed, female advertising practitioners face gender discrimination mechanisms that are not expected from a progressive and liberal industry as advertising (Klein, 2000). But sexist attitudes and gender biases are a common problem for female ad professionals, which makes it more difficult for them to break the glass ceiling and progress in the job hierarchy (Vonk, 2005).

The glass ceiling theory describes the transparent barriers that prevent skilled women from promoting and from advancing towards leadership positions (Wrigley, 2002). These invisible barriers might be of social, organizational or personal nature. Social barriers refer to gender prejudices and stereotypes that arise from socialization processes which set the customary rules of how women and men are supposed to behave in certain situations, resulting in specific gender roles (Nicolson, 1997). For example, in organizational contexts "males are typically thought to occupy and possess the skills for leadership roles, [therefore] a potential prejudice occurs when females occupy the position" (Farris, 2005:8).

Moreover, access to a profession or an organization always involves a specific socialization process in which organizations set the rules and values to guarantee the continuity of the dominant culture (Alvesson, 1998). In the advertising industry, and especially in the Creative Services Department, the dominant culture is highly masculine (Nixon, 2003). The departmental culture is based on "male bonding, male networking and joking. It may also include the sexualization of female colleagues" (Gregory, 2009:325). That is the main reason why Creative Services Departments are also considered "boys clubs" with a "locker room atmosphere" or a "male bastion" with their own departmental culture in which women do not fit in (Nixon, 2003). Other organizational barriers of the ad industry are the demanding and irregular work schedules which are not conducive with work/family balance (Mallia, 2009), the lack of female promotion activities (Klein, 2000), the lack of female role models in creative leadership positions (Pool, 2001) and the lack of work-family policies (Martín, 2007).

While these are external barriers, women also face personal barriers that hold them back from a brilliant advertising career, such as family priorities, lack of motivation or lack of promotional interest (Mallia, 2008). Not surprisingly, many creative women actively choose to leave the advertising agencies to start their own businesses with a more flexible model, which provides them with a better work-life balance (DiSesa, 2008). As the advertising industry lacks an official labor census, little attention has been paid to the glass ceiling and its resulting sex structure in the workforce. Mallia (2006:15) suggests that there is important data of the ad industry which is "absent and impossible to obtain: employment records indicating exactly how many women are employed [...] and at what level [...]." So, access to quantitative data on the advertising occupation structure is very limited and detailed data about its sex structure is hardly available. But exactly this data is a main indicator of sex segregation in the labor market. Sex segregation refers to "the concentration of women and men in different jobs that are predominantly of a single sex" which results in a gendered work organization, salary gaps and less job satisfaction (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986:5).

To understand the consequences of sex segregation structure in the advertising industry, first there has to be taken into consideration that modern advertising agencies are organized into different departments (Creative Services, Account Services, Strategic Planning and Media Services Department¹) which have clearly differentiated functions. The advertising agencies work for manufacturers and are in contact with the Marketing Department staffers who are responsible for creating a marketing strategy and controlling the advertising process. In the agency, it is the Account Services Department's duty to develop relationships with clients and provide account management, while the Creative Department is in charge of generating creative ideas according to the client's brief. Key concepts, consumer insights and advertising

¹ Note: The Production Department is not listed, as agencies are starting to work with outside production companies instead of keeping an in-house Production Department (IPA, 2009).

trackings are provided by the Strategic Planning Department and the Media Services Department books and places the campaigns in the media (IPA, 2009).

Analyzing the sex structure in the advertising industry is especially important, because a single-sex concentration in the departments and in the hierarchical positions can result in a unicentral gender focus on the advertising process, particularly on the creative process.

Finally, as sex segregation is considered a stable phenomenon, which persists economical changes, the development of new occupations (such as in the ad industry), the equal access of women and men to education and the growing centrality of work for both sexes (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986), studies on sex structure are needed in order to provide evidence of the glass ceiling women are facing in the advertising industry.

A review of the occupational structure in the advertising industry

Few authors have conducted sex structure and occupational studies on the advertising industry. In Spain, the only available on the occupational structure of the advertising industry from a gender perspective is a report published by Martín (2007) in cooperation with the Spanish Association of Advertising Agencies. According to this study, women account for 56% of the advertising labor market. The departments with the highest ratio of women are Public Relations (83%), Account Service (72%), Research (63%) and Production (56%). On the contrary, women only account for 33% of the Creative staff and are under-represented as copywriters (40%), as art directors and designers (33%). Moreover, men occupy 90% of the managerial positions, while women are concentrated in middle management job positions.

Women's participation in the American advertising industry shows similar figures. A report of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in 2003 indicates that they make up 65,8% of the advertising practitioners, but the higher the job hierarchy, the lower is also their representation. Women mostly occupy clerical positions (76,7%), but hold only 47% of the middle/upper management jobs (Bossman, 2005). As stated by Endicott and Morrison (2005), women are generally over-represented in the lower job positions of the different advertising departments, with only 19,5% of women holding senior management positions. Little variation can be seen in the sex structure of the American advertising market in comparison to the figures from more than a decade ago. In 1995, 56% of the advertising professionals were women and only 17% worked as executives (Elliot, 1997). As for the distribution of women and men in the advertising agency departments, Volpi (1998) indicates that for every male employee in the Media Services Department, there were 2,1 female practitioners, while the ratio of the Account Services Department was lower, with 1,7 female professionals for every employed man. However, the lowest ratio of females was

seen in the Creative Department, as for 5 male creatives, there was only one female creative. In the general management positions, men were also over-represented and made up nearly 85%.

According to a study by Debbie Klein, commissioned by the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (IPA) in 2000, the English advertising market shows a balanced male to female ratio (50:50). This parity can also be found in the Account Services and in the Strategic Planning Department, with 54% of account employees and with 52% of the strategic planning professionals being women.

However, the department with the lowest female proportion is the Creative Services Department, where only 17% of copywriters and 14% of the art directors are women. These figures are similar to those provided by Martín (2007) for the Spanish market and emphasize the exclusion of women from the Creative Department. Thus, Mallia (2008) notes that the proportion of female creatives in the United Kingdom (UK) is lower than in the United States (US). While the horizontal segregation seems less pronounced in the UK, vertical segregation persists, as women only represent 22% of the senior positions.

In Germany, the fourth country with the highest advertising expenditure after the US, China and Japan (WARC, 2009), women make up 53,5% of the advertising professionals (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2008). Females basically work in the Account Service Department (40%) and in the Creative Department (36%), but also hold administrative jobs (24%) (Fröhlich, 2008). Among the male advertising professionals, most are employed in the Creative Department (45%) or occupy posts in Accounting (39%). Only a small minority hold clerical jobs (16% of the male professionals). Fröhlich (2008) suggests that the vertical segregation impacts the German advertising industry. Only 10% of the women are accounting for senior management positions, while 29% of all the male professionals occupy leadership posts. Put the other way around, women are concentrated in junior and senior positions, whereas men occupy mostly senior and leadership positions.

All in all, the advertising sex structure of the different countries might indicate that sex segregation is a cross-cultural problem. It could be expected that countries with a stronger patriarchal tradition could have a more pronounced sex segregation in the workplace (Soriano, Canton and Díez, 2005), but in advertising there is a general tendency towards a similar gendered work organization in the four reviewed countries. So, it seems that sex segregation is an industry-based phenomenon, which arises from the idiosyncrasy of the advertising market, its service-oriented business model and its structural and organizational peculiarities, such as the long working hours, the tight schedules and the strongly male-based corporate cultures (Nixon, 2003).

In this sense, sex segregation occurs mostly in traditionally male-dominated companies, in which men implement working routines and corporate philosophies that perpetuate an unequal gender treatment

(Cobaugh, 2008). This leads to a gendered division within the advertising industry, especially in the Creative Department and in the leadership positions, which are still male bastions (Tylee, 2003).

Even so, advertising is considered a "feminized" industry, because of the high female workforce participation rate, but it would be more appropriate to use the term "pseudo-feminization" when describing the industry. The pseudo-feminization refers to the massive access of women to a specific industry, although the sex and gender segregation mechanisms remain the same and women are held back from senior positions or from certain departments (Soriano, Canton and Díez, 2005). Indeed, this pseudo-feminization process is taking place in the advertising industry, as female practitioners represent the vast majority of the advertising work force, but suffer from a vertical and horizontal segregation

The main consequences of this gendered work division are salary gaps and unequal job opportunities for the female ad practitioners. In fact, women are paid 10-25% less than men in the ad industry, and those who hold top-level positions earn only 70% of a men's average salary (Farris, 2005). Moreover, feminized professions tend to be less-paid, which might result in a salary gap between advertising departments which are men-dominated (Creative) and women-dominated (Account Services). The sex segregation in the ad industry might also lead towards less job mobility and less training opportunities for women (Martín, 2007; Mallia, 2009). On an organizational level, sex segregation might also bring about less productivity, as the selection criteria are not solely based on the staffers' qualification, but on their gender. As Martín (2007) shows, gender is a main factor of discrimination to access certain departments in the advertising industry.

A shift in the occupational advertising industry's structure

The occupational structure of the advertising industry shows a peculiarity in comparison to other cultural industries, such as public relations or journalism. While the vertical segregation is very pronounced in these sectors (Ross, 2001; Aldoory and Toth, 2002; Wrigley, 2002; Fröhlich and Peters, 2007; Ufarte, 2007), the advertising industry is characterized by a strong horizontal segregation which results in a high concentration of men in the Creative Departments. The different studies about the advertising industry's sex structure that have been cited show that men outnumber women by far in the Creative Department. In the UK only 22% are female Creative Directors (Klein, 2000), while in the U.S. and in Spain the percentage of creative women rises up to 33-36% (Weisberg and Robbs, 1997; Martín, 2007).

Traditionally, advertising agencies have always been a "male" domain with a restrictive working environment (Cobaugh, 2008). During the early twentieth century, women just represented a scarce minority of the advertising labor force and did not make up more than 3% of the total ad practitioners in 1930 (Peiss, 1998). Women were mainly employed in clerical positions and worked as secretaries. With

time, the secretaries could take part in internal promotion activities and were eventually employed in the Creative Department as copywriters. In fact, copywriting was one of the few employment options a women had in the advertising agencies, as the Account Service Department was restricted to males (Giges, 2008). The main reason for this gendered work organization in the ad agencies was the clients' intolerant and disrespectful attitude towards female account professionals. Peiss (1998:25) describes that "women were generally excluded from positions that required face-to-face interaction with manufacturers' representatives, considered 'contact' or 'outside' jobs. [...] Most (women) labored as copywriters, deemed women's 'proper sphere' and 'entering wedge' in advertising".

A structural change seems to have taken place in the advertising industry during the last decades, as women are now mostly employed as account professionals, being in charge of the client services, while the Creative Department is dominated by male creatives. Notably, there is one specific creative job position that remains rather "female": the one as copywriter (Klein, 2000; Martín, 2007). In this sense, the historical tradition of employing female copywriters is still perpetuated.

A creative director of a New York-based agency explained in an interview for the trade press that [in the eighties] "there were talented women in major creative positions at all the big agencies there [...] These days I see lots of smart, talented women in all aspects of the business except creative" (Kazenoff and Vagnoni, 1997:19).

Klein (2000) points out that the proportion of women in the Creative Department has decreased during the nineties in the UK, while it has increased in other departments, such as Account Services, Strategic Planning, Production and Media. "This is despite the fact that women make up more than half the students doing the courses that feed Creative Departments. The absence of women in Creative is endemic of a broader lack of diversity in the Creative Department" (Klein, 2000:4).

In fact, there is a high number of young girls who study advertising. In Spain and in the U.S., two out of three communication science students are female (Becker, et al, 2005; INE, 2009). Thus, 10% of the female students in communication science are enrolled in advertising courses in American universities, while in Spain the percentage rises up to 25%. But the high feminization of advertising courses does not lead to an increased percentage of female creatives in the industry.

In fact, the members of the most prestigious advertising associations are mostly male. Only four women appear in the Creative Hall of Fame and in the American Ad Federation Hall of Fame there are only 12 females compared to 191 men (Trosclair, 2009). This trend can also be observed in the Spanish advertising associations, such as the Creative Club of Madrid, which features 520 members of whom only 24% are female and the Association of Art Directors and Graphic Designers ADG-FAD Barcelona, where women only hold for 30% of the members.

On the other hand, the imbalance between women and men in the Creative Services Department has consequences related to the social capital of the ad industry. Social capital in the organizational context refers to the professional relationships and the network connections between practitioners. According to Nixon (2003), social capital is the foundation of a successful career in the advertising industry, as it improves the chances of promotion and recognition (Florret and Dougherty, 2004). In addition, social capital enhances the networking between professionals and helps to boost the public recognition of the creative work. Social or public recognition is extremely important for ad practitioners, as it has a positive impact on the creative's motivation (Etayo and Del Rio, 2008). Therefore, winning awards at advertising festivals and receiving positive reviews in the trade press magazines can become crucial for the work motivation, but also for the networking in the industry.

In this sense, the subtle discrimination of female creative limits their access to social capital (Mallia, 2008), and, consequently, leads to less public recognition of their work and less professional motivation.

In advertising festivals, for example, there are almost no female ad practitioners as jury members, because the creative leadership positions are usually occupied by men. The underrepresentation of women at the Cannes Lions International Advertising Festival is so acute that it has established that 25% of the jury should be composed of females to ensure a minimal presence of creative women (Trosclair, 2009). The largest advertising festival in Spain, El Sol, el Festival Iberoamericano de la Comunicación Publicitaria, has an average of 14% of women as jurors (Roca, Pueyo, and Alegre, 2009). Women, however, are not only scarce as creative judges, but are also fleeting aspirants to creative advertising awards. Grow and Broyles (2009) point out that women have scarcely been rewarded in the most important festivals of the ad industry, as the Clios and Cannes Lions International Advertising Festival. These festivals are crucial for creatives since they are an ideal platform for networking and career development (Hester, 1988).

All in all, the advertising awards are overshadowed by men (Mallia, 2006), so that creative women receive less support and recognition of the advertising industry than men. Thus, the industry is ruled by "white, usually single males between 25 and 35" (Cuneo and Petrecca, 1997:25). Put another way, the standards of advertising creativity are male and discriminatory (Cadwalladr, 2005).

Research objectives

Even though some associations such as the American Association of Advertising Agencies, the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising in the UK and the Spanish Association of Advertising Communication Agencies have conducted studies on the sex structure in the advertising industry, there is still a lack of descriptive data on the job positions women hold. General occupational studies underestimate segregation in work, so

that "it would be very desirable to have data for jobs, rather than occupations, in order to be able to assess the extent of and changes in segregation accurately" (Reskin and Hartmann, 1986:9). Therefore, the main research objectives of this study are to examine the departments women are represented in, to analyze their specific job positions² and to assess the product or service category they work for.

This study analyses the presence of female advertising practitioners who have worked on the best advertising campaigns, according to the five most-read trade press magazines in Spain: *Anuncios*, *Control*, *El Periódico de la Publicidad*, *IPMARK* and *El Publicista*.

In each issue, these magazines feature a "Best-of"-section with a selection of notorious advertising campaigns. These industry credits (or accolades) are "a measure of the quality of the creative work" and they are "evaluated [...] without regard for the gender of its authors" (Mallia, 2006:10). The editors choose the campaigns according to four main factors: the creative impact, the media coverage, the advertising expense and the professional quality of the campaign³.

Each credit provides detailed information about the ad practitioners who were involved in the campaign. As their complete name and their job position are listed, the credits are seen as a form of public recognition for the professionals. Moreover, the accolades play an important role in the advertising industry, because there are hardly any public sources that provide information about the "authors" of a certain campaign. As De Leon (1999) points out, ad practitioners lack social recognition, because they keep mostly unknown to the large audience. That's the reason why appearing in the trade press magazines boasts the motivation of the professionals (Etayo and Del Rio, 2008). In this sense, the credits are a public "Who is Who" of the advertising industry and can be understood as a reflection of the advertising industry's occupation structure, as Mallia's study (2006) of the Adweek's accolades has shown. While her study only assesses women in the creative department, the present study tries to give a general overview of the ad industry's sex structure.

Methodology

This study is based on a quantitative review of the advertising accolades published between 2004 and 2008 in the five most read advertising magazines in Spain: *Anuncios*, *Control de Publicidad*, *El Periódico de la Publicidad*, *El Publicista* and *IPMARK* (Grupo Consultores, 2009).

These trade press magazines have a circulation of between 4,000 and 5,000 copies and between 4-6 readers per issue. They are distributed by subscription to advertising agencies, media agencies, advertising

² A job can be defined as a particular task within a particular work group in a particular company or establishment performed by one or more individuals (Bridges and Berk, 1978).

³ Note: The selection criteria of the campaigns were obtained via personal correspondence in May, 2009.

companies and advertising research institutes, among others. Each issue of the magazine features a credits section dedicated to the "best" advertising campaigns and their professional staff.

The universe of this study consisted of 8286 credits and the sample size was calculated with a confidence level of 95.5% (2 sigma) and a margin of error of $\pm 4\%$ at $p = q = 50$ (Soler, 1990), obtaining a total of 581 credits which were reviewed and coded. The accolades featured 4528 professionals.

The accolades of Internet-campaigns and direct marketing campaigns were excluded from the sample, as they did not provide as much information on the professional staff as conventional campaigns for television, radio and print. Moreover, Mallia (2006:10) suggests that especially television commercials are still the "creative assignment that indicates a greater likelihood of creative seniority" which, therefore, stands for experience, quality and expertise of the staffers.

Measures and data collection

The proceeding of the data collection was divided in different phases. First, each of the five magazine's "Best-of" section was analyzed to compare the formats and the available information of the credits. Then, the variables were established and operationalized and a pilot test with 50 credits was conducted, in order to test the validity of the instrument. Finally, the content of the accolades was coded.

The variables used in this study were:

Gender, codified depending on the professionals' name listed in the accolades (For example: Sandra Legas was coded as female; Javier Pérez was coded as male)

Department, codified depending on the professionals' job position (For example, job positions like Creative Director or a Copywriter was coded as Creative Department, whereas account manager were coded as Account Services Department.)

Job position, advertising agency, client and product or service category were coded directly from the accolades.

Results

Overall, women are less represented in the Spanish advertising credits than men, with only 40% of the credited professionals being female. The first research question analyses the sex proportion of the credited professionals by department. The most represented department in the accolades is the creative one, with 43,79% of the total of the credited practitioners (see Table 1). Nonetheless, the proportion of women in this department is the lowest (19,42%). In comparison, women make up 65,24% of the Account Service

Department, which is the second most represented one with 25,80% of the total of the credited staffers. The only department which shows a certain level of parity is the Marketing Department, where women hold for 46,76% of the practitioners.

Since not all advertising agencies have a Strategic Planning Department in Spain (Jordana, 2008) and not all the accolades provide information about employees in the Media Service Department, professionals of those areas are under-represented, making up only 1.5% and 2% of the total of credited practitioners. Women outnumber men in the Media Service Department (64.79%), while the Strategic Planning Department is mostly represented by male professionals (68.97%).

Table 1. Presence of ad practitioners in ad industry credits by gender and department

Department	Women (Total & % of department)	Men (Total & % of department)	Total (% of credited practitioners of department)
Creative	385	1598	1983
	19,42%	80,58%	43,79%
Account services	762	406	1168
	65,24%	34,76%	25,80%
Strategic Planning	27	60	87
	31,03%	68,97%	1,92%
Media Services	46	25	71
	64,79%	35,21%	1,57%
Client/ Marketing	527	600	1127
	46,76%	53,24%	24,89%
Unspecified	25	67	92
	27,17%	72,83%	2,03%
Total	1772	2756	4528
	39,13%	60,87%	100,00%

The second research question explores the job positions of the credited female ad practitioners by department.

Female professionals in the Creative Department

The Creative Department is represented by a vast female minority (19,42%). The higher the rank in the job hierarchy (see: Chief Creative Director, Executive Creative Director, Creative Director), the lower is the percentage of women who hold these posts (between 0,82% and 13,84%). In this sense, only one female Chief Creative Director is credited, but, in comparison, there are 121 men holding this job title. At the mid-level job positions, the female proportion is higher, with 37,5 % of the supervisors, 28,22% of the copywriters and 24,62% of the art directors being women (see Table 2).

Table 2. Presence of creatives in ad industry credits by gender and job position

Job positions in the Creative department	Women (Total & % of department)	Men (Total & % of department)	Total
Chief Creative Director	1	121	122
	0,82%	99,18%	100,00%
Executive Creative Director	21	245	266
	7,89%	92,11%	100,00%
Creative Director	76	473	549
	13,84%	86,16%	100,00%
Creative Supervisor	6	10	16
	37,50%	62,50%	100,00%
Art Director	112	343	455
	24,62%	75,38%	100,00%
Copywriter	92	234	326
	28,22%	71,78%	100,00%
Creative Team ⁴	77	172	249
	30,92%	69,08%	100,00%
Total	385	1598	1983
	19,42%	80,58%	100,00%

Female professionals in the Account Services Department

⁴ Note: Some agencies avoid listing the staffer's job position and prefer to use the global term of "Team" to list their professionals. This applies for all departments.

The Account Services Department is the one with the highest percentage of female practitioners in the accolades (65,24%). Women are over-represented in the mid-level positions, as account executives or supervisors, where they make up around 73% of the job positions. Even though the male accountants only hold for 34,76% of the department staffers, it is worth noting that the highest job position (Director of Client Services) shows parity between both sexes. Considering that women outnumber men in this department, there is an over-representation of men in this position, as Table 3 shows.

Table 3. Presence of account professionals in ad industry credits by gender and job position

Job positions in the Account Services Department	Women (Total & % of department)	Men (Total & % of department)	Total
Director of Client Services	66	69	135
	48,89%	51,11%	100,00 %
Account Director	218	145	363
	60,06%	39,94%	100,00 %
Account Supervisor	128	46	174
	73,56%	26,44%	100,00 %
Account Executive	236	83	319
	73,98%	26,02%	100,00 %
Account Services Team	114	63	177
	64,41%	35,59%	100,00 %
Total	762	406	1168
	65,24%	34,76%	100,00 %

Female professionals in the Strategic Planning Department

Strategic planning is a masculine domain in which the mid-level positions (Strategic Planners) and the leadership positions (Directors of Strategic Planning) are over-represented by men (72,73% and 70,83%, respectively). Thus, women are under-represented in these posts and hold only for a 31,03% of the credited Strategic Planners (see Table 4).

Table 4. Presence of strategic planning professionals in ad industry credits by gender and job position

Job positions in the Strategic planning department	Women (Total & % of department)	Men (Total & % of department)	Total
Director of Strategic Planning	9	24	33
	27,27%	72,73%	100,00 %
Strategic Planner	14	34	48
	29,17%	70,83%	100,00 %
Strategic Planning Team	4	2	6
	66,66%	33,34%	100,00 %
Total	27	60	87
	31,03%	68,97%	100,00 %

Female professionals in the Media Services Department

It is rather uncommon to list media services practitioners in the advertising credits, therefore their representation is scarce (71 practitioners). Table 5 indicates that it is a largely female department, with 63,1% of the staffers being women. Both the managerial positions – Media Services Director – and the mid-level positions – Media Planner – are represented by majority of women (55,17% and 78,26%, respectively). However, men are represented above average in the position of Media Services Director and are less dominant in the mid-low positions.

Table 5. Presence of media professionals in ad industry credits by gender and job position

Job positions in the Media services department	Women (Total & % of department)	Men (Total & % of department)	Total
Media Services Director	16	13	29
	55,17%	44,83%	100,00%
Media Planner	18	5	23
	78,26%	21,74%	100,00%
Media Planning Team	12	7	19
	63,16%	36,84%	100,00%
Total	46	25	71
	64,79%	35,21%	100,00%

Female professionals in the Marketing Department

The highest level of gender parity of all departments can be seen in the Marketing Department (see Table 6). The mid-level positions of Marketing or Product Managers show a balanced distribution of both sexes. Whereas the proportion of women is above average in the leadership position of Chief Marketing Officer (60%), there is no single woman credited as Marketing Manager Director. Therefore, men outnumber women in the upper job levels of this department.

Table 6. Presence of marketing professionals in ad industry credits by gender and job position

Job positions in the Marketing department	Women (Total & % of department)	Men (Total & % of department)	Total
Chief Marketing Officer	6	4	10
	60,00%	40,00%	100,00%
Marketing Manager Director	0	19	19
	0,00%	100,00%	100,00%
Marketing/product manager	521	577	1098
	47,45%	52,55%	100,00%
Total	527	600	1127
	46,76%	53,24%	100,00%

Women and the advertised product or service category

The third research objective examines the proportion of female ad practitioners and the different product or service categories they develop advertising campaigns for. There is no category which could be described as overall female, as the women's representation in the different categories does not exceed 50%. In comparison, men account for up to 70% of certain product or service categories, such as Entertainment and Leisure, Automotive and Energy and Industry. The categories with the highest female implication are Health and Beauty Aids (50,83% of women), NGOs (47,07% of women) and Consumer Electronics, Computers and Components (46,88% of women) (see table 7). There can be seen a tendency for gender to interact with product category ($\chi^2 = 35,251$, $df=16$, $p<0,001$).

Table 7: Product and services categories and female representation by category

Product & Service Category	Women (Total & % of category)	Men (Total & % of category)	Total
Health & Beauty Aids	122	118	240
	50,83%	49,17%	100,00%
NGOs	59	64	123
	47,97%	52,03%	100,00%
Consumer Electronics, Computers & Components	203	230	433
	46,88%	53,12%	100,00%
Food	174	228	402
	43,28%	56,72%	100,00%
Financial services	142	190	332
	42,77%	57,23%	100,00%
Home & Household	47	64	111
	42,34%	57,66%	100,00%
Beverages	121	178	299
	40,47%	59,53%	100,00%
Public Services	142	209	351
	40,46%	59,54%	100,00%
Travel & transport	67	117	184
	36,41%	63,59%	100,00%
Retailers	123	216	339
	36,28%	63,72%	100,00%
Energy & Industry	25	50	75
	33,33%	66,67%	100,00%
Automotive	175	377	552
	31,70%	68,30%	100,00%
Entertainment & Leisure	167	370	537
	31,10%	68,90%	100,00%
Miscellaneous	101	186	287
	35,19%	64,81%	100,00%
Total	1668	2597	4265
	39,11%	60,89%	100,00%

Discussion

This study tries to shed some light on the occupational structure of the advertising industry in Spain, by examining the staffers of the best advertising campaigns selected by the Spanish trade press magazines from 2004-2008. The findings indicate that women are less credited than man, as the females hardly make up a 40% of the listed professionals, when, in fact, the female ad practitioners account for 57% of the employees in the Spanish industry (Martín, 2007).

The first research objective was to determine the credited female ad practitioners' presence by department. Though the vertical segregation is quite common among the occupational structure, what distinguishes the advertising industry's occupation structure from other businesses is the strong horizontal segregation which leads to a feminization and a masculinization of certain departments (Alvesson, 1998). The findings show that the Creative and Strategic Planning departments are dominated by men (81% and 69%, respectively), but other departments such as Account Services and Media Services are mostly occupied by women (65% in both departments). Thus, the ad industry can be considered as "pseudo-feminized".

As Ibarra (1992:429) suggests, "the core" of an advertising industry is the Creative and the Strategic Planning department, since the agency's reputation depends basically on the creative quality of the ads. Therefore, the author considers that Creative and Strategic Planning departments are high-status departments, whereas Accounting and Media Services are lower-status departments. In this sense, the findings of this study support that women are over-represented in the lower-status departments, while men are employed in the more prestigious departments. A parity-level of both sexes (50:50) is only found in the Marketing Department. This is consistent with the results of other studies of the occupational structure in the advertising industry (Weisberg and Robbs, 1997; Klein, 2000; Martín, 2007; Fröhlich, 2008), especially with the ones of the Spanish industry, where women account for 33% of the Creative Department professionals and for 71% of the Account Services Department employees (Martín, 2007).

So, the departments with the highest male concentration are those linked to creative functions, which imply conceptualization, creation or strategy-developing. In comparison, women are employed departments in which the main functions are managing, organizing and providing feedback to the client. As a result, employers and employees hold gender stereotypes of the departments. This can become a cultural barrier for the ad practitioners, because according to Martín (2007), employers perceive the Creative Department as masculine, while the Account Services Department is considered feminine. This gender bias has an influence on the recruitment process and the sex distribution of the staffers by departments, because if a department is male-dominated, "there is a greater chance for a man than for a woman to get the job" (Martín, 2007:41).

To the day, no data on the specific job positions of ad practitioners was available. Therefore, the second research objective was to examine the job positions women are holding in the advertising industry. The findings show that the credited women outnumber men in the low and mid-level positions, while the upper-level and leadership positions are generally represented by male professionals. This vertical segregation is especially outstanding in the Creative and in the Marketing Department, where men account for 86%-99% of the upper-level positions.

On the other hand, females represent the majority of the upper management positions in the Account and Media Services departments, with 55% - 60% of the workforce being women. Moreover, there is a relationship between the horizontal segregation and the vertical segregation, as the proportion of females in leadership positions is higher in the feminized departments (Account Services, Media Services) than in the male-dominated ones (Creative, Strategic Planning). Pool (2001) suggests that a higher involvement of women in leadership and upper-level posts in advertising would motivate and attract other female ad practitioners, so that the number of women in entry-level and upper management positions would increase. The representation of credited men in upper-level positions is rather high, not only in the male-dominated departments, but also in some of the feminized departments, such as Account Services. Therefore, the accolades reflect the consequences of the glass ceiling, as the female ad practitioners occupy subordinate job positions and are not equally represented in the leadership positions. As similar to other occupations, the percentage of women decreases at higher hierarchical job positions (Wrigley, 2002). This has vast consequences for the advertising industry, as men do not only hold the decision taking positions, but also the key positions in the Creative Department.

Given that gender is a determining factor in the construction of narrative advertising (Grow, 2006), the absence of female creatives as Creative Directors, Executive Creative Director or Chief Creative Director influences the tone of the creative ideas. Moreover, the clients' top-level positions are also male domains, so that advertising is developed by male creatives and approved by male Marketing Directors. This means that advertising fosters creativity from a male perspective and creative ideas are selected in accordance with a male construction of images and social representations (Schmerl, 1994). In this sense, it comes as no surprise that women perceive advertising as sexist and often feel offended when women are portrayed as sexual objects (Bosman, 2005). The female point of view seems to be under-represented in creative departments (Quinlan, 1999).

The third research objective was to assess the product or service categories female ad practitioners work for. The results show that the highest proportion of female workforce is found in rather "feminine" categories, such as Health and Beauty Aids and Food, whereas men are working for "masculine" categories, such as Automotive and Energy and Industry. This could reflect a slightly gender stereotyped account-

assignment, which apparently dates back to the turn of the century, when women started to emerge as "newer and self-conscious consumers" and the industry needed to understand the female insights. Therefore, "in advertising [...] women were disproportionately assigned the so-called 'women's accounts', such as beauty products, soap, fashion, food and house wares" (Peiss, 1998:225).

Even nowadays gender is a determinant factor when assigning accounts to the creative teams. Female creatives might end up working for products such as sanitary towels, tampons, lipstick and panties, while male creatives are assigned to car, beer and computer accounts (Cadwalladr, 2005; Farris, 2005; Parpis and Anderson, 2005; Gregory 2009). In the worst case scenario, females are directly excluded from the Creative Department, if the agency works for "masculine" accounts (Kazenoff and Vagnoni, 1997). Thus, account service executives and clients often prefer working with creatives who have a personal affinity for the product (Hartman, 1988; Parpis and Anderson, 2005, Gregory, 2009), indirectly implying that a women (or a men) would not understand how to advertise product categories targeted to the opposite sex.

This gender bias is a barrier for female ad practitioners, especially the creatives, because the most prestigious advertising accounts are often seen as "masculine", as for example, Automotive, Electronics or Technology (Weisberg and Robbs, 1997). Consequently, females have fewer opportunities to work on accounts that help them to promote themselves, whereas men can more easily access those kinds of accounts (Grow and Broyles, 2009). Even so, it has to be noted that in the accolades, the Consumer Electronics, Computers and Components category is represented by a balanced female-male ratio.

All in all, the findings of this study show that the advertising industry's sex segregation does not only result in an unequal concentration of women and men in different departments and job positions, but also in a gender divide of account assignments.

The present study has a number of limitations. The ad industry's accolades have proved to be a valid unit of analysis (Mallia, 2006), but the results might be biased, as some job profiles are extremely under-represented. In some cases, the advertising agencies might distort the credits and enlarge or reduce the numbers of ad practitioners per campaign. Despite this potential bias, the comparison of the results with other studies (Klein, 2000; Martín, 2007; Fröhlich, 2008) shows that the credits reflect the two main trends in the occupational structure of the advertising industry: a strong vertical and horizontal segregation, which hold women back from the upper-level and the creative job positions.

Moreover, the sample of this study focuses on a period of five years and only analyses the Spanish trade press accolades. Future studies should focus on a broader period of time and analyze the accolades of different countries, in order to examine the occupational structure and the social recognition of ad practitioners in the industry.

As the gender gap and the sex segregation in the ad industry is still considered taboo (Cobaugh, 2008), it is the responsibility of the scholars to keep analyzing the gendered work organization in the advertising labor market. Since the findings of this study illustrate that the sex structure differs from department to department, it is important to explore the reasons why women are concentrated in the Account and Media Services Departments, but do not access or advance professionally in the Creative and the Strategic Planning Department. Finally, departmental cultures and relations between creatives, accountants and clients should be assessed to gain a better understanding of the gender dynamics in the advertising industry.

Acknowledgement

This study is part of a funded project by the Catalan Women's Institute (No. 0424969). I would like to thank Dr. David Roca Correa for his supervision.

References

- ALDOORY, L., TOTH, E. (2002). Gender Discrepancies in a Gendered Profession: A Developing Theory for Public Relations. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 14, 2, 103-126
- ALVESSON, M. (1998). Gender Relations and Identity at Work: A Case Study of Masculinities and Femininities in an Advertising Agency. *Human Relations*, 51, 8, 969-1005
- BECKER, L.B., et al. (2005). Enrollment growth rate slows: Field's focus on undergraduate education at odds with university setting. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 286-314
- BOSMAN, J. (2005). Stuck at the edges of the ad game. *The New York Times*, November 22, 1
- BUNDESAGENTUR FÜR ARBEIT, (2008). *Arbeitsmarktberichte*. Retrieved from <http://www.pub.arbeitsagentur.de/hst/services/statistik/interim/arbeitsmarktberichte/index.shtml>
- BRIDGES, WP., BERK, R. (1978). Sex, earnings, and the nature of work: A job- level analysis of male-female income differences. *Social Science Quarterly*, 58, 553-65

CADWALLADR, C. (2005). Focus: Sexism row: This advertising boss thinks women make "crap" executives. *The Observer*, October 23, 19

COBAUGH, S. (2008). *The Role of Women Employed in the Advertising Industry and Their Responses Towards the Portrayals of Women in Advertisements*. Unpublished thesis. Virginia: James Madison University

CUNEO, A.Z., PETRECCA, L. (1997). Women target boys club of ad creatives *Advertising Age*, 68, 45, 24

DE LEÓN, J.L. (1999). Creativos publicitarios: una visión del mundo. *Zer*, 7, 161-179

DISESA, N. (2008). *Seducing the boys club. Uncensored Tactics from a Woman at the Top*. Ballantine Books

ELLIOT, Stuart (1997). The Media Business: Advertising- An Anomaly on Madison Avenue, Why is Ogilvy's Boss One of the Few Women at the Top? *The New York Times*, February 19

ENDICOTT, R.C., MORRISON, M. (2005). Growing agencies eye 4%-6% raises *Advertising Age, Special Report: Salary Survey*, 1

ETAYO, C., DEL RÍO, J. (2008). Influencia de los factores humanos sobre la creatividad en las agencias de publicidad. *Zer*, 25, 197-219

FARRIS, K. (2005). Motivated reasoning and social category bias." *Proceedings of the American Academy of Advertising USA*. Retrieved from http://www.ciadvertising.org/SA/fall_05/adv392/kasey/site1/index2.htm

FLORRET, M.L., DOUGHERTY, T. (2004). Networking behaviors and career outcomes: differences for men and women? *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 25, 419-437

FRÖHLICH, R (2008). Werbung in Deutschland – Auf dem Weg zu einem Frauenberuf? In: *Stereotype? Frauen und Männer in der Werbung* Christina Holtz-Bacha. Wiesbaden:VS Versal für Sozialwissenschaften, 14-10

FRÖHLICH, R., PETERS, S.B. (2007). PR Bunnies Caught in the Agency Ghetto? Gender Stereotypes, Organizational Factors, and Women's Careers in PR Agencies. *Journal of Public Relations Research*, 19, 3, 229–254

GIGES, N. (2008). Women: How Agency Life Really Was, *Advertising Age*, 8

GROW, J.M., BROYLES, S.J. (2009). Insights from top creative women: Words to shape advertising's creative pedagogy. Unpublished work.

GREGORY (2009). Inside the locker room. Male homosociability in the advertising industry. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 16, 3, 323-347

GRUPO CONSULTORES (2009). *Estudio de la imagen de las Agencias de Publicidad en España 2008*. Madrid. Retrieved from <http://www.grupoconsultores.com/>

HARTMAN, J.K. (1988). Assessing women in the creative department: what creative directors think. *71st Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication*, Portland

IBARRA, H (1992). Homophily and differential returns: sex differences in network structure and access in an advertising firm. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 37, 422-47

IEZZI, T. (2005). In ad world, boys vs girls isn't black-and-white issue *Advertising Age*, 76, 44, 30-31

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE ESTADÍSTICA (INE) (2009). *Estadística de enseñanza universitaria 2007-2008*. Retrieved from http://www.ine.es/inebmenu/mnu_educ.htm

INSTITUTE OF PRACTITIONERS IN ADVERTISING (IPA) (2009). *The advertising process*. Retrieved from <http://www.ipa.co.uk/Content/The-advertising-process>

JORDANA, M. (2008). La planificación estratégica en las agencias de publicidad: Nacimiento, evolución histórica y estado actual. Unpublished thesis. Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

KAZENOFF, I., VAGNONI, A. (1997). Babes in boyland, *Advertising Age's Creativity*, 5, 8, 18-20

KLEIN, D. (2000). *Women in advertising. 10 years on*. London: IPA

MALLIA, K. L. (2009). Rare Birds: Why So Few Women Become Ad Agency Creative Directors. *Advertising & Society Review*, 10, 3

MALLIA, K. L. (2008). The Midcareer vanishing act: a qualitative examination of why so few women become advertising creative directors. *Association for education in journalism and mass communication*, Chicago

MALLIA, K. L. (2006). Why not "the best?": Women scarce when Adweek ranks the best creative. *Association for Education in Journalism & Mass Communication*, Advertising Division, San Francisco, GA

MARTÍN, M. (2007). *La mujer en las agencias de publicidad. Políticas de conciliación de la vida familiar y laboral en torno al techo de cristal*. Madrid: AEAP. Retrieved from <http://www.aeap.es/publicaciones/publicaciones.asp>

NICOLSON, P. (1997). *Poder, género y organizaciones. ¿Se valora a la mujer en la empresa?* Madrid: Narcea ediciones

NIXON, S. (2003). *Advertising cultures: gender, commerce, creativity*. London: Sage Publications

PARPIS, E., ANDERSON, M. (2005). Does gender matter? *Adweek*, 46, 16-17

PEISS, K. (1998). Vital Industry and Women's Ventures: Conceptualizing Gender in Twentieth Century Business History. *The Business History Review*, 72, 2, 218-241

POOL, J. (2001). Quiet never gets you anywhere. *Advertising Age*, 72, 23

QUINLAN, M.L. (1999). Women: We've Come a Long Way, Maybe. *Advertising Age*, 70, 8, 46

RESKIN, BF, HARTMANN, H. (1986). *Women's Work, Men's Work: Sex Segregation on the Job*. Washington D.C.: National Academy Press.

ROCA, D., PUEYO, N., y ALEGRE, I. (2009). Qui avalúa la publicitat? Una anàlisi de la presència de la dona com a jurat al festival de publicitat El Sol (Festival Iberoamericano de la Publicidad). *Congènere, Conferència Internacional de Gènere*, Girona.

ROSS, K. (2001). Women at Work: journalism as en-gendered Practice. *Journalism Studies*, 2, 4, 531-544

SCHMERL, C. (1994). *Die schönen Leichen aus Chromdioxyd und aus Papier: Frauenbilder in der Werbung*. In: Angerer, M.-L. and Dorer, J. *Gender und Medien. Theoretische Ansätze, empirische Befunde und Praxis der Massenkommunikations: Ein Textbuch zur Einführung* (134-151). Wien: Braunmüller

SOLER, P. (1990). *La investigación motivacional en marketing y publicidad*, Madrid: Deusto , D.L.

SORIANO, J., CANTÓN, M.J., DÍEZ, M. (2005). La pseudofeminización de la profesión periodística en España. *Zer*, 19, 35-52

TYLEE, J. (2003). Campaign for beginners: ladies who punch – it takes balls to be an advertising creative. *Campaign*, 27 June 2003

TROSCLAIR, C. (2009). Women in Advertising Federation Hall of Fame, *Advertising Suite* 101. Retrieved from http://advertising.suite101.com/article.cfm/women_in_advertising_hall_of_fame

UFARTE, B. (2007). Las mujeres en el seno de la profesión periodística: de la discriminación a la inserción, *ÁMBITOS*, 16, 409-421

VOLPI, J. (1998). Pay not equal, but in some areas, gender gap shrinks: media director category a boost for women. *Advertising Age*, Special Report, 6

VONK, N. (2005). Women ad execs deserve better: why celebrated ad guru Neil French and sexist attitudes in the industry need to be challenged. *Canadian HR Reporter*, 18, 20, 19

WARC (2009). *Adspend by Country*. Retrieved from <http://www.warc.com/LandingPages/Data/Adspend/AdspendByCountry.asp>

WEISBERG, L., y ROBBS, B. (1997). A study of the under representation of women in advertising agency creative departments. *Association for Education in Journalism & Mass Communication*, Advertising Division, Chicago

WRIGLEY, B. J. (2002). Glass ceiling? What glass ceiling? A qualitative study of how women view the glass ceiling in public relations and communications management. *Journal of Public Relations Research*