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ETHNIC PENETRATION INTO TOP MANAGERIAL POSITIONS
IN ADVERTISING AGENCIES

by

RUTH ZIFF

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate
Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy, The City Uni-
versity of New York.

1975

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate
Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation
requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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PART I

BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

The focus of this study is the ethnic penetration into the top managerial positions of the advertising agency industry. Prior studies of ethnic mobility provided the framework for this study through their identification of important issues and concerns. The content of these issues and concerns will become apparent as this chapter unfolds.

ETHNIC REPRESENTATION

Despite what may be regarded as an emerging pattern of egalitarianism and pluralism in contemporary America, much of American history has been dominated by White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants. A major expression of this dominance has been the virtual monopolization by White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants of the important positions of power and wealth in the U.S. economic order. To wit, Keller reported in Beyond the Ruling Class that, though there had been increases between 1870 and 1950 in the proportion of second generation, Jewish, Roman

Catholic and East European descendants among the business elite, the 1950 elite was still predominantly of native-born fathers (76%) of British descent (65%) and of the Protestant faith (85%).¹ Similarly Mills in 1956 said in The Power Elite, "The key executives of the big corporations are not and never have been a miscellaneous collection of Americans--they are predominantly Protestant."² Even as late as a decade ago, Baltzell writing in The Protestant Establishment reported "The most recent and systematic studies of large corporation leadership tend to show that top management is predominantly Protestant, with Catholics poorly represented and Jews virtually excluded."³

Executive suite discrimination has been found in a vast number of industries, individually studied. It has been regarded as "particularly prevalent, however, in heavy industry, in banking, in public utilities, in transportation and in other businesses rooted in the nation's great industrial leap forward during the late 19th century."⁴ To illustrate, in 1963, only 1.3% of the top banking officers in the U.S. were found to be Jewish and four out of the eight Jewish officers were employed in one bank.⁵

"The situation was even worse in New York City, which is both the nation's financial capital and its largest center of Jewish population." There, out of 173 officers, only one was Jewish.⁶ In that same year, a study of 50 leading utility companies revealed only eight Jews out of 755 corporate officers; moreover two of these held positions as general counsel, a job with officer's status but not really a top executive job.⁷ In 1966 in several cities that are major insurance centers the ratio of top Jewish executives in insurance was consistently found to be 1% or less.⁸

Certainly discrimination did not preclude economic progress on the part of Jews or other white ethnic groups. However, groups outside the Protestant mainstream had to develop alternative channels of mobility to compensate for their exclusion from major corporate business. Many Jews, as Sklare wrote, achieved mobility in industries in which families had original connections, twice as many Jews are in the professions as in the population at large, many Jewish lawyers and managers have worked predominantly for small and middle-sized firms.⁹ Or, as Stember put in in Jews in the Minds of America, Jews tended toward careers which permitted

the individuals to succeed without the support of an organization. Jews became active in the garment industry, in radio, movies, real estate, where, as Glazer and Moynihan among others have commented, they were originally able to enter with little capital and with opportunities for great growth and high profits.¹¹ Italians similarly had to find their opportunities outside of the mainstream; they concentrated on stores, restaurants, wholesale food concerns, produce-handling firms, small contracting businesses, trucking and moving concerns.¹² As for the Irish, their principal businesses have also reportedly been family affairs, though they are regarded as having been more successful than the Jews and the Italians in businesses such as banking and in industrial corporations.¹³

While WASP dominance has and still prevails, in recent years undeniably there has been a rolling back of some of the boundaries in mainstream occupations. Some members of selected ethnic minorities have certainly begun to penetrate the middle and upper reaches of management where heretofore they had little representation. Even in the top corporations, persons with ethnic names have surfaced, their appearance

heralded by the nation's newspapers with such headlines as "New Names in the Board Room"¹⁴ or "Ethnic Makeup of Big Firms' Managements Changing."¹⁵ Systematic studies of the degree to which changes have occurred have yet, however, to come to the fore.

The first objective of the present study was then to provide systematic data on the changes that have occurred, and on the current ethnic representation in the top echelons of one particular industry. The advertising agency business was regarded as of particular interest for a number of reasons. To begin with, traditionally it had been known to be WASP dominated. Moreover, it is an industry that has generally been considered prestigious and is in the mainstream. Further it is one whose members deal and are involved, both in a business and personal sense, with the top executives of the leading corporations of America. Finally, the nature of the industry is such that it plays a significant economic and social role in our society.

In studying the extent of ethnic representation in the top echelons of advertising agencies, there were particular facets of interest. It has already been indicated that

various ethnic groups have been known to be less successful in certain size organizations than in others. Distinctions by type of position within an organization have as well been identified, minorities having been found more often in specialized roles within corporations than in general managerial positions,¹⁶ in roles that offer, as Hughes said, "a career line apart from the mainstreams of promotion to power and prestige."¹⁷ Part of our first objective was then also to establish to what degree the representation of ethnic members in the agency business is differentially distributed in various-sized agencies and by type of managerial role.

SOCIAL ORIGINS

Establishing the level of ethnic representation and its distribution was a prelude to many other areas of investigation. Studies of the corporate elite have consistently shown that social factors play a significant role in the recruitment of executives. They have demonstrated that with the dominance of WASPS, there has also been a preponderance in power of persons who are advantaged in respects other than simply religion--men born of fathers from the upper classes and upper occupational ranks, men not the sons

of immigrants, men graduates of the elite Ivy League colleges.

As Mills further said:

"...they (referring to the top executives of the big companies) are a quite uniform social type which has had exceptional advantages of origin and training, and they do not fit into many of the stereotypes that prevail about them." "They are not," he goes on to say, "country boys...immigrants, poor or rich...they are substantially similar in occupational origin...their families, as a group, have been far removed from wage work and the lower white-collar ranks, etc."¹⁸

Or as Lipset said:

"The evidence cited so far points strongly to the favored social and economic background of a great majority of those whose later careers placed them in the American business elite."¹⁹

Further, while there has not been precise agreement on the extent to which members of the business elite have inherited control of a firm from their fathers or been given an important position within an enterprise in which a father

occupied a dominant position, studies of mobility agree, despite differences in sample and methodology, that such family assistance has also affected the nature of the elite.²⁰

As students of mobility have observed changes in WASP dominance, ~~so too~~ have they observed increases in the proportion of business leaders coming from outside the most privileged groups, and the highest social rungs. Lack of privilege, it has, however, been emphasized, is not synonymous with lower class. Keller, for example, showed a far more conspicuous and clear-cut increase in the proportion of business leaders coming from families whose social status was somewhat below that of the privileged minority than from families categorized as "wage earners and office workers."²¹ "Given the great obstacles standing in the way of very rapid mobility," Lipset concluded: "It is prima facie probable that persons who come from well-to-do families but suffer from social discrimination can overcome those obstacles more readily than can persons who come from 'lower class' families, even if these are Protestant, Anglo-Saxon, and native born." "It appears," he adds further, that upward mobility into the top echelons of the business elite

more typically involves a successful fight against social discrimination than a 'rags to riches' story.²²

Further, it has been shown--Kramer and Leventman--that "life chances are distributed in terms of generation," Speaking particularly about the Jews, Kramer and Leventman point out that the mobility of second generation Jews occurred primarily in trade and commerce and almost as strikingly in the independent professions. The third generation of Jews, as college graduates, could, they say, choose careers in the same fields attracting non-Jews, impelled by similar desires for security and status. "Those for whom a profitable family business awaits rarely object, but those who are not so endowed find employment in occupations outside the limited range of alternatives from which the second generation had to choose. Less concerned with success than security, those who do not have the assurance of inherited work seek their security in the occupations of organization men, characteristically considered non-Jewish occupations (the salaried professions, for example). These occupations, new for Jews, attract the third generation with the lure of higher status in the dominant society (although not

necessarily more income) than that afforded by the more traditional sources of livelihood. "23

It was the recognition of the relationship between WASP dominance and social privilege, of the influence of inherited control and generational level in economic mobility that led to the second objective of the present study. That objective was to determine the following: whether the non-WASP members of the top echelons of advertising agencies are distinct from their WASP counterparts in terms of class and social origins; whether the current leadership, both WASP and non-WASP, does in fact represent persons from the most privileged levels of society, and finally, to what degree the top echelons reached their present positions via family inheritance and consist of persons of various generational levels.

In these respects, the advertising industry was again regarded as particularly strategic for study. It is an industry whose executives were widely acknowledged as having come from the elite levels of society, from Ivy League schools, with good club affiliations, proper social credentials. Whether this had changed with the entry of non-WASP's was then a logical point of inquiry. Further since the

output of this industry feeds directly into the culture of the larger society, any significant change in the nature of its personnel may be expected to have important implications, through the effect that such a change might have on the cultural flow to the society.

FORCES OF CHANGE

Beyond indicating the nature of the ethnic changes that have come about in the industry and the characteristics of the current leadership, we additionally sought to identify the process by which the changes came about. This involved two aspects. Opportunities for minorities to gain entry into an industry are known to be affected by a number of factors: competition, technical innovations and requirements, supply and demand. Ringer has pointed out that minorities often gain entry by virtue of happening to be available, being there at the right time and place, when breakthroughs come.²⁴ One aspect of the process of change in which we then were interested, was in the conditions, the factors and forces both in the larger society and from within the industry itself, that facilitated the entry and mobility of minorities.

CAREER PATHS

The second aspect of the process of change with which we were concerned was the career paths minority members followed in achieving upward mobility. Relative to this, it has already been pointed out that minorities have been more successful gaining entry into smaller organizations than larger ones, and have often gained mobility by starting their own businesses, specifically those involving low capital. Hughes, Blalock and others have further made it apparent that to compensate for their lesser social credentials, minorities will often need greater technical proficiency, that they will succeed primarily where success depends on their own individual performance and where such performance does not lead to power over others.²⁵ As a consequence, we sought to define the paths followed in terms of such dimensions as the sizes of agencies via which minority members obtained mobility, the degree to which specialization was a factor, the extent to which they started their own agencies. Moreover our intent was to compare the paths followed by those who succeeded to higher levels in specialized versus managerial roles, to distinguish any differences that might exist between the two groups.

TENSIONS AND CONCERNS

Our attention extended into still other areas. As ethnics forge new paths, it is clear that they begin to operate in an occupational terrain that is peopled and controlled by persons of the dominant society. Thus these ethnics must transcend the boundaries of their own ethnicity and continually interact with and be part of the dominant society and culture.

Prior studies have suggested that such involvements tend to produce tensions. Hughes has noted that when new people are brought into a different status, these people are subject to status contradictions, contradictions resulting from their acceptance in certain areas but not others, contradictions which cause confusion, tensions and dilemmas.²⁶ Or as Stonequist said, tensions arise when members of one group are seeking to adjust themselves to the group believed to possess greater prestige and power; the individuals of the sub or minority group whose social contacts have led them to become partially assimilated and psychologically identified with the dominant group without being fully accepted are in a marginal situation--they become marginal

men poised in psychological uncertainty between two social worlds--caught between a world of the established and the powerful and their antecedents.²⁷

While this study was by no means intended to be definitive in this area, another objective was to shed some light here; specifically we sought to explore the experiences of ethnics during the progress of their career, the tensions and problems they encountered.

ASSIMILATION AND IDENTITY

Still further, in undertaking this study, we were cognizant of the possible implications of occupational mobility for ethnic assimilation in broader terms.

Specifically open to question is whether any new penetration of ethnics into elite business circles is accompanied by assimilation in the "structural" sense, to use Milton Gordon's term. Writing in 1964, Gordon said there obviously has been a lack of large-scale entrance of minorities into cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society on a primary group level.²⁸ However, Ringer just a few years later showed the importance of vocational experience in fostering friendship between Jews and Gentiles, indicating that while most socializing is merely a pragmatic way of doing

business, in some cases instrumental relationships may be transformed into more personal relations.²⁹ In further contrast to Gordon, in 1970 Lopreato posited the eventual inevitability of assimilation and argued it will occur at rising rates.³⁰

Also we were aware of the tension between assimilation and ethnic identification, typified by Sklare's comments that in achieving mobility, the Jew may be a victim of his own success, inasmuch as he feels compelled to surrender his own cultural patterns as inappropriate to his new position, and in so doing, he may not realize he is compromising his identity as a Jew or integrity as a human being. Jewish success, he argues, has been a mixed blessing--a triumph over obstacles with ominous implications for future survival of the group.³¹

Finally then a purpose of this study was to provide some information on the extent of assimilation of those ethnics who reached the top echelons and on their feelings of ethnic identification; though here again it is understood that the data could not be definitive.

Objectives

The purpose of the present dissertation was then to examine the ethnic penetration into the top managerial positions in advertising agencies, exploring the changes that have occurred in this penetration, how such changes affected the character of the leadership, the processes by which the changes occurred, and the experiences and adaptation of those who were "actors" in the change. Specifically, the major objectives were the following:

- To determine the extent and nature of the changes that occurred and the current representation of ethnics in the leadership, examining the hypothesis that these changes were not random and that the representation is differentially distributed by size of agency and role.
- To study the social origins of those ethnics who have risen to top positions, exploring how they have differed from the established leadership.
- To identify the factors and forces which provided "moments of opportunities" for ethnic members, the hypothesis here that specific conditions

facilitated the entry and upward mobility of minorities.

- To study the paths by which ethnic members moved up the occupational structure in the industry, determining if and how these paths differed for those achieving top positions of a specialized versus general managerial nature.
- To examine the experiences of the ethnic elite pioneers as they ascended in the hierarchy and as they now stand at the frontier, exploring the hypotheses that, as they moved into a strange terrain, they were bound to encounter certain problems and tensions resulting from their ethnicity.
- To study the consequences for ethnic identity and assimilation. What were the various levels of assimilation? What remains of ethnic loyalties and identity?

The next chapter provides a description of the methodology employed in the study, and concludes with an outline of the organization of the balance of the dissertation.

Chapter 1 Footnotes

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²C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 127.

³E. Digby Baltzell, The Protestant Establishment (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 321.

⁴Edwin Kiester Jr., The Case of the Missing Executive (New York: Institute of Human Relations, American Jewish Committee, 1972), p. 10.

⁵Ibid, p. 10.

⁶Ibid, p. 11.

⁷Ibid, p. 12.

⁸Ibid, p. 12.

⁹Marshall Sklare, America's Jews (New York: Random House, 1971), p. 60-65.

¹⁰C. H. Stember & Others, Jews in the Minds of America (New York: Basic Books, 1966.)

¹¹Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1963), p. 154.

¹²Ibid, p. 206.

¹³Ibid, pp. 255-256.

¹⁴Marilyn Bender, "New Names in the Board Room," The New York Times, 31 October 1971, Sec. 3, p. 3.

¹⁵John Henry, "Ethnic Makeup of Big Firms' Management Changing," Washington Post, 26 August 1973, p. E5.

¹⁶Edwin Kiester Jr., p. 5.

¹⁷Everette Cherrington Hughes, Men and Their Work (London: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 149.

¹⁸C. Wright Mills, *ibid*, p. 127.

¹⁹Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 127.

²⁰*Ibid*, pp. 139-141.

²¹*Ibid*, p. 138.

²²*Ibid*, p. 138.

²³Judith R. Kramer and Seymour Leventman, Children of the Gilded Ghetto (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 10-15.

²⁴Benjamin Ringer, "The Capillary Process: Occupational Mobility," distributed in Seminar on Occupation and Ethnicity, City University Graduate Center, 1973.

²⁵Everette Cherrington Hughes, *ibid*, p. 147.

Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., Toward a Theory of Minority-Group Relations (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967), pp. 212-214.

²⁶Everette Cherrington Hughes, *ibid*, p. 147.

²⁷Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1961).

²⁸Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 60-83.

²⁹Benjamin B. Ringer, The Edge of Friendliness (New York:Basic Books, 1967), pp. 187-199.

³⁰Joseph Lapreato, Italian Americans (New York: Random House, 1970).

³¹Marshall Sklare, *ibid*, p. 66.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

To meet the specified objectives, three kinds of research were undertaken--a historical study, a quantitative study of the current advertising leadership, and a qualitative study among a subsample of Jews who are now in important executive positions in the agency business. The objectives of each of these studies and a description of them follows:

Historical Survey

The objective of the historical study was to trace the changes that have occurred in the proportion of Jews occupying top leadership positions in the industry and to relate these changes to changes that occurred in the industry. Our intent was not only to indicate the trends to date in the representation of Jews in the upper echelons of the industry, but also to identify the changes in the industry which facilitated the upward mobility of Jews. Ideally we

would have liked to provide comparable data for other ethnic groups but this was impossible, as shall become evident when we define the source of the data.

Since there are no published data nor data available from any source on the ethnic or religious composition of current agency executives or of those in prior years, a feasible mechanism had to be found to develop such data. The first step in this process was to determine the time periods to be studied, since it was clear that these would have to be restricted to some manageable number. This was done essentially through a study of trade material and historical reports of the major changes that have occurred within the industry over the last several decades. In addition, discussions were held with a number of persons who observed the changing scene to identify the periods which they deemed most significant. The following chapter will highlight the changes that have taken place in the industry over time and the one after that will specify the reasons why the particular periods were selected for study. At this juncture, suffice it to say, seven periods were studied: 1940, 1945, 1950, 1958, 1963, 1968 and 1973.

Once the periods were selected, a decision had to be

made regarding the sample universe. It was known that the ethnic identification of some of the current executives would be obtainable from the survey to be described in the next section and that a small portion of executives at any of the earlier points in time could be identified through such published sources as Who's Who and Who's Who in Advertising. However, it was recognized that the only way the majority could be identified would be through informants who knew or had known the individuals involved. The availability of such informants and the ability to locate them imposed certain restrictions on the sample.

First, this made it necessary to restrict the study to New York agencies since it was impractical to find informants in other areas of the country. This geographic restriction was imposed on the other phases of the study as well for reasons of practicality. However, it should be recognized that the advertising business is a highly concentrated one and New York is the key center, with 39% of all agency employees.¹

Secondly, it was decided to limit the historical phase to executives in the 20 largest agencies. The reason here was the impossibility of finding people who knew personnel in smaller agencies at earlier times and who could identify

their religion. To understand the importance of the top 20 firms, it is necessary to comprehend the basis on which agencies collect compensation and on which they are ranked in size. The size of an agency is measured in terms of its billings, which represent the charges by the media (TV, radio, etc.) for the advertising placed. The compensation an agency receives comes from the commission allowed by the media, usually at a rate of 15%. In 1973, 53% of the national domestic billings were claimed by the 20 largest New York agencies, with the 20 agencies involved having domestic billings from roughly \$94 million to almost \$400 million and international billings as much as three times as high.² Moreover, not only do the top 20 agencies account for the largest share of the volume, but naturally they employ the largest numbers of personnel, the numbers ranging from 500 employees employed domestically by the twentieth largest New York agency in 1973 to over 2,000, the number of domestic employees of J. Walter Thompson, the very biggest agency.³ Further, these agencies clearly represent the most prestigious clients--the major automobile accounts, steel companies, tire companies, oil companies, airlines, the major food companies, drug companies, banks, etc.

Third, the decision was made to define the universe as the 20 agencies currently the largest and to trace the changes that occurred historically within these agencies, rather than to take the largest agencies at each point in time as the universe. Our reason for doing this was that, had we chosen to study the 20 agencies which were largest at each point, we would have had to obtain information about some agencies no longer in existence and about some which were once big and are not so now. This was not feasible. In any case, many of the agencies now the largest were also among the largest as far back as 1945, the earliest date for which a listing of agencies by rank order of billings is available. This is evident from the following table which shows for each of the points in time other than 1940 (for which no figures are available) how many of the 20 agencies in our sample were among the top 20 New York agencies at that time, how many were in existence but not in the top 20 of that period, and how many were yet to be started.

How Many of the Top 20 New York Agencies
Were Among the Top 20 in Each Specified
Time Period

	<u>Among Top Twenty</u>	<u>Not Among Top Twenty</u>	<u>Not Existent</u>
	<u>No.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>No.</u>
1945	10	2 ^a	8
1950	12	3 ^a	5
1958	16	2	2
1963	16	2	2
1968	18	2	0
1973	20	0	0

^aActually these may have been in top 20 New York agencies; the only listing available is for top 20 national agencies.

In fact then, even though our sample does not include agencies once among the top 20 but no longer so, the bulk of those in the top 20 in most periods are represented. We believe then that the sample does provide an accurate picture of the top elite firms in each period.

Within these top firms, our interest was in those who occupied and now occupy top positions, not only in top management but also in key departments within the agency where important policy decisions may be made and which significantly influence the agency's output. It was this interest which suggested that the following individuals be selected for study within the designated 20 agencies:

The Top Two Executives

The Creative Head

The Media Head

The Research Head

The Head of Art

As the next chapter shows, the above individuals represent the major departments in most agencies, with the exception of Account Management. Unquestionably, it would have been advantageous to include the latter group as well. However, Account Management personnel are often not included in the published listings of executives. Also, the frequent changes in such personnel made it impossible to find informants who would know them. At an appropriate point, however, the religious composition of the current members of the top level of Account Management will be introduced, and it will be seen that certain assumptions can be made from the data for the present period regarding the religious identity of this group in the past. Again, this limitation should not impede our basic understanding of the changes that have or have not occurred among the top advertising agency leadership.

Once we defined the universe of agencies and the sample

of individuals within these agencies, the identification of the specific persons in the various positions was required. For this purpose use was made of the Standard Directory of Advertising for each of the periods studied. The Standard Directory of Advertising contains rosters of the top personnel in each agency, though some agencies provide more complete rosters than others. With six designated titles per agency, had each of the 20 agencies existed at each point in time and had they listed the names for all of the titles, as many as 840 persons would have been involved, though the same persons could have held the same title over a period of time or moved from one title to another. However, in not every case were complete listings given. Sometimes only two, three, four or five of the six persons designated for examination were listed; in some cases, undoubtedly, this was because the agency did not have anyone in a particular position; in others, the reason was they chose not to name the individuals occupying the specified posts. In fact, the number of names specified and the effective sample turned out to number 553, with naturally a larger number of names specified for the more recent years since more of the agencies in the universe were then

in existence. By period studied the sample was as follows:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of Names Specified</u>
1973	109
1968	104
1963	89
1958	89
1950	72
1945	54
1940	36

As indicated earlier, the religious identification for this sample could in part be made through published sources and in part through a survey to be described in the next section. In still other cases, the individual was personally known to the writer. In the majority of cases identification had to be made through informants; 22 informants described in the Appendix were used for this purpose. Finally in a small number of cases, guesses on the basis of name sound had to be resorted to. The number of executives identified by each method was as follows:

	<u>No. of Names Identified Via Each Source</u>
Mail Survey	81
Published Sources	92
Personal Knowledge	32
Informants	320
Name Sound	28

For the current period, as stated earlier, information was also obtained for Account Management personnel; a total of 185 individuals were involved. In the vast majority of instances, the religious identification for this group was made via informants.

Where informants were used, in most instances they were unable to say with any certainty whether the individuals were Catholic or Protestant; for this reason, the historical portion traces only the proportion of Jews. Finally, while the vast majority of the religious identifications in terms of Jewish or non-Jewish are undoubtedly correct, a small amount of error may exist in the data inasmuch as a very large proportion of the identifications were based on information from informants and some from guessing based on name sound.

The data from this phase of the study are contained in Chapter 4.

Quantitative Study of Current Advertising Agency Leadership

The objectives of this study were several:

- . First, to determine information on the current representation of various ethnic groups in the

top echelons of the agency business, information beyond that which was to emerge for the top 20 agencies from the historical portion of the study. Specifically, we sought here:

- to obtain data for agencies smaller in size than those in the top 20
 - to ascertain, not only Jewish vs. non-Jewish representation, but representation of Catholics vs. Protestants and of different nationality groups
- . Second, to obtain for those in the various ethnic groups who have achieved leadership in the agency business data on their characteristics in terms of their family and their own individual backgrounds.
- . Third, to determine the career paths followed by the various ethnic groups, to enable us to identify both the similarities and differences in the paths of these groups.

For these purposes, a mail survey was undertaken. The universe for this survey was agencies in New York City whose domestic billings in 1972 exceeded \$10 million.

The number of agencies involved was 79.

The decision to restrict the study to agencies meeting this billing requirement was a deliberate one, in part for practical reasons but primarily because those not meeting this requirement are not a significant factor in the business. As can be seen from the following figures for the United States at large, while the preponderance of agencies bill under \$10 million, in total these agencies account for only 13% of all billings.⁴

	<u>No. of U.S. Agencies</u>	<u>% of Billings</u>
<u>Billings</u>		
\$25 million or more	63	75%
\$10 to \$25 million	85	12%
\$ 5 to \$10 million	112	7%
\$ 1 to \$ 5 million	267	6%
Under \$1 million	125	*

*Less than .5%

Moreover, the agencies under \$10 million naturally employ many fewer employees than those who account for the bulk of the volume; in many cases these smaller agencies employ fewer than eight or ten individuals.

As in the historical portion, to permit an examination of ethnic penetration within each of the **key roles**, the individuals within each agency selected for study were the top two executives, the Creative Head, the Head of Media, the Head of Research and the Head of Art. Once more the Standard Directory of Advertising was utilized, it providing the most recently published list of persons occupying the positions designated. With six designated titles for 79 agencies, the universe could have been as large as 474; however, since not all agencies listed all titles, the actual number in the universe turned out to be 386.

Again, ideally, Account Management might also have been covered. This was not done for several reasons: most important, in almost half the agencies, examination of the Standard Directory of Advertising revealed no identification of those in Account Management roles. Moreover, in other instances, the number of listings ranged from one to over a dozen, making it difficult to determine an equitable basis for including those listed. Finally, it should be recognized that in very many agencies the Head of Account Management is, in fact, one of the top executives, who, of course, was represented in the study.

To maximize the return rate, three different mailings were made. The second mailing was followed by telephone calls to all agencies from which completed returns had not been received, to determine if the persons on the mailing list were still in the designated positions. Where the latter was the case, attempts were made to reach the individual involved directly by phone to solicit his cooperation in a third mailing. For the most part these latter calls resulted in contacts with the executive's secretary rather than with the executive himself; in that case, the secretary was asked to call the attention of the executive to the mailing and, if possible, to encourage him to reply.

The entire study was conducted under the auspices of CROSSLEY SURVEYS, INC. Copies of the letters used in the first and second mailings to secure the cooperation of the respondents are contained in the Appendix; for the 3rd mailing an additional questionnaire was simply sent; no letter was enclosed, just a small note was attached asking the respondent to reply immediately and thanking him for his help.

The following table indicates the dates of the various mailings and of the telephone follow-ups as well as the

results of these steps.

	<u>Number</u>
<u>10/4/73 - First Mailing to 386 Individuals</u>	
Completed questionnaires returned by 11/1/73	166
Incomplete questionnaires returned, with notation person no longer there, person deceased	4
<u>11/1/73 - Second Mailing to 200 Individuals</u> (including 196 non-respondents and 4 sub- stitutions for 4 questionnaires referred to above)	
Completed questionnaires returned by 11/15/73	23
Returns designated as ineligible - position not as anticipated from title; removed from eligible sample	2
<u>11/12 - 11/15/73 - Telephone Calls to All Agencies</u>	
Non-respondents found no longer to be at agency; non-respondents removed from base because agency was no longer in business	37
<u>11/29-11/30/73 - Third Mailing to 64 In- dividuals</u>	
Returns received as of 12/10/73	16

As a result of removing those designated as ineligible, those found no longer employed or where the agency was no longer in business, the eligible sample was reduced from 386 to 347. Returns were received from 205 of these individuals; the effective return then was 59.1%. This rate of return falls within the acceptable range; nevertheless, as in any mail survey unless the returns are exceedingly high, questions can be raised regarding the representativeness of the sample. The returns were, therefore, examined from this standpoint.

Such an examination indicates a reasonably good correspondence between the distribution of the eligible sample and of the returns in terms of size of agency, though admittedly a somewhat above-average proportion of returns were from medium-sized agencies and a somewhat below-average proportion were from smaller agencies.

<u>Individuals In:</u>	<u>Eligible Sample</u>	<u>Returns</u>
1/3 Largest Agencies	38%	39%
1/3 Medium-Sized Agencies	35	39
1/3 Smallest Agencies	27	22
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Similarly, while Media and Research personnel answered in somewhat higher proportions than top executive, Creative and Art personnel, the returns were distributed among the various positions in roughly the same proportions as were the individuals in the eligible sample.

	<u>Eligible Sample</u>	<u>Returns</u>
Top Executives	42%	39%
Creative Heads	18	17
Media Heads	18	22
Research Heads	10	13
Art Heads	12	9
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

As a further check on the projectability of the returns, a comparison was made between the proportion of the executive groups studied in the top 20 agencies who in the survey identified themselves as Jewish and the proportion in the universe identified as Jewish. This could be done since the historical phase provided identification from other sources for those whose ethnic identify had not been obtained from the survey. The comparison found the survey and universe figures varying by only 1%.

A further step was taken to be certain that what differential there was in the rate of return, either by size of agency or type of position, had not significantly affected the proportion of Jewish members found among all respondents. The proportion of Jews found in each segment of the sample was applied to the actual number of people in the universe in that segment, to determine the number of Jewish respondents there would have been in the sample, had all segments answered at exactly the same rates. This procedure also indicated the total figure would not have varied by more than 1%.

A copy of the actual questionnaire used in the study is contained in the Appendix. By way of summary, the questionnaire was designed to provide information in the following areas:

Ethnic Identity of Current Members of the Elite in terms of religion and nationality.

Characteristics of Ethnic Elite Groups including their age, sex, birthplace, education and generation level and the education, class and occupation of their fathers.

Career Paths including first position in advertising, subsequent areas engaged in, current position, position prior to present position, experience outside of advertising agencies, number of agencies worked in, means by which major strides were made (by movement within versus from one agency to

another), experiences and assessments of large versus middle versus small agencies in terms of the opportunities offered, etc.

Chapters 5, 7, 8 and 9 present the findings from the quantitative study described above; Chapter 5 deals with the current ethnic representation in the advertising leadership, Chapter 7 with the characteristics of those in the leadership and Chapter 8 and 9 with their career paths.

Qualitative Study Among a Subsample of Jews

Here our objectives were to gain an understanding in several areas from Jews who succeeded in reaching the top echelons within the agency business, from the 'actors' themselves. We were interested in their perceptions of the changes that have occurred within the industry with respect to the acceptance of Jews and the reasons for these changes. We also wanted to learn about their own experiences as Jews. Finally we sought to explore the impact these experiences had on them.

For this purpose we decided to conduct depth interviews with Jews currently in the advertising agency leadership. Assurances of anonymity given to the respondents prevent their identification; the sample was chosen, however to represent those in different size agencies and in different

executive positions--top executives in various size agencies and key executives in various functional areas--Creative, Media and Research--in both large and less large agencies. In total 15 interviews were conducted, precluding any quantitative projections from the interviews; however, in conjunction with the other phases of the study, certain generalizations and patterns can be reasonably derived from them, while other insights gained from them, though interesting, must be regarded as hypotheses.

Aside from a couple of cases in which the writer personally recruited the respondent, all respondents were recruited by telephone, utilizing the sponsorship of the Institute of Human Relations of the American Jewish Committee. The interviews generally lasted between one hour and one and one half hours; all interviews were tape recorded and then transcribed.

A copy of the interviewing guide used in this phase of the study is also contained in the Appendix. The major areas of coverage were the following:

Career Background/Choice of Advertising including time of entry, educational background, reasons for interest in advertising, alternatives considered, etc.

Early Career Perceptions and Experiences including perceptions of acceptance of Jews at the time of their entry, personal difficulties experienced obtaining a job, whether being Jewish affected early career and how, consciousness of being Jewish in early years, nature of contacts with Jews and non-Jews, etc.

Mid-way Career Experiences including degree to which Jewishness affected career more or less than earlier, problems encountered, nature of contacts with Jewish vs. non-Jewish clients and colleagues.

Recent Career Experiences including how being Jewish recently has affected career, current Jewish consciousness in business, contacts with Jewish and non-Jewish clients and colleagues, perceptions of success in advertising relative to what they might have had in other businesses.

Assessments of Changes in Ethnic Penetration and Effect of Changes including perceptions of environment for a Jewish person entering the field today, recollection of when more Jews entered field, beliefs regarding the factors that facilitated the upward mobility of Jews and how they believe the increased representation of Jews affected the agency business.

Ethnic Identity including a comparison of level of Jewish identity now versus the time when they first entered business, degree of participation in organized religion, in Jewish organizations, etc.

Chapters 6, 10 and 11 report on the material from the depth interviews; Chapter 6 deals with the respondents' reconstruction of the changes that have taken place within the industry and the reasons for them, Chapter 10, with

their own experiences as Jews during their careers, and Chapter 11 with the impact of these experiences on them.

To summarize, there were three phases to this study: a historical analysis, a mail survey, and a depth interview study. The material from these phases is utilized together to provide an integrated picture of the changes that have come about in the industry, of how they came about, and to understand the experiences of and the impact on the Jews who were actors in the period of change.

Chapter 2 Footnotes

¹Census of Business (1967), U.S. Department of Commerce, BL67 (A)-SS1-19 July 1970.

²"U.S. Agency Billings Hit \$12.9 Billion; its Record," Advertising Age, 25 February 1974, p. 6.

³Ibid, p. 23.

⁴"Billings of U.S. Agencies Top \$11.3 Billion in 1972," Advertising Age, 26 February 1973, p. 1. It will be noted that the number of agencies specified total to 654, a number far smaller than the 5,500 agencies reported earlier as currently in the U.S. The balance is comprised largely of one man shops with annual payrolls of under \$50,000.

PART II

HISTORICAL AND CURRENT
ETHNIC REPRESENTATION

CHAPTER 3

HISTORY AND STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF ADVERTISING

AGENCIES

As the reader reviews the current ethnic composition of the advertising agency leadership and the historical changes that have occurred in it, it is important that there be some understanding of advertising agencies and of the major changes that have occurred in the industry over time. This chapter is thus intended to serve two purposes: first, to highlight the historical trends and changes that have occurred in the industry itself; second, to describe the structural characteristics of the advertising agency business and the roles of those in various leadership positions within it. Neither the historical review nor the discussion of the structural characteristics is intended to be exhaustive. Rather, the objective is to identify the factors and forces which may have provided opportunities for minorities to gain access and upward mobility within the industry, and to highlight those characteristics which may be responsible for the differential

levels of success of minorities in different roles at various point in time.

A Brief History of the Advertising Agency Business

ORIGIN AND GROWTH

Origin - The origins of advertising agencies in the United States trace back to Volney B. Palmer, a descendant of English nobility and gentry who reportedly set himself up as an advertising agent in 1841. As an advertising agent, he solicited advertising for several newspapers, first in Philadelphia, then in Boston and New York.¹ On Palmer's death, his office was taken over by a company known as Joy, Coe and Company which in turn became Coe, Weatherill and Company and was absorbed by N.W. Ayer and Son in 1877, the oldest and soon to become one of the largest firms of advertising agents.² Formed in 1869 by F. Wayland Ayer and his son, the company first functioned as did advertising agents, simply making the best space buying and commission deal it could with newspapers and then trying to sell this space to interested advertisers. But before long, in 1875, Ayer introduced what it termed the Open Contract, a plan providing for Ayer to assume the responsibility for the advertising (i.e., to prepare

the advertising) and for media selection (to decide where it should be placed) and for it to charge only a specified commission on the actual cost of the space.³ By so doing, Ayer in effect created the basis on which agencies have traditionally operated and on which most agencies still function. For the most part, the agency of today similarly creates advertising messages for its clients and places these messages in the various communications media (TV, radio, newspapers, magazines and billboards).

Ayer may also be considered the predecessor of the modern agency in other respects. For one thing, not too long after it introduced the Open Contract, it began to offer as further incentives to clients new services including marketing advice and marketing surveys to determine where a client's best markets might be.⁴ Also while at first solely a newspaper agency, by 1899 Ayer also began to use the magazine medium as well, a defensive move against J. Walter Thompson which had been formed in 1878, and had announced it was adding newspapers to magazines as an advertising medium; additionally, Ayer formed a new outdoor advertising department.⁵ In effect,

Ayer began to act not merely as a publicity agent for its clients, but worked with them on the planning of their entire advertising and merchandising programs.

Growth - Advertising developed with the growth of the United States. By the early 1900's advertising had already become the means whereby large manufacturers of branded merchandise could obtain national and international markets for their products and by World War I was firmly woven into commerce. During World War I advertising also became a government resource, government using it both to enlist military personnel and to secure civilian cooperation for various patriotic causes.⁶ At the end of the War, it further became a political tool, with Albert D. Lasker who earlier had made a name for himself in advertising, using it to fight Wilson and the League of Nations.⁷

Advertising really surged after World War I. The war and the political use of advertising had convinced people that advertising was effective; moreover people had money and, hence, there was a seller's market.⁸ Also in 1920, radio entered the picture, providing advertising with a distinctly different and extremely effective new medium to reach

consumers.⁹ The growth of advertising, as would be expected, was, however, severely hindered soon thereafter by the stock market crash, with advertising expenditures dropping dramatically from 3.4 billion dollars to 2.6 in a year and to a low of 1.3 billion by 1933.¹⁰ Moreover, the industry suffered sharp and sustained attack. Just as business and industry were assailed for their failure, so was advertising for urging people to make expenditures they couldn't afford, for being the voice of industry.¹¹

With World War II, advertising again prospered. Once more advertisers had the money to spend. Moreover, advertisers who had learned about the shortness of the public's memory during the depression, recognized the importance of maintaining brand names in the public's mind despite the existence of shortages and scarcities. Further, in World War II, as in World War I, free advertising again became an important tool of the government, used by it to recruit manpower, obtain support for war bonds, conservation drives and other governmental purposes.¹²

Near the end of the 1940's came television, whose impact was almost immediate.¹³ By 1950, over \$100 million was being spent via television and five years later, expenditures via

television (\$745 million) exceeded that of magazines (\$668 million) or radio (\$453 million).¹⁴ With television taking hold in the fifties and a generally prosperous economy, advertising expenditures continued to grow. This coupled with a munificent commission system placed agencies in a very profitable position in the 1950's and early 1960's.¹⁵

Starting with the mid-60's, some adverse influences affected the business. Most importantly, in the middle 1960's, "large corporations ran into profit problems, and although their advertising budgets did not rise very much, their relationship to profits did go up until, eventually in the late '60's, the squeeze was put on advertising budgets."¹⁶ Also, governmental intrusion into advertising via authoritative regulatory bodies resulted in a ban on televised cigarette commercials; moreover, to some degree new requirements for verification and documentation resulted in increased costs.¹⁷ These factors coupled with high salaries resulted in the business being hit by a profit squeeze in the late '60's. By way of example, between 1966 and 1970, the average profit margin on U.S. operations for 4A agencies (the agencies belonging to the American Association of Advertising Agencies which represents about 75% of the business) fell from 5.49 to

3.46 and even for the largest agencies (those billing over 90 million) was down from 7.23 to 5.58%.¹⁸

Followed by substantial economies (in 1970, an estimated 10% of the agency business work force lost their jobs¹⁹) profit margins in some agencies recovered by 1971, but in general '71 was also a hard year for the agency business, due to the slow growth in advertising expenditures.²⁰ Also, while some agencies found a way to stabilize and expand their earnings through acquisition in foreign markets,²¹ and though some agencies clearly did very well, neither 1972 nor 1973 were particularly buoyant years for the business.

Despite some adversities at times, unquestionably though, between 1869 when Ayer was formed and today, advertising has become a major force in this country. Today there are approximately 5,500 agencies in the United States.²² These agencies range in size from one-man operations to companies employing as many as 2,400 employees within the boundaries of the United States;²³ many also employ large numbers of personnel around the world. In total, over 75,000 people are employed in the United States by advertising agencies.²⁴ Advertising today is a \$23 billion business, representing 2% of the gross

national product; in 1973 U.S. advertising agencies handled an estimated 12.9 billion dollars in advertising in the United States and overseas.²⁵

CHANGES IN ADVERTISING AGENCIES

Against this background we shall now review the major changes that occurred within advertising agencies over the last several decades, the period with which our study is concerned.

Television - Radio and television have already been mentioned as factors that influenced the growth of advertising. These technological innovations clearly had an effect not only on the numbers of personnel required by advertising agencies, but also on the nature of the personnel needed. Earlier, with the introduction of radio, there was the need for writers, actors, singers, Hollywood personalities and other famous people to be used in testimonials. Agencies sought people with these talents and formed radio departments to handle this new kind of advertising. With television, still a new army of people were needed--producers, writers, and art directors--to prepare television commercials, and in those agencies which sought to produce their own television programs, to serve this function as well. Agencies again had to organize

to accommodate this new technological development and to staff appropriately to cope with it.

Marketing Services and Research - It was noted previously that not too long after Ayer was formed, it was offering marketing advice and marketing surveys to attract new clients. By the 1920's advertising agencies in fact had added quite a number of new services, though many of them were not yet structured as departments or specialties. In many instances, the agencies almost ran the companies telling them what to make, how to package it, how to market and advertise it.²⁶ This trend continued into the 1930's and 1940's but really took hold in the 1950's. This is often attributed to the doings of Marion Harper, President of McCann-Erickson, who widely acclaimed that the scientific method should supplant seat-of-the-pants decisions in advertising and that the effects of advertising should be measured.²⁷ Obviously, the boom can not be attributed to a single man. With TV and a prosperous economy, the agencies had sufficient profits to invest in additional services. Further, while there was a proliferation of new brands and a good climate for their introduction, most manufacturers had few market research facilities to guide them in the development and marketing of new products; thus agencies could well expect to acquire and maintain clients by offering them

services they themselves didn't have. The result of all this was that many agencies set up lavish service departments, offering everything from marketing research and packaging counsel to public relations and merchandising aid. With these departments came the need and the hiring of a wide assortment of people--statisticians, psychologists, sociologists and librarians. In some instances, revenues were collected for the services offered but rarely were these profit centers; they were means of satisfying old clients and attracting new ones.

The research boom that started in the fifties continued into the early sixties, with the advertising agencies the accepted center of marketing knowledge.²⁸ But the mid-sixties witnessed the beginning of a marketing shift; companies gradually set up their own marketing research departments. This was "at least partly related to the wave of mergers and diversifications and to the proliferation of brands in many companies. These developments encouraged the use of multiple agencies and established a new need for strong marketing direction from the companies."²⁹ With this shift of marketing responsibility and the development of marketing research facilities on the advertiser side, agencies obviously had

less need for these facilities. This, plus the profit squeeze of the late '60's resulted in substantial reductions in research personnel on the agency side and/or a change in their utilization, so as to maximize the application of research in the development of advertising, and minimize its use in performing market research functions considered within the province of the advertiser, i.e., the testing of product, name, package, etc.

Independent Media Services - In the latter half of the sixties, some other important changes also occurred. It was during this period that the independent media services came into the picture, offering clients the opportunity to purchase time and space through a source other than that which they were utilizing for the development of advertising. By 1970 there were perhaps 50 independent media buying services. They came to the fore because some advertisers wanted more for their advertising dollar, some traditional agencies were reputedly paying less attention to media buying than to account and creative activities, and in some cases they could offer clients better prices. While such media services remain a part of the scene today, they clearly have had mixed success and account for only a very small portion of the advertising volume.³⁰

Challenge to the Agency Commission System - Still another change of the 1960's was the challenge to the traditional compensation system of agencies. From early days on, agency compensation had come essentially from commissions given to them by the media for the space and time bought on behalf of their clients, with the rate traditionally 15%. With declining corporate profits, advertisers sought ways to economize and some discarded the commission system in favor of negotiated fees or combination fee/commission systems. The latter, it was hoped, would preclude agencies from recommending higher media budgets than necessary, and would keep clients from having to pay for services they did not wish from the agency. Clearly the independent media services and the decline in use of agency marketing research facilities made such negotiations more feasible. Like the use of independent media services, negotiated fees remain, however, a minor factor; the dominant form of compensation is still media commissions.³¹

The "Creative Revolution" - Very germane to our interest is the change that took place in the '60's which has come to be known as the "creative revolution." This reportedly began

with the birth of small creative shops, new venture groups, creative workshops--in the trade often referred to as "creative boutiques." It is reported that between 1965 and 1971, more new agencies were formed than in any period in the history of advertising.³² "Some admen trace the advent of the boutique to the proliferation of new products in the last ten years and to the traditional no-conflict rule: No single agency should be allowed to handle competing accounts. Others say that clients fostered the boutique because, economy minded, they wanted creative help without having to pay for other agency services, or because they were too small to get the attention they desired from larger agencies. Some clients apparently were motivated by the belief that they could get their creative work done faster than at full-service shops, where layers of management often allegedly served to delay the completion of proposed campaigns."³³ It is clear that these smaller creative shops could not have flourished had the independent media services not been in the picture; also had there not been independent operations standing ready to make film commercials, distribute them to stations and networks, and check the schedule and handle the billing details.

While some of these smaller shops lacked enough clients or capital to survive, others not only survived but offered new competition to the larger agencies. It has been estimated in fact that as much as \$300 million in billings switched out from the big established agencies to the smaller creative shops in the mid 60's.³⁴ Whether this figure is an exaggeration or not, certainly the smaller shops became a factor in the business and "full service agencies were becoming more worried as substantial accounts moved out to the independents."³⁵ As a consequence of this, the full service agencies began to give a new emphasis to "creativity," and it has been said they rushed to find new creative people to compete with the creatives who were heading up the small shops and making a name for themselves, and they made special efforts to provide the kind of environment and freedom in which creative people felt they could best function.³⁶ As part of this, creatives in agencies were given a new status, with copywriters, art directors, and producers being promoted not only to creative director posts, but to positions in the senior management echelons; there was even a sudden rash of new creative presidents.³⁷

This "creative revolution" combined with the change in market research responsibility, the introduction of the independent media services, the challenge to the 15% commission system, a rise in consumerism and government intrusion into advertising, and the profit squeeze mentioned earlier, clearly made the period between 1965 and 1970 a period of profound change, a period that has been described as having "changed forever the traditional structure of the advertising business."³⁸

Over the last several decades then a number of changes have occurred in the business. These decades have represented a period of growth; they have also been marked by technological innovations, specifically television, by changes in the type and emphasis given to marketing and research services, by some threats to the traditional compensation system, by the introduction of independent media services, by the formation of many small creative shops or boutiques, and the so-called "creative revolution." It is against these changes that trends in the ethnic composition within the top advertising leadership will be examined. The periods selected for study were primarily those which, based on this history

of the business, were considered to have been periods of major change. The specific periods selected and the reasons for their choice are detailed in the next chapter which deals with the trends in ethnic representation in the advertising agency leadership. In order to enable the reader to better understand that chapter and those that follow we shall now briefly cover the general characteristics of advertising agencies and their organization.

Advertising Agency Characteristics and Organization

AGENCY CHARACTERISTICS

"Advertising agencies obviously share many characteristics with other professional firms particularly those providing services to client organizations, those 'cultural industries' and others providing high level, tailor-made output. Perhaps the most noticeable area of difference is in the nature of the product. The products of advertising agencies are extremely complex. They consist of words, music, color, messages, a time and a place in a medium. Advertising has not only content but it is also affected by its context, the things surrounding it when it is presented in a medium. Unlike an automobile, which remains an automobile

in a variety of contexts, advertising and its effect changes over time and according to the time, media, audience combination of its exposures."³⁹

Advertising is a service industry with no machine technology nor mass production. It is a cliché of the advertising business that "people are our asset" but it is in fact a people's business, with as Bensman⁴⁰ said, the value of the business based on the intangibles of skill, talent and knowledge rather than on objective technological processes.

It is an industry in which the contact with the client is continuous; this is not the situation in mass production industries or even in most other service industries. Those in agencies who are in boundary roles, where they deal with the client, do so day in and day out. Agency and client personnel have frequent meetings to review advertising and marketing plans, to consider alternative strategies, to examine proposed advertising, to review the state of the business; they often make trips together to check on the market situation in a particular area, to observe the shooting of a commercial, to attend a sales meeting. Moreover, there are frequent interpersonal, non-business contacts;

by tradition the industry is one in which entertainment is often done to cement client relationships.

The importance of the personal factor cannot be over-emphasized, for other reasons as well. Research seeks to maximize the opportunities for developing effective advertising and attempts to pre-test its impact. Yet, the sale to the client of any campaign idea, commercial or advertisement, is in part contingent upon personal abilities to persuade the client that the proper alternatives have been considered, that the advertising is on target, and will be effective. These abilities will, of course, be influenced in part by the trust the client has in the agency personnel, and by the rapport established between client and agency people.

Moreover, it is often very difficult to measure the actual effectiveness of advertising since advertising is only one of the variables that affects the marketing success of a product. Attempts at measurement are often confounded by the advertising and promotion for other products, other promotional efforts for the advertised product, word-of-mouth communication, distribution, local weather and

economic conditions, etc. Hence, business can be lost not only because the advertising has been ineffective, but because the client, lacking objective criteria, relies on judgment. Also, even if a campaign is successful, there is no guarantee against the loss of an account. Changes in personnel in client offices, merely a desire for something new, or very often simply the inability of client and agency to get along or work together, will be the key factor in the loss of an account. Such a loss takes on particular significance, once it is recognized that, in contrast to many other industries, an agency's future may be very much determined by a few key customers, and that client turnover is a conspicuous feature of the business.

The personal factor is equally important, if not more so, in the new business process. Because the agency's product is not standardized, because there are no easily obtainable measurements of past performance, and further because in most cases speculative copy is not even presented, potential clients must essentially select agencies on the basis of the impressions engendered by agency personnel, i.e., whether they seem knowledgeable and bright, whether

they represent the type of people that would be pleasant to work with. Even where there are speculative presentations this is the fact, since even if the speculative copy is accepted, it may be appropriate for only a short period in time. Sooner or later, it will have to be replaced by other copy; moreover, in most instances, it will be only illustrative of the type of campaign the agency might produce.

Finally, it is a personal factor, personal acquaintance-ship, which is often the key to whether or not an agency is even given the opportunity to compete for a client's business, though knowledge of an agency and of its prior advertising obviously plays an important role. Personnel who have opportunities to meet or who know potential clients are an asset to any agency, and in this connection, it is relevant to recognize that the major agency clients are of course the major corporations of America.

Against this background, our attention now turns to the structure of agencies.

The Internal Organization of Advertising Agencies

Earlier it was mentioned that there was a considerable rise in small creative shops during the last decade.

To indicate the magnitude of this rise, "ten years ago there were perhaps 4,200 agencies in the U.S.; today there are an estimated 5,500 agencies."⁴¹ The advertising agency business is one in which one- and two-man, and husband and wife operations are very common. Nevertheless, as indicated in the methodological description, the large agency has long been and still is the major factor in the business, particularly in the handling of national advertising. Since this study will cover the differences in ethnic penetration within various roles of advertising agencies, and the career routes of those in different roles, it is important that the types of personnel and departments found in the larger agencies be understood.

Most large agencies are headed by a few top executives variously referred to as President and Chairman of the Board, Chairman and Vice-Chairman, President and Senior Executive Officer or the like, in whom either together or with an Executive Committee or Board of Directors, resides the real power of the agency and responsibility for overall policy. They are the ones who primarily present the agency face to the outside world through public speaking and organization

participation, they set financial policy (unless, of course, the agency is publicly owned as about 20 agencies now are, and where therefore outside stockholders also play a role), they allocate power within the organization, set personnel policy; they deal with the top echelons in the client offices, provide "support" to the lower echelons when such is required to obtain client acquiescence to agency recommendations; they determine the agency posture; they generally actively seek contacts with potential new business sources, and take an active role in new business presentations.

Account Management including assistant account executives, account executives, account supervisors and management supervisors have the job of handling the various accounts the agency handles. In many cases the highest echelons of Account Management are the top executives of the agency; in other instances they are at a level below, and carry out their responsibilities under the direction of top management and within the prescribed rules set by it.

Account Management personnel are the coordinators within the agency; they act as liaison between the various departments and call the various functional departments into use as necessary. The account team or management group generally

has the responsibility for developing the advertising and marketing plan for a particular client, obtaining the client's agreement to it, and seeing that the agency's responsibility for implementation is carried out. Account Management is the least functionally specific, but traditionally has been the most powerful department, though, as noted earlier, the power distribution within agencies has changed somewhat as creativity has become the only unchallenged province of the agency.

"The management roles of Account Management tend to be more diffuse than those of people in, say, heavy industry. Their managing often includes the manipulation and prediction of many imponderables: attitudes and feelings of clients and internal agency people, the possible mood and temperament of agency top management, the relative effectiveness of 'making waves' or playing it safe."⁴² Traditionally Account Management has been expected not only to deal with the client in the business sense, but to entertain, wine and dine him--mechanisms employed to curry his favor, secure approval of agency recommendations, and assure the retention of the business.

Traditional wisdom has specified that the account man not only have basic intelligence, good ambition and drive, but that he have a "good personality," have rapport with client marketing people, have tact and diplomacy and be able to make presentations. The right connections for securing new business clearly have been a recognized unwritten asset. Consistent with the non-specific role of the account man, technical proficiency is generally not required; rather, the non-specialized talents of administrative skill, judgment and business sense are.

The creative function is handled by copywriters, art directors and artists and producers, and their assistants. The copywriters develop the ideas and write the advertisements or commercials. In so doing they often follow an advertising strategy which has been agreed to by client and agency, and which delineates the advertising target, specifies the product positioning (i.e., what is to be the basic message and the specific consumer benefits to be emphasized) and which may prescribe the general tone of the advertising and the anticipated sources of business. The copywriters work closely with the art directors and artists who also sometimes develop

the ideas, and who supply the visual framework for the advertising message, while production people, either in or out of the agency, handle the mechanical development of the commercial or print material.

It is axiomatic that creative people need to be talented, but this is not enough. To be effective, they need to be sensitive to human emotions and psychological motivations; also, since the products of advertising are not standardized, nor are there any universally accepted criteria for predicting their effectiveness, the creative man must not only develop advertising, but he must be able to sell his ideas, both to his management and to clients. When he fails, he must be willing to subordinate his creativity and independence to the "business acumen" of the powers that be.

The responsibility for recommending the media in which the advertising is to be placed resides generally in a Media department, headed up by a Media Director. This responsibility includes recommendations not only for the proportion of dollars to be spent in each type of media, but also recommendations for the specific vehicles to be used within each type of media (specific programs, magazines, etc.) and

for the frequency and scheduling--size of print ads, length of commercials, and the like. Media are selected to reach target audiences who it is expected will be interested in the particular product or service to be sold, based on information available on circulation, readership, or program viewing and listening, and where information is lacking, based on judgment. Once the media plan is approved, media people negotiate the actual purchases for time and space with the appropriate media representatives.

Media people, aside from those who may be involved in the specialized area of Media Research, require no specific technical training. The requirements are generally talent for detail work, potential administrative ability, and the ability to exercise good business judgment. Since they make the actual purchases of time and space, they must be able to handle such negotiations effectively.

Research departments in agencies vary substantially in role, depending on the importance and reliance placed in research. In their fuller roles, they guide the development of advertising and marketing goals and strategies, analyze markets, provide information on consumer motivation, delineate areas of opportunity. Further they conduct primary and secondary

research as needed for these purposes, design and implement various research techniques to pre-test advertising, assess the relative acceptability of alternative executional and strategic approaches and diagnose their strengths and weaknesses. Also, they design and execute research to measure the success of particular campaigns, alternative media and expenditure plans. Where desired, they may counsel on, or even execute for clients, consumer product, package, or name research, attitude and usage surveys, and test marketing research.

Requirements for researchers depend on the complexity and nature of the research involved; specific skills are, however, often required in this area or are at least deemed advantageous; these skills primarily are training in psychology and sociology, economics, market research, mathematics and statistics.

Agencies often have public relations departments which may do public relations and other promotional chores for clients, merchandising departments equipped to supply special promotional services and displays, and of course, have personnel to perform the needed housekeeping functions-- personnel managers, accounting people, and office managers.

The key departments are, however, those described above-- account, creative, media and research; it is on these that attention will subsequently be focussed.

Now that this historical review and description of advertising agencies has been completed, we shall turn to the first phase of our study.

Chapter 3 Footnotes

¹James Playsted Wood, The Story of Advertising (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), p. 137.

²Ibid, p. 139.

³Ibid, p. 243.

⁴Ibid, p. 244.

⁵Ibid, pp. 245-246.

⁶Ibid, p. 355-356.

⁷Ibid, p. 362.

⁸Ibid, pp. 363-402.

⁹Ibid, pp. 403-416.

¹⁰Ibid, pp. 417.

¹¹Ibid, pp. 417-431.

¹²Ibid, pp. 442-454.

¹³Ibid, p. 475.

¹⁴"Advertising Revenues by Medium," Advertising Age, 7 June 1971, p. 28.

¹⁵James Playsted Wood, ibid, p. 475-490.

¹⁶"U.S. Advertising Hits \$23.1 Billion," Advertising Age, 11 November 1973, p. 6.

¹⁷"Ad Men Cover the World," Financial World, 25 April 1973, p. 11.

¹⁸Carol J. Loomis, "Those Throbbing Headaches on Madison Avenue," Fortune, February 1972, p. 103.

¹⁹"Madison Avenue's Travail," Time, 7 February 1972, p. 75.

²⁰Carol J. Loomis, *ibid*, p. 106.

²¹"Ad Men Cover the World," *ibid*, p. 11.

²²"The Advertising Agency - What It Is And What It Does For Advertisers," Advertising Age, 21 November 1973, p. 40.

²³Advertising Age, 26 February 1973, p. 75.

²⁴Figure provided by American Association of Advertising Agencies.

²⁵"U.S. Advertising Billings Hit \$12.9 Billion; it's record," Advertising Age, 25 February 1974, p. 1.

²⁶Edward Buxton, Promise Them Anything (New York: Stein & Day, 1972), p. 25.

²⁷*Ibid*, p. 44.

²⁸Richard L. Gilbert, "The Big Shift in Marketing," The New York Times, 8 April 1973, sec. 3, p. 17.

²⁹Carol J. Loomis, *ibid*, p. 197.

³⁰"The Advertising Agency - What It Is and What It Does For Advertisers," *ibid*, p. 38.

³¹*Ibid*, p. 38.

³²Edward Buxton, *ibid*, p. 32.

³³"The Advertising Agency - What It Is and What It Does For Advertisers," *ibid*, p. 36.

³⁴Edward Buxton, *ibid*, p. 61.

³⁵"The Advertising Agency - What It Is and What It Does For Advertisers," *ibid*, p. 38.

³⁶Edward Buxton, *ibid*, p. 42.

³⁷"The World's Their Oyster," Television Age, 4 November 1968, p. 26.

³⁸Richard L. Gilbert, *ibid*, p. 17.

³⁹Arthur J. Kover, "Creative Organizations" (Ph.D. dissertation: Yale University, 1973), pp. 31, 32.

⁴⁰Joseph Bensman, Dollars and Sense (London: MacMillan Company, 1967), pp. 1-68.

⁴¹"The Advertising Agency - What It Is and What It Does For Advertisers," *ibid*, p. 40.

⁴²Arthur J. Kover, *ibid*, p. 27.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL PATTERNS OF RELIGIOUS
COMPOSITION OF ADVERTISING AGENCY LEADERSHIP

The prior chapter provided a brief history of the advertising agency business and described the major roles in the typical large advertising agency. We shall now focus on the changes that have occurred in the advertising agency leadership over the last three decades.

As indicated in the methodology, seven points in time were studied. The first was 1940, specified as the benchmark period. The latest was 1973, representing the current period. Five interim periods were chosen, four to represent times when according to our historical study of the industry there were factors or changes which could be expected to have major effects on personnel needs and thus provide new opportunities for ethnic groups, and the fifth to assure that fairly equal spans were covered over the entire range of time. The periods examined and the reasons for their choice follow:

- 1940 - The Benchmark Period
- 1945 - The War Period
- 1950 - When Television Had Become a Major Factor
- 1958 - The Era During Which Research Became Powerful and Agency Marketing Services Proliferated
- 1963 - An Interim Period to Represent the Interval Between 1958 and 1968
- 1968 - The Period When Creativity Became the Watchword and Small Creative Shops Came into Prominence
- 1973 - The Current Period

It will be recalled that the data were derived from a longitudinal study of the 20 advertising agencies in the New York area which are currently the largest in terms of domestic billings. Within these firms, the following groups of executives were studied:

The top two executives

The Creative Head

The Media Head

The Research Head

The Art Head

The rationale for the designation of the agency universe and the individuals within the agencies has been previously

detailed. As noted, historical data were not obtained for Account Management, but current data will enable us to make certain historical inferences about this group as well. Finally, it should be remembered that for the agencies involved, complete listings of the six persons specified above were not always available; in some cases, undoubtedly, the agencies did not have anyone in that position at a particular time; in others, the agency chose not to name the individuals occupying the specified positions.

Number of Agencies With Jews in Top Positions

Our analysis starts with the number of top 20 New York agencies having a Jew in one of the six key managerial positions. Here we must be especially cautious; in those cases where an agency listing included only one or two of the six persons under study, it could be erroneous to assume that all those not included were non-Jews. For the purpose of making what can be regarded as a reasonably accurate statement on an agency basis, our analysis has, therefore, been confined only to those agencies in which we could identify at least four of the six designated persons at each point in time.

Our first finding is that among the 18 of the 20

agencies now the largest within the New York area and for which we could identify the requisite four persons, 17 include a Jew in at least one of the six specified posts, and two-thirds or 12 agencies **have** two or more Jews in one of the designated positions. This is in sharp contrast to 1940 when only three Jews were identified among the executives studied and they were all found in one agency, the Grey Agency, an agency founded and managed by persons who identified themselves as Jewish.

When did the biggest changes occur? Table 1 answers this question. It shows for each period, among the agencies in which four or more position occupants were identified, the number of agencies with any Jews in one of the specified posts and the number of Jews in those posts.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF AGENCIES WITH JEWS IN TOP ECHELONS

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1973</u>
No. of Agencies with 4 or More Position Occupants Identified	5	9	11	15	15	18	18
No. of Agencies with Any Jew In One Of Positions	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>17</u>
No. of Positions Occupied By Jews:							
One		2	2	3	3	5	5
Two				2	2	6	6
Three	1			1	1	2	3
Four					1	2	2
Five		1	1	2	1		1
Six						1	

Some change, the table above indicates, occurred by 1945, but the big points of change came in the late fifties and the late sixties. By 1958, more than half of the agencies involved had at least one Jewish person in a top echelon position, and by 1968, 16 of the 18 agencies involved included a Jew at that level. Moreover, by 1968

many of the top agencies numbered more than one Jew among its highest levels of personnel.

It should be understood that if we had not restricted the above analysis to agencies in which the occupants of four or more of the positions specified were identified, Jews would have been found in a still smaller percentage of the agencies in the earlier periods. In only one of the 12 agencies in existence in 1940 and in only three of the 12 in existence in 1945 was a Jew among those identified.

Further, it is clear that the changes are not a function of the fact that we are dealing with agencies that rank differently in terms of size. To demonstrate this, a comparison was made between the ten agencies among the top 20 in 1945 and the ten agencies occupying equivalent ranks in 1973. (No comparison could be made with 1940 since 1940 ranks are not available.) The results of that comparison indicate that two out of these ten agencies had a Jew among those persons listed in 1945, while eight out of ten did in 1973.

On any basis then, it is evident that there are now many more agencies in the top 20 with Jews in key positions than there were before.

Proportion of Executives Who Are Jewish

The above data indicates the changes on an agency basis. Now we turn to the data on an individual basis for the purpose of determining what proportion of the executives in the positions under study was Jewish at each period. The relevant data are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

PROPORTION OF EXECUTIVES WHO WERE JEWISH OR NON-JEWISH
IN CURRENT TOP 20 AGENCIES IN EXISTENCE AT
EACH TIME

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1973</u>
Jewish	9%	11%	12%	22%	24%	38%	39%
Non-Jewish	<u>91</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>61</u>
<u>Total</u>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Executives Identified	34	54	69	89	90	104	109

Again we see that only marginal changes occurred in the penetration of Jews from our base period through 1950. However, between 1950 and 1958, the proportion of Jews in

these positions doubled, and between the earlier sixties and the late sixties, the proportion increased by roughly another third.

To preclude the possible assumption that these results might have been radically different had we not included at each point all of the 20 agencies which are now the largest, but rather based our analysis only on those which were among the top 20 in the respective periods, a special subanalysis was made. The results follow in Table 3. They do not differ importantly from those in Table 2, though for 1945 and 1950, they indicate a smaller proportion of Jews in top positions. (Data for 1940 are again omitted due to the unavailability of billing figures for that period, making it impossible to identify which agencies were in the top 20 at that point.)

TABLE 3

PROPORTION OF EXECUTIVES WHO WERE JEWISH OR NON-JEWISH
IN CURRENT TOP 20 AGENCIES AMONG TOP 20
AT THE RESPECTIVE TIMES

	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1973</u>
Jewish	4%	3%	24%	25%	38%	38%
Non-Jewish	<u>96</u>	<u>97</u>	<u>76</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>62</u>
<u>Total</u>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Number of Executives Indentified	54	61	78	83	93	109

The similarity of results makes it clear that the changes in Jewish representation occurred not only in agencies which have recently become important but in those that were large to begin with. Further, as Table 4 shows, while Jewish penetration is higher in the more recently formed agencies, Jews now represent a third of the executives studied in agencies which existed as far back as 1940, and where, we saw earlier, they represented only 9% at that time.

TABLE 4

PROPORTION OF CURRENT JEWISH AND NON-JEWISH EXECUTIVES
IN AGENCIES WHICH DID VS. DID NOT EXIST IN 1940

	<u>In Current Top</u> <u>Agencies Which</u> <u>Existed in 1940</u>	<u>In Current Top</u> <u>Agencies Which</u> <u>Did Not Exist in 1940</u>
Jewish	34%	42%
Non-Jewish	<u>66</u>	<u>58</u>
<u>Total</u>	100%	100%
Number of Execu- tives Identified	52	57

In review then, in terms of individuals as well as agencies, the data unequivocally reveal substantial changes in Jewish representation.

It cannot be emphasized too strongly, however, that the magnitude of the changes and the absolute levels shown are a consequence of the particular groups studied. It is therefore extremely important that we examine the data separately for various key groups; we start first with those heading up functional departments (Media, Research, Creative and Art).

Jews in the Functional Departments

As we examine the data for the functional areas, it is eminently clear that the Jews have had substantial upward mobility in each individual functional area.

In the Media area, Jewish representation in the top posts of the very largest agencies has increased from a figure of 12% in 1940 to a current figure of 31%. (Table 5)

TABLE 5

PROPORTION OF TOP MEDIA EXECUTIVES WHO WERE JEWISH OR
NON-JEWISH

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1973</u>
Jewish	12%	17%	9%	27%	20%	42%	31%
Non-Jewish	<u>88</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>69</u>
<u>Total</u>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Executives Identified	8	8	10	15	15	19	19

In the Research area, Jews now occupy almost seven out of ten of the top posts in the **largest 20 agencies** in

the New York area. Even ignoring 1940 when the number in base is so small (some agencies undoubtedly not having research departments at that time), it is clear that the representation of Jews has increased considerably over earlier years. (Table 6)

TABLE 6
PROPORTION OF TOP RESEARCH EXECUTIVES WHO WERE JEWISH OR
NON-JEWISH

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1973</u>
Jewish	0%	12%	0%	36%	29%	53%	68%
Non-Jewish	<u>100</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>32</u>
<u>Total</u>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Executives Identified	4	8	11	14	14	19	19

In the Art area, it is found that Jews now hold 42% of the top positions in the top 20 agencies. This again, is a marked increase over the comparable figures for earlier years. (Table 7)

TABLE 7PROPORTION OF TOP ART EXECUTIVES WHO WERE JEWISH OR NON-JEWISH

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1973</u>
Jewish	0%	14%	30%	27%	42%	33%	42%
Non-Jewish	<u>100</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>73</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>58</u>
<u>Total</u>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Number of Executives Identified	3	7	10	11	12	12	14

In the Creative area, Jewish representation is now at the 42% level, and not too long ago Jews held 63% of the top creative positions in the most elite firms. (Table 8)

TABLE 8PROPORTION OF TOP CREATIVE EXECUTIVES WHO WERE JEWISH OR NON-JEWISH

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1950</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1963</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1973</u>
Jewish	0%	14%	11%	23%	39%	63%	42%
Non-Jewish	<u>100</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>77</u>	<u>61</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>58</u>
<u>Total</u>	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Number of Executives Identified	3	7	8	13	13	16	17

From these same data, we can also see that the opportunities for Jews came at somewhat different points in different areas. In the Media and Research area, 1958 was a key turning point, with further substantial increases indicated by 1968; in the Art area, Jews became a sizable segment of the top echelon in the very largest agencies as early as 1950, the proportion remaining more or less stable since then; in the Creative area, though progress was clearly evident by 1958, the big upsurge was late in the sixties (See Table 9).

TABLE 9
PROPORTION OF EXECUTIVES IDENTIFIED AS JEWISH IN EACH
FUNCTIONAL GROUP

	Total 4 Functional Areas	Media	Research	Art	Creative
1940	5%	12%	0%	0%	0%
1945	13	17	12	14	14
1950	13	9	0	30	11
1958	39	27	36	27	23
1963	31	20	29	42	39
1968	48	42	53	33	63
1973	46	31	68	42	42

In a later chapter using the material from the depth interview portion of the study, we shall deal with the Jewish respondents' perceptions of why these changes came about. Reflecting here simply on the factual data and the history of the agency business, we can see that these changes were not random but associated both with the growth of the business and certain events in the business.

World War II - To begin with, it is axiomatic for Jews to have reached the top echelons in some areas of the business in the fifties, many Jews would have had to be in the

pipelines earlier. Here then we recall that with the advent of World War II advertising prospered, that manpower resources were more limited, and we infer that this in itself provided an opportunity for the entry of new groups.

Television - As to the dramatic increases observed in the late fifties in the proportion of Jews in the various functional roles, it will be remembered that several events marked the fifties. There was first of all the introduction of television which undeniably brought with it a need not only for more people but for new types of people. Undoubtedly, this provided a moment of opportunity for Jews in both the Media area and the Creative and Art areas; Jews were not only an additional resource of college-educated people, but many of them are known to have had experience in the related fields of radio, movies and entertainment.

The Research Boom - It will be recalled that the 1950's was marked by a boom in marketing services and facilities which resulted in many agencies setting up lavish departments and seeking a whole new assortment of people - statisticians, psychologists, sociologists. Many Jews had these specialized skills, the requisite academic training in the mathematical and social sciences which were beginning to be

heavily sought at that time and many, we shall see later on, had achieved on-the-job training in independent market research organizations. Moreover, a number of the research innovators of the day - men like Politz, Lazarsfeld and Dichter - were Jewish and it is reasonable to speculate that their prominence resulted in their serving as role models for the researchers whom agencies attempted to hire.

The "Creative Revolution" - Moving on to the sixties we saw a dramatic rise in the proportion of Jews who achieved top positions in the Creative area. This, of course, was concomitant with what we described earlier as the "Creative Revolution," the time when with clients building up their own marketing departments and research facilities, and with independent media services on the scene, many small creative shops or boutiques sprang into being. For the big agencies, it will be recalled, there was a new pressure of competition from small shops, many of which, as stated previously, became successful in establishing reputations for themselves and switching billings from the larger agencies.

In accounting for social change, one is almost always confronted with the problem of crediting the influence of

impersonal forces versus that of specific personalities¹ and indeed this is a problem that confronts us here. Whatever evidence we have suggests that, over and above the factors already identified, individual personalities were important in changing the character of Creative Departments and opening the way to Jews. Here our reference is primarily to William (Bill) Bernbach, who has been credited by some with bringing in a new wave of advertising. Bill Bernbach, currently chairman of the Board of the Doyle Dane Bernbach Advertising Agency, came into the field with a retail background, worked for the Grey agency from 1945-1949 and then started his own company, in partnership with several others.² Through the success of many client campaigns and the dramatic growth of his agency,³ he became extremely well known. To illustrate, he became a member of the Copywriters Hall of Fame in 1966, was named the Top Advertising Agency Executive in 1969, named the One Person Who Did The Most For The Progress of The Advertising Industry in 1963, 1965 and 1966.⁴ Some of the campaigns emanating from Doyle Dane Bernbach such as "You Don't Have To Be Jewish To Love Levy's" became classics.

Buxton, one observer of the scene, put it this way:

"He (Bernbach) literally invented a new kind of advertising . . . A friendlier, warmer, more personal point of view . . . Bernbach's contributions also include his fantastically successful training environment which produced at least a dozen ad agency presidents and hundreds of creative stars throughout the industry."⁵

At another point, Buxton points out that many of those trained by Bernbach then formed their own shops, that a whole new cadre of Jewish personalities entered, many of whom, with Italian art directors, made names for themselves. He continues:

"The reaction up and down Madison Avenue, after the first attempts by the senior citizens in the speechmaking circuit to belittle and disparage the new kind of advertising was a sudden switching of gears . . . When the old-line agencies found they couldn't 'borrow' the techniques, they finally decided that they would have to hire their own resident Jewish writers and Italian Art Directors."⁶

To what extent there was a conscious effort to compete by hiring Jews similar to Bernbach or like those in the smaller agencies who were making names for themselves, is impossible to assess. It seems reasonable to conclude, however, that with the ascendancy of creativity and with Jews being available as a ready source of creative talent, the individual Jews who were successful served as role models for those to follow. Consciously or unconsciously, their achievements facilitated the entry and promotion of Jews into top Creative positions in the larger agencies.

To summarize to this point, we have observed major changes in the representation of Jews in key functional positions in the top 20 agencies, changes which reasonably can be associated with shifts that occurred in the industry as it grew, as television became an important medium, as the industry moved into a marketing phase and then underwent the so-called "creative revolution"; each of these phases undoubtedly brought with it quests for new types of talent. We have also suggested that certain individuals were an

important factor, in changing the industry through their own innovations and by setting new criteria for desirability.

Jews in Account Management

As dramatic as the changes are that we have seen in the representation of Jews in the functional areas, it should be recognized that Jews as well as other minorities have always been relatively acceptable in specialized areas where their skills have transcended other boundaries. This has been pointed out by many including Keller & Blalock.^{7,8} Moreover, to quote from the American Jewish Committee, "both sides (referring to Jews and non-Jews) frequently succumb to what has been called the "Einstein syndrome" the notion that all or most Jews have a special gift or liking for mathematics, research, science and the creative arts, and that none is interested in the field of corporate management."⁹ Admittedly all of the functional group we have been concerned with are more than specialists operating individually in back rooms; they all have management responsibilities and client contact, if not on a regular basis, on important occasions. Their major role is however, a specialized one. What about the changes in the non-specialized roles? Did concomitant changes occur here? Were the changes as great?

To reiterate what we said earlier, it was impossible to obtain accurate information about the religious distribution of the top levels of Account Management. It, though, is evident from the data that could be obtained about the present representation of Jews in Account positions, that the changes observed in the specialized areas of the larger agencies were not accompanied by equivalent changes in the Account area. At this juncture, it should be noted that the data for the current period as well cannot be regarded as absolutely precise (based as it is on informants' reports); nevertheless, the information that was gathered indicates that even today an overwhelming proportion of the top members of Account Management in the top 20 agencies in New York are predominantly non-Jewish. As shown below, out of all members of the top echelons of Account Management in the top 20 agencies about whom information was obtained, 15% were reported to be Jewish. (Table 10) As expected, the greatest numbers of Jews were reported to be in the Grey Agency which we pointed out earlier was started many years ago by Jews; in fact, in the balance of the agencies, the estimated proportion of Jews in these positions is 12%.

TABLE 10PROPORTION OF JEWS IN TOP LEVELS OF ACCOUNT MANAGEMENT

	<u>All Top 20 N.Y. Agencies</u>	<u>Top 20 Agencies Excl. of Grey</u>
Jewish	15%	12%
Non-Jewish	<u>85</u>	<u>88</u>
<u>Total</u>	100%	100%
Number of Executives Identified	185	173

At the same time, it is certain that even these figures represent considerable increases over the proportions of Jews that might have been found in these positions earlier. As one respondent put it, it was "institutionalized that you couldn't make it as a Jew in Account Management in earlier days."

Why not the changes in Account Management that were observed in the functional areas? Undoubtedly many factors are involved.

To start with there is the significance of what has come to be defined as auxiliary characteristics. Putting it in Hughes'¹⁰ terms, there tends to grow about a status, in addition to its specifically determining traits, a complex of auxiliary characteristics which come to be expected of its incumbents. These are characteristics for many favored statuses and positions. They become embodied in the expectations of what is considered appropriate in particular roles. Where technical qualifications are not required, auxiliary characteristics play an especially important role. Account Management thus represents an area where it is 'natural' that such characteristics would be operative, it being one where the role is diffuse and the requirements non-specific.

Moreover, as the University of Michigan¹¹ studies have indicated, when the criteria for selection are vaguely defined and non-specific, considerable judgment and opinion enter into the situation. Such judgment and opinion provide 'escape valves' for discrimination and for stereotyped prejudices. Contained in these stereotyped prejudices are assumptions, as Hughes¹² also said, that 'other' people (those from minority groups) are not quite fit for the new

positions to which they may aspire, and are particularly adapted to the particular places they held up to now.

Further, it has long been recognized that current executives are likely to recruit as potential future executives men who are similar to themselves. Dalton put it this way: "Current executives are likely to look for and choose good men like themselves."¹³ Or, to cite Mills, the newly selected executive "must 'fit' in with those already at the top" and further, "The fit survive, and fitness means, not formal competence--there probably is no such thing for top executive positions--but conformity with the criteria of those who have already succeeded. To be compatible with the top men is to act like them, to look like them, to be of and for them--or at least to display oneself to them in such a way as to create this impression."¹⁴ Account Management, typically being the area from which top executives have been recruited, has clearly been one where such conformity is especially important.

Perhaps most important, it is certain that in all businesses involving personal contact between client and seller, there is likely to be a concern with the compatibility of those who deal with the client. Understandably,

in view of its substantial dependence on personal relationships both for the recruitment of new business and the maintenance of clients, this has been a pervasive concern in the agency business. To assure such compatibility, as later will more vividly be illustrated by some of the remarks of the Jewish respondents, agencies undoubtedly sought to match the characteristics of account management with the characteristics of the clients. Since the clients of advertising agencies are the large corporations of America which traditionally were headed by White, Anglo-Saxon Protestants from privileged backgrounds, so, therefore, agencies surely sought to select for Account Management posts White, Anglo-Saxon men who were from the 'right' families, schools and clubs.

A number of reasons then explain the lesser change in the representation of Jews in the Account Management area and their lower numbers there today. These it should be clear are reasons that are not unique to advertising, reasons that have to do with stereotyped prejudices that result from the use of auxiliary characteristics as criteria for selection, that reflect executives' predilections to hire people similar to those already in command,

reasons that pertain to concerns about the acceptance by clients of those with whom they are to deal.

As Jews suffer less discrimination in the country at large and become more generally assimilated, many of these factors undoubtedly will become less important. Further as more Jews move into executive positions in client offices, Jews in contact positions in agencies are bound to become better accepted. Here then it would be erroneous not to recognize, as the later remarks of those who have been in the business will show, that many more Jews now are in the lower levels of Account Management than was the case earlier. While the barriers may not be completely removed, it is reasonable to anticipate increased representation of Jews in the higher levels of Account Management in future years.

Jews in Top Management

To turn to top management, our evidence indicates that over the years there has also been a change in the very large agencies in the proportion of Jews occupying the very top executive roles. As the figures indicate (Table 11) compared to 1940 when we found that 13% of the top two executive positions were occupied by Jews, today 25% reportedly are.

TABLE 11
PROPORTION OF TOP TWO EXECUTIVE POSITIONS OCCUPIED BY JEWS

	Base: Total Top Executives <u>Identified</u>	<u>%</u>
1940	16	13
1945	24	8
1950	30	10
1958	36	14
1963	36	14
1968	38	18
1973	40	25

Moreover, it turns out that the earlier figure of 13% represented two executives in one agency - the Grey Agency, while the current figure of 25% is accounted for by ten people, as shown by Table 12 in six different agencies.

TABLE 12PROPORTION OF AGENCIES WITH JEWS IN TOP EXECUTIVE POSITIONS

	Number of Agencies In Historical Sample At Each Point In Time	Number of Agencies In Which One Of The Top Two Executive Posts Was Occupied By a Jew
1940	10	1
1945	12	1
1950	15	2
1958	18	3
1963	18	4
1968	20	6
1973	20	6

However, three of the six agencies in which top executive posts are held by Jews were reportedly started by Jews. Thus within the 17 agencies not started by Jews only four out of the 34 top executive posts or 11% are occupied by Jews. Compared to 1940 and 1950 when no Jew was identified as holding a top executive post in any but the one agency started by Jews, even this 11% represents a major increase. Nevertheless, clearly in the top command posts, as in the higher echelons of Account Management, and undoubtedly for many of the same reasons, the changes here are of a smaller magnitude than were observed in the functional areas. Further,

it should be noted that not all of those executives reportedly Jewish openly acknowledge to being Jewish.

Summary

In ~~summary~~ this historical analysis has indicated that there have been considerable changes during the last three decades in the proportion of Jews achieving important executive posts in the larger agencies.

We have indicated that these changes were largely in the functional areas, primarily in response to needs for talent created by technological innovations, competition and shifts in the distribution of power within the industry. As individual Jews moved into the higher echelons and were successful, they paved the way for others, altering the role models and serving as catalysts of change.

We also observed some change in the very top executive positions in the large agencies, in the positions of President, Chairman of the Board and the like. To a large degree we indicated that the Jews who achieved these positions did so by starting their own agencies.

Lesser changes were indicated in the top levels of Account Management; a number of reasons were suggested.

These included the influence of "auxiliary characteristics" in the selection process, the stereotyped prejudices that operate to maintain people in the kinds of positions they have heretofore occupied, the tendency to recruit for future executive roles those who are similar to those now occupying those roles, the importance attached to matching account management personnel to the clients with whom they are to have contact. We pointed out that these factors would naturally have been especially operative in Account Management, since this is the area that traditionally is the source of top executives, it is one where client contact is critical, and where specialized skills are less important. While indicating that the changes were of a smaller magnitude in Account Management than elsewhere, we suggested that here, too, the representation of Jews is increasing. Account Management may then be the last bastion.

Against this historical background, we turn to examine the current advertising leadership still further.

Chapter 4 Footnotes

¹Kasper D. Naegele, "Introduction to Part Five, Social Change" in Theories of Society, ed. Talcott Parsons, Edward Shils, Kasper D. Naegele and Jesse R. Pitts (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe Inc., 1961), p. 1221.

²Who's Who in America, 38th Ed., 1974-1975, p.242.

³During the Sixties, Doyle Dane Bernbach jumped its billings from less than \$50 million to more than \$250 million, Edward Buxton, *ibid*, p. 42.

⁴Who's Who in America, 38th Ed., 1974-1975, p.242.

⁵Edward Buxton, *ibid*, p. 51.

⁶*Ibid*, p. 41.

⁷Suzanne Keller, *ibid*, p. 205.

⁸Hubert M. Blalock Jr., *ibid*, pp. 212-214.

⁹Edwin Kiester Jr., *ibid*, p. 5.

¹⁰Everette Cherrington Hughes, *ibid*, p. 142.

¹¹Robert L. Kahn et al., Discrimination Without Prejudice (University of Michigan: November 1964) and Robert P. Quinn et al., The Chosen Few (University of Michigan: 1968).

¹²Everette Cherrington Hughes, *ibid*, p. 146.

¹³Suzanne Keller, *ibid*, p. 321.

¹⁴C. Wright Mills, *ibid*, p. 14.

CHAPTER 5

THE CURRENT ADVERTISING AGENCY LEADERSHIP:RELIGION AND NATIONALITY

In the last chapter we traced over time the changes in the proportion of Jews occupying various leadership positions within the top 20 agencies. Our objective in this chapter will be to elaborate on the findings regarding the current ethnic representation in the industry. Thus, we will examine the representation of the various religious groups in medium and small agencies as well as large; in addition, we will provide information on the nationality as well as the religious composition of those occupying key roles.

Here we shall rely on the data collected from the mail survey among selected persons in all agencies in the New York area whose domestic billings in 1972 exceeded \$10 million. As in the historical data, the focus will be on the following individuals: the top executives in these agencies and the heads of various functional areas, namely,

the Creative head, the Media and Research heads, and the head of Art. Persons occupying Account Management roles were not included for the various reasons mentioned earlier.

The Ethnic Composition of the Executive Leadership

Within the five groups studied, the data indicate that nearly half of the positions are occupied by Jews, with the balance occupied almost equally by Protestants and Catholics. (Table 1)

TABLE 1
RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF EXECUTIVES

Protestant	28%
Jewish	46
Catholic	26
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	205

Seeing these figures, one is likely to wonder how they compare with the distribution of the religious groups in the population. Such a comparison is difficult for several reasons. For one thing, there is the problem of deciding what geographic limits to use for the population figures, since many people who work in New York reside out of the city limits. Another problem is that the population figures for Catholics are not on a city or metropolitan area basis but rather in terms of archdioceses. To explain further, both the New York and Brooklyn archdioceses cover the New York area but the New York archdiocese also extends considerably beyond New York City and its suburbs. Further, there is the question of whether the population figures should include Blacks and Puerto Ricans who, to this point, for various reasons have been largely "ineligible" for top executive posts.

For the purpose of providing some basis of comparison, two sets of population figures ~~were~~ derived, based on 1970 data. One represents an estimate of the proportion of the total New York City population which is Jewish, Catholic and Protestant; the second represents the same estimate excluding Blacks and Puerto Ricans.¹ Table 2 compares the

distribution of the religious groups in the advertising leadership with these two population estimates.

TABLE 2
RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION OF EXECUTIVES
VERSUS POPULATION COMPOSITION

		New York City Population			
		<u>Total</u>		<u>Excluding Blacks and Puerto Ricans</u>	
	<u>Advertising Executive Composition</u>	<u>Number in 000's</u>	<u>Per- centage</u>	<u>Number in 000's</u>	<u>Per- centage</u>
Protestant	28%	3,455	44%	1,855	36%
Jewish	46	1,836	23	1,836	35
Catholic	26	2,605	33	1,538	29
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>7,896</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>5,229</u>	<u>100%</u>

In relation to the population distribution, even excluding Blacks and Puerto Ricans, Jews are then indicated as over-represented, and Protestants, under-represented. Catholics are represented in numbers roughly equal to the distribution of the population. Two important factors must, however, be considered here. First, the population figures do not take into account variations in college attendance, a factor which certainly influences the eligibility of various groups. This is relevant since such attendance is known to be highest among the Jews. Second, the survey figures are clearly a function of the particular groups of executives studied. It is obvious from the figures provided on Account Management in the prior chapter that were this group included, the proportion of Jews indicated above would be materially lower. How much lower would depend on the numbers of Account Management Supervisors included per agency as well as the Jewish representation within the group. Were we able to adjust for both these factors, the distribution within the executive leadership would no doubt be much more similar to the composition of the population.

As stated earlier, the survey also provided data on the nationality of the respondents. To obtain this information,

respondents were asked to report separately the predominant nationality of the ancestors of their mothers and fathers. Table 3 reports the results of these data for the three religious groups.

TABLE 3
NATIONALITY BY RELIGION

	<u>Protestants</u>		<u>Catholics</u>		<u>Jews</u>	
	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>
	<u>Nat'lty</u>	<u>Nat'lty</u>	<u>Nat'lty</u>	<u>Nat'lty</u>	<u>Nat'lty</u>	<u>Nat'lty</u>
Eng/Scotch/Welsh	40%	44%	13%	17%	2%	2%
Ger/Aust/Prussian	16	12	19	7	21	25
Irish	11	9	46	41	0	0
Russian/Latvian	2	2	0	2	35	40
Polish.Hung/Czeck	-	-	2	4	24	16
Italian	2	2	20	20	0	1
Swedish/Danish	7	4	2	4	0	0
French	2	7	2	4	0	1
Dutch	4	5	0	0	2	1
Misc.	4	4	2	2	0	0
American (so reported)	12	16	0	0	7	7
No answer	5	5	7	7	12	11
<u>*Total</u>	105%	110%	113%	108%	103%	104%
Number of Executives	57	57	54	54	94	94

* % added to more than 100 due to duplicate responses.

As seen above, the Protestants in the executive roles are largely of Anglo-Saxon backgrounds, the Catholics primarily Irish and the Jews mostly of Eastern European background. This becomes even clearer as we categorize respondents, taking into account the ancestral backgrounds of both their parents. As Table 4 indicates, almost six out of ten (55%) of the Protestants were found to be of Anglo-Saxon backgrounds either on their mother's side or their father's side or on both sides; the majority of Catholics (62%) are either of totally Irish backgrounds or of an Irish heritage on one side or the other; most of the Jews (66%) stem, in part at least, from Eastern European ancestry (Russian/Latvian/Polish/Hungarian or Czech). In the case of the Protestants, the balance consists mainly of those of Germanic background; in the case of the Catholics, Italians comprise the other important group; those Jews other than Eastern European are Western European essentially, primarily German and Austrian.

TABLE 4
NATIONALITY CLASSIFICATION OF RESPONDENTS

<u>Protestants</u>	
Anglo-Saxon Both Sides	23%
Anglo-Saxon/Irish	11
Anglo-Saxon/Germanic	5
Anglo-Saxon/Other	16
Germanic Both Sides	7
Germanic/Irish	7
Germanic/Other	2
Other	14
No Answer, Not Clear	15
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Catholics</u>	
Irish Both Sides	19%
Irish/Italian	2
Irish/Other	41
Italian Both Sides	18
Italian/Other	2
Other	13
No Answer, Not Clear	5
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Jews</u>	
Eastern European Both Sides	48%
Western European Both Sides	18
Eastern European/ Western European	18
Jewish/Italian	1
No Answer, Not Clear	15
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Number of Executives</u>	
Protestants	57
Catholics	54
Jews	94

Putting the religious and nationality figures on a common basis provides us with a picture of the advertising leadership in these combined respects. This has been done in Table 5. From there it is obvious that the groups with the greatest representation are the following: Eastern European Jews, Irish Catholics and Anglo-Saxon Protestants.

TABLE 5
RELIGIOUS/NATIONALITY COMPOSITION
OF ADVERTISING EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP

<u>Protestants</u>	<u>28%</u>
Anglo-Saxons	15
German	5
Other, Not Clear	8
<u>Catholics</u>	<u>26</u>
Irish	15
Italian	6
Other, Not Clear	5
<u>Jewish</u>	<u>46</u>
Eastern European	23
Western European	8
Eastern Western European	8
Other, Not Clear	7
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>

Determination of Ethnicity Groups To Be Used in Subsequent
Analysis

With the data provided above, we have completed our description of the total group of executives studied. In the balance of this chapter we shall be analyzing the data to determine how this distribution varies by role occupied within the agency and by size of agency. We shall then go on to report the findings regarding the characteristics of key ethnic groups in the leadership and in turn, to the paths they followed in achieving their present positions.

To determine which groups to examine in these various respects, there were two considerations: the size of the groups and their distinctiveness. The information in Table 5 provided the necessary data for the first consideration. To assist us in evaluating the second consideration, an analysis was made of the positions held by the major nationality sub-segments within each religious group identified in Table 5, omitting those subgroups which consist of individuals whose backgrounds are mixed i.e., Jews of both Eastern and Western European origins. The results are provided in Table 6.

TABLE 6

TYPES OF POSITIONS OCCUPIED BY VARIOUS
RELIGIOUS-NATIONALITY GROUPS

	<u>Protestants</u>		<u>Catholics</u>		<u>Jewish</u>	
	<u>Anglo</u>				<u>East</u>	<u>West</u>
	<u>Saxon</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Italian</u>	<u>Euro</u>	<u>Euro</u>
<u>Role in Agency</u>						
Top Executive	60%	70%	34%	18%	27%	35%
Creative	11	0	16	37	15	18
Media	25	10	31	18	11	12
Research	4	0	16	0	29	23
Art	0	20	3	27	18	12
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	28	10	32	11	45	17

As Table 6 indicates, there were some differences between the subsegments within each group. Considering the sample sizes involved, though, the pattern for Eastern and Western Europeans is remarkably similar and so is that for the two Protestant subgroups. Among the Catholics, however,

there is a marked distinction between those of Irish and Italian heritage, with almost twice as many of the former than the latter being found in Top Executive and Media roles, with far fewer Irish than Italians in the Creative and Art areas, and with no Italians in Research, compared to 16% for the Irish.

As a consequence of the above results and the well-known distinctions between the Irish and the Italians, it was decided that these two groups would be dealt with separately in all subsequent analysis. On the other hand, with no compelling reason to deal with subgroups of Protestants or Jews and considering the sample sizes involved, these groups will each be examined in the aggregate.²

The Ethnic Composition of Executives In Various Types of Roles

Consistent with what was observed within the top 20 agencies, there are marked differences in the ethnic composition of those occupying top executive versus key functional roles in the total group of agencies billing \$10 million or more. As Table 7 shows, Protestants are found twice as often in top executive posts than in key functional roles.

Jews, on the other hand, have larger representation in the functional areas than in the command positions. The latter is also the case for the Italians, while Irish are about equally represented in the two groups.

TABLE 7

ETHNICITY OF TOP VERSUS FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Top Executives</u>	<u>Functional Executives</u>
Protestant	40%	20%
Jewish	38	51
Irish	14	16
Italian	3	8
Other Catholic	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Number of Executives	79	126

There are further distinctions by type of functional role occupied. These are shown in Table 8. Protestants are more often found heading up Media and Creative departments than Research or Art; the largest proportion of Jews

are found in the Research area, followed by Art; the Irish are represented most often in Media, least often in Art; substantially greater percentages of the Italians are in the Art and Creative areas than in Media and they are not represented at all in Research.

TABLE 8

ETHNICITY OF INDIVIDUALS IN KEY FUNCTIONAL ROLES

	<u>Creative Head</u>	<u>Media Head</u>	<u>Research Head</u>	<u>Art Head</u>
Protestant	21%	28%	11%	11%
Jewish	47	39	70	58
Irish	15	22	17	5
Italian	12	7	0	16
Other Catholic	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	34	46	27	19

In review then the ethnic distribution by position occupied is by no means random. There are considerable differences by ethnicity in top executives versus functional roles, and further, within the particular functional areas.

The Ethnic Composition of Executives In Various Size Agencies

In Chapter Four, our analysis was based on the top 20 agencies; as we have said several times, here we are dealing with all New York agencies billing \$10 million or more. We shall now examine the ethnic composition of the leadership in agencies of various sizes within this group.

Since the survey data provided information over and above that in the historical analysis, data for the top 20 agencies will again be shown. This will provide us with information for these agencies with respect to nationality; at the same time, the religious data from the two sources will be able to be compared as a validity check. Our emphasis here, though, will be on a comparison of the ethnic patterns in the following three groups of agencies; the third that were largest in terms of their domestic billings in 1972, hereafter referred to as the large agencies; the

third that were next highest in terms of these billings, labelled the medium size agencies; and the third that ranked next in billings, referred to as the small agencies. Our decision to use this classification rather than to treat the top 20 as one group and to divide the balance was in part based on the fact that a division by equal thirds seemed natural. More importantly, by so doing, the number of respondents in those agencies classified as large was bolstered; this was considered desirable because of the importance of this group in subsequent analyses. The large agencies, as defined above, are, however, in any case primarily comprised of the top 20 agencies and as seen below, the respondents from the top 20 agencies represent the bulk of the respondents in the more expanded group labelled large agencies.

Classification of Agencies

	1972 Domestic Billings	Number of Agencies	Number of Respondents
<u>Large Agencies</u>	\$45 to 393mi.	26	80
Top 20	\$68 to 393mi.	20	60
<u>Medium Agencies</u>	\$18 to 42mi.	26	75
<u>Small Agencies</u>	\$11 to 17mi.	26	49(a)

(a) Note: The smaller number of respondents in this group is largely due to the fact that fewer persons were listed for the positions under study; there was also a slightly lower return from respondents in small agencies.

By way of further description, the table below shows the range in number of employees in the various categories of agencies.

	1972
	<u>Range in No. of U.S. Employees</u>
<u>Large Agencies</u>	170-2400
Top 20	295-2400
<u>Medium Agencies</u>	45- 250
<u>Small Agencies</u>	25- 95

Turning to the findings, we see immediately in Table 9 that the ethnic composition of the executive leadership differs markedly by size of agency. The data there, for the total group of executives, shows that Protestants are found much more often in the higher echelons of the large agencies, the top 20 or more expanded large group, than in the medium or smaller agencies. This same pattern prevails for the Irish. The reverse is the case for both the Jews and the Italians, their representation being considerably smaller in the bigger agencies than in the medium or smaller areas.

TABLE 9
ETHNICITY OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES BY
SIZE OF AGENCY

	<u>Large Agencies</u>		<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>
	<u>Top 20</u>	<u>All Large</u>	<u>Agencies</u>	<u>Agencies</u>
Protestants	38%	36%	25%	17%
Jewish	38(a)	35	48	61
Irish	15	23	13	8
Italian	2	1	7	12
Other Catholic	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>
Total	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Number of Respondents	60	80	75	49

(a) This compares with a figure of 39% recorded for the top 20 agencies in the historical section based on other sources as well as survey data and including all executives not just respondents to the survey.

The differentials by size are even more substantial among those in the top executive groups. Jewish top executives are found three times as often in small agencies than large; Protestants easily dominate in the large

agencies and are less often the heads of medium and small agencies. Italians, we see, are completely absent in the very top ranks of the big agencies.

TABLE 10
ETHNICITY OF TOP EXECUTIVES BY SIZE OF AGENCY

	<u>Large Agencies</u>		<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>
	<u>Top 20</u>	<u>All Large</u>	<u>Agencies</u>	<u>Agencies</u>
Protestants	60%	53%	35%	28%
Jewish	18(a)	17	46	57
Irish	13	23	11	5
Italian	0	0	4	5
Other Catholic	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Respondents	23	30	28	21

(a) This compares with a figure of 25% recorded for the top 20 agencies in the historical section based on other sources as well as survey data and including all top executives not just respondents to the survey.

The distinctions, however, are by no means limited to top executives. As Table 11 indicates, in the functional

area as well, Protestants and Irish are far more often found in the larger agencies, Jews and Italians in the medium and small.

TABLE 11
ETHNICITY OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES BY SIZE OF AGENCY

	<u>Large Agencies</u>		<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>
	<u>Top 20</u>	<u>All Large</u>	<u>Agencies</u>	<u>Agencies</u>
Protestants	25%	26%	19%	7%
Jewish	51(a)	46	49	64
Irish	16	22	15	11
Italian	3	2	9	18
Other Catholic	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Respondents	37	50	47	28

(a) This compares with a figure of 46% recorded for the top 20 agencies in the historical section based on other sources as well as survey data and including all functional executives not just respondents to the survey.

Finally, Table 12 compares the ethnic distribution by size of agency for the various specific functional roles studied. Due to sample size, the analysis here is restricted to two groups: large versus medium and small agencies. From these data, it is evident that Protestants are much more likely to be at the heads of Creative, Media and Art Departments in the large agencies than in the medium or small ones; the reverse though, is true for Research. Jews are more likely to be found heading up the Creative, Media or Art Departments in the medium or small agencies than in the large ones, but are more often at the top of large agency Research Departments than at the head of those in medium or small agencies. Distinctions for the Irish are generally less noticeable, except in the Media area where they are more dominant in the large than medium or small agencies. As for the Italians, it is evident their most important representation is as heads of Art Departments in medium or small agencies, and that their representation, regardless of area, is almost exclusively in the less large agencies.

TABLE 12
ETHNICITY OF SPECIFIC FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY

	<u>Creative</u>		<u>Media Head</u>		<u>Research</u>		<u>Art Head</u>	
	<u>Head</u>				<u>Head</u>			
	<u>Lg.</u>	<u>Md/Sm</u>	<u>Lg.</u>	<u>Md/Sm</u>	<u>Lg.</u>	<u>Md/Sm</u>	<u>Lg.</u>	<u>Md/Sm</u>
	<u>Ag.</u>	<u>Ag.</u>	<u>Ag.</u>	<u>Ag.</u>	<u>Ag.</u>	<u>Ag.</u>	<u>Ag.</u>	<u>Ag.</u>
Protestants	37%	9%	40%	23%	5%	20%	33%	0%
Jewish	27	59	20	48	78	50	50	61
Irish	18	14	40	13	17	20	0	8
Italian	9	14	0	10	0	0	0	23
Other Catholic	9	4	0	6	0	10	17	8
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	11	22	15	31	18	10	6	13

In review, ethnic patterns are substantially affected by size of agency. With the exception of Research, Protestants are consistently found more often in large than medium or small agencies. With the same exception, Jews are found less often in the large agencies. In whatever areas Italians are found, they, too, are more often located in the less large agencies. The pattern is more mixed for the Irish.

Summary

In review, a number of findings emerge:

- . In the aggregate, it is clear that the top echelons of the advertising leadership can no longer be considered essentially WASP; Catholics are represented in sizable numbers and the Jewish representation is clearly considerable. Within the Catholic group the Irish are represented much more heavily than the Italians, the latter's representation remaining very low.
- . Representation varies considerably in functional versus top executive areas and by size of agency. Protestants are more heavily represented in top executive roles; Jews and Italians in functional roles. Jews and Italians are a much more important factor in the medium and small agencies than the large; Protestants are more important in the large than the medium or small; Irish representation is more evenly divided both in terms of size of agency and role.

。 Variations exist in the representation within particular functional roles. Jewish representation is highest in the Research area; Protestant in the Media and Creative areas; Irish in Media; and Italians in Art and Creative. Within these areas, there are further distinctions by size of agency. With only one major exception, though, the general pattern by size prevails for the Protestants, Jews and Italians--namely, the Protestants being found more often in large agencies, the Jews and Italians in medium and small. The exception is Research where more Jews were found in the large agencies and fewer in the small, while the reverse was true for the Protestants.

This completes our discussion of the ethnic representation in the advertising agency leadership in New York. In the next chapter, we shall see how the Jews themselves perceived the historical changes in their acceptance within the industry.

Chapter 5 Footnotes

¹The sources of data and derivation of the population percentages reported in Table 2 were as follows:

1970 Religious Composition of N.Y.C. Population

	<u>Total</u>		<u>Excluding Blacks and Puerto Ricans</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
<u>Total Population</u>	<u>7,895,563</u> ¹	<u>100</u>	<u>5,228,927</u> ⁵	<u>100</u>
Jewish	1,836,000 ²	23	1,836,000 ⁶	35
Catholic	2,605,350 ³	33	1,538,350 ⁷	29
Protestant	3,454,713 ⁴	44	1,854,577 ⁸	36

Source of Data:

1. World Almanac 1974, p. 189.
2. World Almanac 1974, p. 164.
3. Catholic Almanac, 1974, p. 486 - Computed, based on assumption that the percentage of Catholics reported for Brooklyn and New York archdiocese (33%) would apply to New York City proper.
4. Derived by subtracting total estimated Jewish and Catholic population from total N.Y.C. population.
5. Derived by subtracting Negro population figures reported in World Almanac 1974, p. 165 and Puerto Rican figures reported in The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac 1972, p. 236 from Total Population, i.e., 7,895,563 minus 1,666,636 for Blacks and 1,000,000 for Puerto Ricans.
6. Same as 2, on assumption virtually all Jews are Whites.

7. Derived by subtracting from Total Catholic figure as given in 3, Puerto Rican population of 1,000,000 on assumption virtually all would be Catholic and 67,000 based on estimate from New York Catholic archdiocese that 4% of Blacks are Catholics.
8. Derived by subtracting total of 6 and 7 from 5.

²Persons classified as Irish were those who reported Irish ancestry on either their mother's or father's side and the same is true for Italians; the one individual who reported Irish/Italian ancestry was placed in the Italian group.

CHAPTER 6

JEWS' PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR ACCEPTANCE
IN ADVERTISING AGENCIES

In the preceding chapters we traced the changes that occurred in the representation of Jews in the top echelons of the large agencies and related these to events that affected the agency business; we then examined the current ethnic representation within various size agencies.

To provide a further understanding both of the changes that have occurred and of the current situation, we turn to the perceptions of those Jews who were in effect "actors" on the scene. We shall report on their views regarding the acceptance of Jews when they entered the business, the environment as they see it today, and the factors to which they attribute the changes.

Perceptions of Environment for Jews at Time of Entry

Regarding the acceptance of Jews, virtually all respondents acknowledged that certain restrictions existed at the time they were entering the business. Some clearly

recall these restrictions as very pervasive. As one man said who came in as late as 1954, "Our feeling about the field was that advertising was terribly anti-Semitic... I think it was generally closed. Albert Lasker, as I recall, was Jewish. So he broke through. My impression though was that it was totally WASP."

Others clearly distinguished between the opportunities for Jews to enter Jewish vs. non-Jewish agencies. Here's how one man put it during a question/answer exchange on the subject:

Q. At the time you entered advertising, how difficult was it for a Jew to get into this field?

A. To get a job in the field was extremely difficult. There are two reasons for this: the nature of the business, but even more importantly the characteristics of the individuals who were running the companies. Most companies at that time were run by people who came out of a WASP orientation. As a matter of fact, Catholics were first starting to get into the business... Generally speaking, at the time I came into the industry, the industry broke down very poorly. There were the few so-called Jewish shops, Grey and shops that were headed by entrepreneurs. And then there were shops like _____ which were violently anti-Semitic; there were two or three well-placed Jews there who were in hiding, but no one knew they were Jewish.

It is clear that those who came into the Research and Media areas experienced the least restrictions. Here, for

example, are the comments of one of these men who came in during the early fifties:

Q: At the time you entered _____, how difficult was it for a Jewish person to get a job in the field?

A: Well, I don't know. I never really concerned myself with it. . . . Research seemed to be an area in which Jews were entering the business.

And from another who came in a little later:

Q: At the time of your entry into advertising, how difficult was it for a Jewish person to get a job in the field?

A: It wasn't very hard for a Jewish guy to get into research; no, not at all.

Some felt that the barriers had been removed in the Creative area as well; one respondent who entered as an artist as early as 1945 said:

Q: Was it difficult for a Jewish person to get into the field then?

A: No.

Q: At that time, when you first entered advertising, do you think that a Jewish person could get a job in all areas of advertising equally easily?

A: I think it was tougher in the account service area. I think in the Creative areas and Media areas where there was this myth that Jews were smarter and we could use them in the back room and it's nice to have them--then it was okay.

But most who came in via the Creative area believed there were barriers. Here's what one man said in talking about

his unsuccessful attempt to obtain a Creative position in 1950:

Q: How did you happen to leave the _____ and go into advertising?

A: I really always had it in my head to go into advertising. I frankly was unsuccessful. . . . I never frankly stopped looking in the advertising business. In those days it was a fairly restricted industry. Usually they had those sneaky questions at the end of all interviews like what club do you or your parents belong to.

Or as another said who came in in 1954:

Q: At the time of your entry into advertising, how difficult was it for a Jewish person to get a job in the field?

A: It was more difficult to get a job in a big agency. There were some Jews in advertising but not a great many. Particularly, there were some agencies of which it was well known that they didn't hire Jews.

Q: Why do you think it was difficult for Jews?

A: Because advertising was a WASP business at that time. It worked on the basis of playing golf with one's cronies on the golf course. And living in the right town and belonging to the right club.

And from one who came in in 1956:

Q: At the time of your entry into advertising, how difficult was it for a Jewish person to get a job in the field?

A: Well, it was difficult. It has always been relatively difficult for anyone to get a first job in advertising. If someone was Jewish in those days. . .there was a clear distinction between

those agencies which were Jewish and those which were not. In those days, there were relatively few first-rate Jewish agencies.

Q: When you say Jewish agencies, do you mean agencies which hire Jews? Agencies that have Jewish clients? What do you mean by that?

A: Jewish agencies were typically run by Jews--Jewish presidents, Jewish chairmen of the board--essentially owned by Jews and it followed that the clients were predominantly companies run by Jews. For example, _____ was Jewish, the chief clients were Jewish _____, _____, every significant account was run by Jews. By contrast, if you look at the top agencies of the day they were _____ and _____; these were conspicuously not Jewish. By and large, every one of the top agencies in those days was a non-Jewish agency. The real clincher came when you wanted to go from the small agency to a large non-Jewish agency. If you got the job at the small agency, to make the big time, you then had to go to the large non-Jewish agency; there were no jobs for Jews.

None of our respondents entered via the Account area and none indicated he had attempted to, but to a man they agreed that the barriers were greatest in that area, as typified by the following quotations:

#1. Q: Would you say there was this restriction in all areas of advertising?

A: Especially in the Account area.

#2 Q: Would you say that a Jew could get a job in all areas of advertising equally easily?

A: No, no.

Q: In what areas was it more difficult?

A: . . . The Account Service, and Account Management.

In explaining the reasons for this, invariably the emphasis was on compatibility. Here's how several different men voiced their remarks, with the last of these obviously also recognizing the predilection of executives to select men similar to themselves:

- #1. "Account men. . . were white shoe guys who used to live in Westport. . . for some reason it was a breeding ground out there. I think it was probably because of the sensitivities of agencies at the very beginning dealing with companies who had non-Jewish guys at the head--and most companies didn't have Jews at the head--and to send a guy out as a contact, they always said we got to pair the right guy with the client. I am sure that there was a conscious pairing. Like you would say, well, Joe will be right for that guy--and usually he had the same denomination."
- #2. "Back in the '50's and certainly before that time, agency management would bend over backwards in their own minds anyway to find somebody who they thought was right for servicing a particular client. Now if it was a client that was non-Jewish, or somebody who they thought would not be particularly happy with a Jewish account executive, I think they would go out of their way not to give a Jewish person that job even if that person was more qualified for it than the next one."
- #3. "I think it was the theory of we've got to be careful of whom we put on this particular account because this client is oldline established WASP."
- #4. "I know why--because most clients were WASPS and, therefore, most account executives were hired so they could relate to these clients."

- #5. "Partly because there was an old-line tradition of WASP account executives on the big accounts and people, by and large, tend to hire like people, a perpetuation of the breed."

In summary, it is clear that Jews who witnessed the earlier scene recognize that barriers to their acceptance did indeed exist; these barriers, however, were far greater in certain areas, particularly Account Management.

Now that we have looked at Jews' perceptions of their prior acceptance, we turn to their feelings regarding opportunities for Jews in the business today.

Perceptions of Opportunities for Jews Today

Without any question, the acceptance of Jews today is regarded as far greater than in earlier days. Some respondents in fact indicated that it is their belief that today there are absolutely no barriers for Jews in any area. Here's what one person from the Research area stated:

Q: How difficult would you say it is for a Jewish person to get a job in advertising today?

A: I would say that I don't think the Jewish element enters into whether or not they get the job; I think it has to do with their ability.

Q: Would you say a Jew entering the business today would be able to get into all areas of advertising equally easily?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you think there would be any difference?

A: I don't think so. There doesn't seem to be any difficulty for Jews to get into all areas of our agency--in low, middle and very high positions.

And another from the Research area:

Q: Do you think that a Jewish person entering advertising today would have equal success in all agencies?

A: I don't know of any agency who wouldn't hire Jews. I know enough Jewish people who have done well at _____, _____, _____. I can't imagine which agency would be a problem. I really can't think of any place. _____, _____. . . they all have Jews.

Q: Do you think that today it's just as easy to get into the Account area as in Creative or Research?

A: Yes, there's a big change.

And another, a Creative director this time:

Q: How difficult is it for a Jewish person to get a job in advertising today?

A: It's difficult for anybody to get a job in advertising today--Jewish or otherwise. . . the business is economically forced into hiring very few people. So whether you're Jewish doesn't matter. I really believe that to the extent that anybody can get a job, Jewish boy or girl, writer or art director--has as good a chance as anybody else.

Q: What about Jews trying to get into Account work?

A: I'm not equally adept in this area. I don't know many Jews who want to be Account guys. . . There is more money to be made in the Creative side and one could get ahead faster on the Creative side. This is a wild generalization because there are obviously lots of Jewish Account guys.

Q: Can a Jew make it on the Account side?

A: They can, but they would be by and large pretty, pretty stupid to do so, up until now.

And a fourth, the head of a medium-sized agency, who even suggested being Jewish might be a plus:

Q: How difficult would you say it is for a Jew to get a job in advertising today?

A: It's as difficult as it is for a green or purple person. . . any person.

Q: Do you think that a person's career today would be affected because he was Jewish?

A: I would say it is almost more plus than negative. I think there's tremendous acceptance. I think basically this business recognizes ability. It's a very competitive business, talent runs on the top. People are concerned with the best talent; it doesn't matter what color or religion you are.

By and large, then, it is clear that the prevalent view is that there are no longer barriers to the acceptance of Jews in most areas of advertising. However, many do acknowledge that there still are limitations in the Account area, though they feel that the problems even in this area are not as great as they used to be. Witness a whole battery of comments that reflect this:

#1. Q: What about a Jewish person trying to get into advertising today? Would you think it would be difficult?

A: Certainly not in the Creative Department. Most Creative Departments are very Jewish.

Q: What about the Account Area?

A. There might be some problems there. Certain accounts. Certain agencies. Still but less so.

#2. Q: Do you think a Jewish person coming into the business today would have any problem at all?

A: There must be people who still harbor some negativism about Jews, but I think it is minimal now.

Q: In all areas?

A: For the most part, yes. I know we have Jews at the account level.

Q: At pretty much all agencies? I think you suggested there might be a difference between some agencies.

A: There are still differences in some agencies.

#3. Q: Even though you had no problem as a Jew in advertising, how difficult would you say it is for a Jew to get a job in advertising today?

A: No problem in all areas as far as I know. I think in some areas it may be a little more difficult than in others. In the account area if there is a client. . . it may be difficult. I haven't had one client who has expressed a prejudice.

#4. Q: Do you think that a person's career would be affected today in advertising because he was Jewish?

A: In the account area I would say less than it used to be. There will be a small dwindling number of accounts on which there won't be a Jewish Account guy. The trend is positive. . .

#5. Q: Do you think that a person's career in advertising today would be affected by the fact that he was Jewish, in terms of the kind of position he could get?

A: I think the Creative area is wide open. I think in Media it is wide open. I think the one area where there are some relative constraints would be in the Account area.

#6. Q: Do you think a Jew would be able to get into all areas of advertising today?

A: I still think the account area is the most difficult; it's where the sensitivity is. The Research area is practically all Jewish. Creative is mixed. Media is mixed. Account Management is the most difficult area.

#7. Q: In general, how difficult would you say it is for a Jewish person to get a job today?

A: I would imagine that in the Account Executive area there still could be a problem in some agencies. I think Creatively (and maybe I'm being naive) there is no problem. Even _____ has Jewish people working there. I think in the client contact area, you would probably still have problems.

#8. Q: Do you think that a person entering advertising today--do you think his chances for success would be equal in all areas?

A: Success in terms of going where?

Q: As far as he can.

A: No I don't think so. I think there are agencies where there is more of an open field than in other agencies.

Q: Do you feel there are certain jobs in advertising that you could get as a Jew today that used to be closed?

A: Yes, I believe that that is true. It doesn't exist today at all levels. I would even say at the Account level--you can be a Jew today and be an Account Executive, although I'd say it's still more sensitive in that area.

#9. Q: Do you think a Jewish person would be able to get into all areas of advertising equally easily?

A: I would suspect what I said before, the account area would still be a little more difficult than other areas for the very same reason, and that is prejudice on the part of a client and the agency at this point wanting to make sure that they protect themselves at all times by not doing anything to antagonize the client. Business is difficult enough at this point--producing advertising that would satisfy him, let alone confronting him with people that he doesn't like.

The Jews who were actors on the scene then, while recognizing that some restrictions may still exist, are very much aware of the substantial change that has occurred in the acceptance of Jews. We now come to the events or

factors to which they attribute the changes.

Perceptions of Why the Changes Occurred

Just as the author earlier suggested that the need for talent during World War II may have facilitated the entry of Jews, so did one of the respondents, a top executive who started in the business in 1945.

Q: It wasn't very difficult for a Jewish person to get a job in the field at that time (referring to 1945)?

A: The advertising business per se was closed to Jews until WW II. During World War II when there was nobody around, no young talent, and there was a lot of prejudice against women, a lot of the agencies started to crack open some of the barriers against Jewish employees--you know, like you now find Blacks on the Alabama football team--which is terribly surprising to me and gratifying to me because let's face it, one of the things about this business is that it is a talent business. When you find great talent, you suddenly forget what the guy's religion is or what the guy's color is. The talent is so crucial to the success of our business.

A second from the Media area suggested that the way for Jews was opened up in the '50's due to the need for qualified people, and the resource offered by Jews.

Q: Why do you think it opened up that way?

A: I think it was the '50's--certainly post World War II when so many Jews entered the business.

Q: Why do you think it opened up that way?

A: It opened up mostly because of the need for qualified people; qualified people are people who are well-educated, people who can communicate, people who are, if you will, sharp; people who are erudite, people who can handle themselves in both the social situation and in a situation which requires a lot of thought. And these are people who are educated and people who are available where the agency business exists. The agency business is centered in New York--it certainly was centered in New York (more so) post World War II. Jews have always had a large proportion of their number college graduated. The availability of people for the agencies to draw upon, it seems to me, not people but college graduates, it seems to me, that there was a greater availability of them from a talented Jewish people than there were from other areas, so I think it was a logical thing for this to happen.

A third from the Creative area recognized, as we did previously, the impact of television.

Q: What things happened that accounted for the change in the industry at that time?

A: TV came into the industry. The impact of TV gave a premium to certain kinds of skills that had not traditionally been associated with the advertising business. TV as a medium introduced the element of entertainment that had not been present in print advertising before. The Jewish background being what it is--Jack Benny and the rest--I think probably helped Jewish writers make it. A number of writers did come out of show business backgrounds which left its impact on the kind of work they did. So, TV itself influenced the introduction of Jews in the business at large.

Several attributed the change simply to a generally improved environment, less prejudice, more concern with

results, more emphasis on individual worth. Their remarks follow:

#1. Q: Why do you think it happened (referring to the increase in Jews in top positions)?

A: Like all businesses in our society there has been a greater accent on looking at people for their individual worth rather than their group religious affiliations and otherwise. There seems to be a general basis of more acceptance of the Jewish culture. The advent of Israel growing into a state has created more acceptance.

#2. Q: When do you think the major changes came about? When do you think so many Jews came into the business?

A: Well, when I entered the business I think the Jew was primarily a technical man. In other words, he was essentially in Research, in Media, some specialized field. It seemed to me that somewhere in the mid-60's it began to spread more generally to other facets. Times were changing, the clients were changing, demands were changing.

Q: Nothing in particular happened in advertising? It was a more general thing?

A: Yes, I think it was the general environment.

The two voices above, however, were not those of persons in the Creative area or with Creative backgrounds.

Among the Creative heads in the study, and the top executives who had started in the Creative area, virtually every one clearly and unequivocally credited Bill Bernbach of Doyle Dane Bernbach with being the significant factor.

The words, so strong, speak for themselves:

- #1. "Bill Bernbach changed it all. Bill Bernbach started with Jewish clients. All of a sudden, he had great success. His agency got bigger; it got bigger by guys that Bernbach brought in. They were a bunch of Jewish writers and a bunch of Italian art directors. . . It was incredible. As much as any one person can, he transformed the industry. . . . Bernbach's success made a lot of other agencies take notice. All of a sudden a whole new phenomenon came in. I remember there were catch words going around--standing gags--like 'you had to talk British and think Yiddish.'"
- #2. "I would say the industry began to open up in the early '50's and progressed rapidly until the early '60's when the walls came tumbling down. I think Bill Bernbach had a great deal to do with it."
- #3. "Well, it had to start via the Creative. Bernbach started it, you know, he broke ground."
- #4. "I think Bill Bernbach had a lot to do with it. He was one of the most famous Creative people. I don't think it was a conscious thing."
- #5. "Cream always rises to the top. It started in the '50's. Putting Lasker aside, I guess Bernbach really paved the way. He and the Grey agency. Grey really didn't make it until the '60's. I think Bernbach is a genius. The same with Grey."
- #6. Or as another said: "I think that Bill Bernbach did more for the Jew in advertising than any one human being. He attracted the biggest corporations in this country--he is still agent for such companies as Mobil, E.S. Royal, American Airlines. If that can happen, that's a good sign. (Question: How do you think it happened?) The guy proved that he could write it better than the next guy. He had the creative magic so everybody wanted to go with him. Who the hell cared what he was. Everybody came to their senses."

Summary

In conclusion, perceptions of Jewish advertising executives concerning their acceptance in the industry very much conform to the facts. They recognize the dramatic changes which have occurred over time while also admitting that some barriers may still exist in the Account area.

From their comments, it is clear that those interviewed perceive World War II, the growth of the industry, the impact of television and the need for specific types of talent as the major reasons for change. In addition, some suggested that the changes came about because of a moderating environment toward Jews and increased emphasis on results and individual worth as opposed to group identification. Further, we have emerged from this chapter with visible evidence that those in the Creative area regard Bill Bernbach as having been a true catalyst, "breaking ground" as they said, "transforming" the industry.

Now that we have looked both at the actual historical changes in the acceptance of Jews in the advertising industry and the perceptions of those interviewed regarding those changes, we shall turn to the characteristics of those Jews who succeeded in reaching the top echelons and then to the paths by which they did so.

PART III

SOCIAL ORIGINS AND CAREER PATHS
OF EXECUTIVES

CHAPTER 7

SOCIAL ORIGINS AND CREDENTIALS OF ADVERTISING EXECUTIVES

To this point, it has been demonstrated that there has been a substantial change in the ethnic character of the top leadership of advertising agencies in the New York area and that as a result the current top echelons are by no means uniformly WASP. We turn now to an examination of the social origins and backgrounds of the various groups that comprise this leadership.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, former studies of the business elite have indicated that it is not only typically White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant, but that it is comprised of persons with privileged social credentials, who often inherited control of the business which they head, or benefited in some way from family relationships in those businesses. Such studies have further shown that as ethnics succeed in moving into the higher echelons, the social profile of the elite is altered. At the same time, it has been emphasized that those ethnics who have achieved this status have not come from the poorest

or least privileged groups of the population, nor generally from those of very recent stock, and that the lesser social credentials of minorities have often had to be offset by superior technical credentials.

Against this background, our prime interest in this chapter will be to examine the social versus educational and specialized training credentials of the various ethnic groups who are currently represented in the advertising leadership. We shall seek to determine:

- . to what degree the representatives of the ethnic groups who have more recently gained access represent more mobile groups than their counterparts of Protestant origin.
- . to what extent their lesser social credentials may have been offset by superior educational or specialized training credentials.

At the same time we shall be interested in the extent to which the current leadership, with its newer ethnic representation, remains an aristocracy, or whether its origins are distributed across class, includes persons of various generational levels and diverse individual backgrounds.

For this purpose, we shall examine the social origins of the executives in the business in terms of their generational level, the occupation and education of their fathers. Then we will turn to the characteristics of the members themselves, reviewing the data on where they were born, their educational achievement, the colleges and professional schools they attended, and their areas of study.

As a result of our observations that ethnic membership in the top structure of the advertising agency business is influenced both by the role occupied within the organization and the size of the agency, we will use, where deemed appropriate and feasible, type of position and size of firm as variables for analysis.

Social Origins of the Various Elite Groups

GENERATION LEVEL

To ascertain the generational level of the respondents, they were asked their own place of birth, whether their father was born in the U.S.A., whether their father's father was born in the U.S.A. and whether their father's grandfather was born in the U.S.A. From the responses, we see that only a few of the executives in the top echelons

are themselves foreign born, but that almost a third are sons of immigrants. The balance are divided about equally between those who are third generation and those who are at least fourth generation.

The differences by ethnic group are substantial. Among the Protestants, fewer than two out of ten (16%) are either foreign born themselves or sons of immigrants, whereas seven out of ten are at least fourth generation. This is in sharp contrast to the Irish group which includes 40% fourth generation or more. The Protestant figures contrast even more sharply with the Jewish and Italian figures; 46% and 42% of these groups respectively are second generation or less, and only 14% and 8% are fourth generation or more. The data are shown in Table 1. Posted at the bottom of the table and in subsequent tables are Chi square values for key group comparisons, along with Levels of Significance and Cramer Phi coefficients to indicate the size of the relationship between ethnicity and the variable under study. The notation N.S. stands for Not Significant at the .20 level of confidence.

TABLE 1
GENERATION LEVEL OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Foreign Born	4%	2%	0%	7%	0%
2nd Generation	31	14	22	39	42
3rd Generation	31	13	38	40	50
At Least 4th Generation	<u>34</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	205 (a)	57	32	94	12
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	3	10.72	.02		.35
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	54.63	.01		.60
Italian vs. Prot.	3	18.30	.01		.51

(a) On this and all subsequent tables, where bases for the subgroups shown do not sum to the total, the balance is accounted for by other ethnic groups, too small to examine separately. Also, unless otherwise indicated, "Number of Executives" indicates information was provided by the total sample.

Wherever sample size permitted a separate examination of the data for executives in functional versus top command positions, top executives were found to include a higher proportion of members of old stock (fourth generation or more). The ethnic pattern prevails, however, individually

for the functional and top executive group; in each case, the Protestants comprise a higher proportion of those whose origins are more established than does the Irish (though with the sample sizes involved, the differences between the Irish and Protestant top executives are not significant) or the Jewish and among the functional group, than does the Italian. (Tables 2 and 3)

TABLE 2
GENERATION LEVEL OF TOP EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Foreign Born	3%	0%	0%	3%
2nd Generation	26	9	27	44
3rd Generation	24	13	27	33
At Least 4th Gen.	<u>47</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	79	32	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	3	4.23	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	21.42	.01	.59

TABLE 3
GENERATION LEVEL OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Foreign Born	5%	4%	0%	8%	0%
2nd Generation	34	20	19	37	50
3rd Generation	35	12	43	44	40
At Least 4th Gen.	<u>26</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	126	25	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	3	6.48	.10	.38	
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	9.74	.05	.53	
Italian vs. Prot.	3	26.87	.01	.55	

Let us now consider the influence of size of agency. Any analysis within the top executive group is severely limited by sample size. In the case of the Irish, there are a total of 11 executives, too few obviously to divide between those in large versus less large agencies; in the case of the Jews, only five top executives were found in the large

agencies. Only the Protestants in large versus medium or smaller agencies can, therefore, be examined separately. While the samples even here are small, and the data must be regarded with caution, they indicate that size is a modifying variable. Protestants in the larger agencies being older in stock than Protestants in medium or smaller agencies. Comparing those in the latter group with Jews in these same size agencies indicates, though, that controlling size of agency does not negate the differences by ethnicity.

TABLE 4
GENERATION LEVEL OF TOP EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>	<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Foreign Born	0%	0%	4%
2nd Generation	0	19	44
3rd Generation	13	12	32
At Least 4th Gen.	87	69	20
<u>Total</u>	100%	100%	100%
Number of Executives	16	16	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L.Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Sm Agencies	3	9.92	.02 .49

Turning to the functional group, the data produced by an analysis within size of agency are given in Table 5. Here, it will be seen that in the case of the Irish and Jews as well as the Protestants, the table provides separate figures for those in the large versus the medium and small agencies. While the sample sizes here as well are small, the indications are that in this area too, the relationship between ethnicity and generational level is independent of size of agency; the pattern observed for the functional group as a whole prevails in both the large and in the middle and small agencies, and to about the same degree.

TABLE 5
GENERATION LEVEL OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>In Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>In Md/Sm Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Foreign Born	0%	0%	9%	9%	0%	7%
2nd Generation	31	18	47	9	20	32
3rd Generation	8	46	35	18	40	49
At Least 4th Gen.	<u>61</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Number of Executives</u>	13	11	23	11	10	41
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
Lg. Irish vs. Prot.	3	4.53	N.S.			
Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	3	12.50	.01	.59		
Md/Sm. Irish vs. Prot.	3	2.78	N.S.			
Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	3	13.55	.01	.51		

To this point then, we have identified a marked relationship between ethnicity and social origin in terms of generational level, a relationship that prevails both within the functional and top executive group of executives and which is independent of size of agency. Also we have observed that within every ethnic group, those in the top executive positions tend to be of older stock than those in functional roles, and that within the Protestant group there is a variation in this respect between those in the larger versus more moderate sized and smaller agencies.

We now turn to the data on occupation and education of father.

OCCUPATION OF FATHER

Occupation of father was determined by asking the following questions:

At the time you were 18 years of age, what was your father's occupation?

In what business or industry was that?

Here some persons did not respond, stating for the most part that their fathers were retired or deceased at the time they were 18 years of age.

Looking at the group as a whole, of those who responded

it will be seen that the current advertising leadership is composed largely of individuals whose fathers were in white collar rather than blue collar occupations, with almost half having been in management or professional positions (Table 6).

By ethnicity the patterns again, however, vary considerably. On the whole, the fathers of the Protestant members certainly had higher status occupations than those of the other ethnic groups; 40% of the Protestant fathers had management positions and another 25% were professionals, while only 2% had blue collar occupations. That 2% figure compares with a 27% figure for the Irish, 20% for the Jews and 42% for the Italians. Relative to the Protestants and the Irish, both the Jewish and Italian groups include high proportions of persons from families where the father was a small businessman, and few from families where the father held a managerial position.

TABLE 6
OCCUPATION OF FATHER OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
<u>White Collar</u>	<u>82%</u>	<u>98%</u>	<u>73%</u>	<u>80%</u>	<u>58%</u>
Management	27	40	31	22	8
Professional	16	25	15	14	0
Sm. Business	22	10	4	30	33
Sales	17	23	23	14	17
<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>42</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	180	48	26	88	12
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	4	11.60	.05	.40	
Jewish vs. Prot.	4	20.38	.01	.39	
Italian vs. Prot.	4	24.39	.01	.64	

As in the case of generational level, differences are observed between the functional and the executive groups within every ethnic category, those in the top executive groups generally coming from families where the father had a higher status occupation and more often were managers than those in the functional executive group. At the same

time, here, too, the pattern by ethnicity exists separately within each of the two types of roles (functional and executive); in both instances, the Protestants are more often sons of fathers of higher occupational status than are their counterparts of other ethnic backgrounds. (Tables 7 and 8)

TABLE 7
OCCUPATION OF FATHER OF TOP EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
<u>White Collar</u>	<u>93%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>78%</u>	<u>93%</u>
Management	38	48	34	37
Professional	15	26	11	4
Sm. Business	25	7	11	41
Sales	15	19	22	11
<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Number of Executives</u>	68	27	9	27
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	4	7.16	.20	.45
Jewish vs. Prot.	4	13.62	.01	.50

TABLE 8
OCCUPATION OF FATHER OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
<u>White Collar</u>	<u>76%</u>	<u>95%</u>	<u>71%</u>	<u>73%</u>	<u>60%</u>
Management	20	29	29	15	10
Professional	17	24	18	18	0
Sm. Business	20	14	0	25	30
Sales	19	28	24	15	20
<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>24%</u>	<u>5%</u>	<u>29%</u>	<u>27%</u>	<u>40%</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Number of Executives</u>	112	21	17	61	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	4	6.31	.20	.41	
Jewish vs. Prot.	4	8.08	.10	.31	
Italian vs. Prot.	4	9.69	.05	.56	

Further, the ethnic pattern appears again to be generally independent of size of agency. This is seen for the top executives in Table 9.

TABLE 9
OCCUPATION OF FATHER OF TOP EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>	<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
<u>White Collar</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>91%</u>
Management	43	58	30
Professional	29	17	9
Sm. Business	14	0	39
Sales	14	25	13
<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Number of Executives</u>	14	12	23
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L Cramer Phi</u>
Jewish vs. Prot.	4	8.37	.10 .49

Within the functional group, while not all of the differences are statistically significant, observation indicates that both the Irish and Jews in the medium or small agencies had fathers of lower occupational status than the Protestants,

and that the same can be said for the Jews in the large agencies. The only exception then is that the Irish and Protestants in large agencies seem to be of relatively similar occupational origins.

TABLE 10
OCCUPATION OF FATHER OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>In Lg Agencies</u>			<u>In Md/Sm Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
<u>White Collar</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>74%</u>	<u>88%</u>	<u>44%</u>	<u>74%</u>
Management	31	50	17	26	11	13
Professional	15	12	13	38	22	22
Small Businessmen	15	0	27	12	0	26
Sales	39	38	17	12	11	13
<u>Blue Collar</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>26</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	13	8	23	8	9	38
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
Lg Irish vs.Prot.	4	1.74	N.S.			
Agencies:Jewish vs.Prot.	4	6.00	.20	.41		
Sm Irish vs.Prot.	4	4.16	N.S.			
Agencies:Jewish vs.Prot.	4	2.41	N.S.			

One more point needs to be made with respect to the occupation of the fathers of the present advertising agency executives. The vast majority of executives did not have their paths paved to their present positions by fathers who preceded them in the advertising business, only 6% (See Table 11) reporting that their fathers had been in advertising, either as an executive in an agency or as the head of an agency. To the extent that any benefit was derived by the associations of fathers, the Protestants again had a greater advantage than others--10% of them having had fathers in the business, compared to 5% of the Jews and none of the Irish or Italians. Also the data indicate that it is the top executives, rather than the functional executives, who were most apt to have an 'advertising heritage.'

TABLE 11PROPORTION OF EXECUTIVES WHOSE FATHERS WERE IN ADVERTISING

	<u>Number of Executives Answering</u>	<u>Percentage Whose Fathers Were In Advertising</u>
<u>Total Executives</u>	<u>180</u>	<u>6%</u>
Protestant	48	10
Irish	26	0
Jewish	88	5
Italian	12	0
 <u>Top Executives</u>	 <u>68</u>	 <u>10%</u>
Protestant	27	15
Irish	9	0
Jewish	27	11
 <u>Functional Executives</u>	 <u>112</u>	 <u>3%</u>
Protestant	21	5
Irish	17	0
Jewish	61	2
Italian	10	0

To summarize the findings with respect to occupation of father, we observed a considerable relationship between this variable and ethnicity. The Protestant leadership is unquestionably comprised of sons of fathers whose occupational status is higher than that of the Irish or the Jews and particularly, the Italians. Further, we saw distinctions

between those in top executive and functional roles. Thus, it is the Protestants in top executive roles whose fathers had the highest occupational status, with the Jews and Italians in functional roles at the other end of the continuum. At the same time, even among the latter, the fathers of the majority had white collar jobs, the leadership in this sense primarily then coming from groups reasonably high in status.

Finally, it was noted that only a small proportion of executives, mostly Protestants, had an advertising heritage.

EDUCATION OF FATHER

In addition to indicating the occupation of their fathers, the respondents were asked to report on their father's education. The specific question they were asked was as follows:

	Grade school or less.....
	Some high school.....
What level of edu-	High school graduate.....
cation did your	Some college.....
father complete?	College graduate or beyond.....

Based on their responses, approximately four out of ten of the fathers of the advertising executives represented had some college education, with approximately 20% having graduated from college. The results for the total group

of executives and for each of the ethnic segments are shown in Table 12. They indicate that the relationship between ethnicity and the education of the father is clearly weaker than the relationships observed in other areas. Despite this, clear distinctions emerge. What is evident is that a considerably higher proportion of the fathers of the Protestants than of the Irish, Jews or Italians attended college. At the same time it is seen that among those who attended college, a higher percentage of the Jewish fathers graduated. As a result, the proportion of Jewish executives whose fathers were college graduates is close to the proportion of Protestants' fathers who achieved this level of education.

TABLE 12
EDUCATION OF FATHER OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
No college	59%	42%	69%	61%	67%
Some college	18	27	12	15	33
College Graduate	23	31	19	24	0
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	201	55	32	93	12
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	5.99	.10	.26	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	5.75	.10	.20	
Italian vs. Prot.	2	5.15	.10	.28	

Again an examination of the data separately for those executives in top versus functional positions (See Tables 13 and 14) shows that the pattern observed by ethnicity among the total group of executives prevails separately within these two segments of executives, though admittedly, as sample sizes are reduced, the differences are found to be at lower levels of significance. Comparing the two groups of executives also indicates that the two groups do not differ in the proportion of fathers who attended college but that the fathers of top executives who attended college were more likely to complete college than were the fathers of functional executives; this was consistently true for each individual ethnic group.

TABLE 13.
EDUCATION OF FATHER OF TOP EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
No college	57%	44%	63%	56%
Some college	17	23	9	10
College graduate	<u>26</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>34</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

Number of Executives Answering	77	30	11	30

<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.61	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.13	N.S.	

TABLE 14
EDUCATION OF FATHER OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
No college	60%	40%	72%	59%	90%
Some college	18	32	14	14	10
College graduate	<u>22</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	124	25	21	63	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	4.56	.20	.31	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	4.09	.20	.22	
Italian vs. Prot.	2	7.43	.05	.46	

Consistent with our prior analysis, these educational data were also examined by size of agency. In Table 15 are the results for the top executives. To be noted are two findings. The first finding is that the distinctions between the Jewish and Protestant top executives exist even when those in equivalent size agencies are compared, though they are not statistically significant with the samples involved. The second finding is that within the top executive group, considerably higher proportions of Protestants (in fact, twice as many) in large agencies as in middle or small agencies report their fathers were college graduates.

TABLE 15
EDUCATION OF FATHER OF TOP EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
No college	40%	47%	68%
Some college	13	33	16
College graduate	<u>47</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	15	15	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Sm Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.05	N.S.

As Table 16 shows, the differences both between the Irish and the Protestant, and the Jewish and the Protestant functional executives are not restricted to a particular size agency though they are not necessarily statistically significant.

TABLE 16
EDUCATION OF FATHER OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
No college	38%	73%	65%	36%	70%	55%
Some college	31	18	9	36	10	18
College graduate	<u>31</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>27</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	13	11	23	11	10	40
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
Lg Irish vs.Prot.	2	3.01	N.S.			
Agencies:Jewish vs. Prot.	2	3.56	.20	31		
Md/Sm Irish vs.Prot.	2	2.78	N.S.			
Agencies:Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.01	N.S.			

In effect then, in terms of education of father, it has been seen that the Protestants had more advantaged backgrounds than the other ethnic groups. This was the case irrespective of role or size of agency. Yet it was

observed that, given the proportion of the Jewish executive fathers who attended college, a relatively high proportion completed college. Also, it was noted that, in this respect, Protestant top executives in large versus middle and smaller agencies varied considerably, many more of the former than of the latter reporting their fathers were college graduates.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Finally, having examined the data separately on the occupation and education of the fathers of the top executives, we turn to a summary classification of these socio-economic origins based on a combination of these two variables.¹ For this purpose, the executives were categorized into four groups. In the "upper" group were placed those executives whose fathers were at the higher end of the spectrum in terms of both education and occupation, in the "lower" group were placed those whose fathers were at the lower end in both these respects. Those who fell between the extremes were positioned in one of the two middle groups as specified below. Upper white collar refers to managerial or professional positions, lower white collar to small businessmen and persons in sales.

Socio-Economic Classification

<u>Socio-Economic Group</u>	<u>Father's Education</u>	<u>Father's Occupation</u>
Upper	At Least Some College	Upper White Collar
Upper Middle	At Least Some College	Lower White Collar
	No College	Upper White Collar
Lower Middle	No College	Lower White Collar
	At Least Some College	Blue Collar
Lower	No College	Blue Collar

In view of the prior results, a relationship between ethnicity and the socio-economic classification described above comes as no surprise. Both the nature and size of this relationship among the total group of executives emerge from Table 17. It will be seen here that the relationship is considerable, that the group whose fathers had the highest socio-economic statuses on average is clearly the Protestant, that the group whose fathers generally had the lowest statuses is the Italian, and that the Jewish and Irish groups are each also unquestionably of lower status origins than the Protestant group.

TABLE 17
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Upper	27%	44%	19%	25%	0%
Upper/Middle	28	35	35	23	25
Lower/Middle	28	19	19	33	42
Lower	17	2	27	19	33
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Classified	180	48	26	88	12
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	3	12.51	.01	.41	
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	14.51	.01	.33	
Italian vs. Prot.	3	18.97	.01	.56	

It is also not unexpected that, using the combined index, we see in Tables 18 and 19 that:

The top executives had fathers of higher status than functional executives;

That ethnic differences exist for executives in both functional and top executive positions.

TABLE 18
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF TOP EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Upper	30%	45%	11%	22%
Upper Middle	38	40	56	33
Lower Middle	25	15	11	37
Lower	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Classified	68	27	27	9
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	3	8.48	.05	.49
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	6.77	.10	.35

TABLE 19
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Upper	26%	43%	24%	26%	0%
Upper Middle	22	29	24	18	20
Lower Middle	29	24	24	31	40
Lower	<u>23</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>40</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Classified	112	21	17	61	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	3	4.73	.20	.35	
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	5.69	.20	.26	
Italian vs. Prot.	3	10.31	.02	.58	

Lastly, the differentials observed across ethnic groups are once more found to be independent of size of agency. Table 20 shows the results for the top executives. Also to be noted there is the differential between the Protestants in the larger versus middle and smaller agencies, the fathers of the former including more who were classified as from the "upper" socio-economic stratum.

TABLE 20
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF TOP EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>	<u>Md/Sm</u>	<u>Agencies</u>
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Upper	50%	38%	17%
Upper Middle	29	54	35
Lower Middle	21	8	39
Lower	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Classified	14	13	23
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig.L Cramer Phi</u>
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	6.28	.10 .42

Table 21 provides the results for the functional executives. There again we see that the ethnic pattern observed among the total group of functional executives prevails separately for those in the two sizes of agencies examined. For two of the groups, the Protestants and the Irish, we also see that those in the large agencies had fathers of

higher socio-economic origins than those in the medium or small agencies.

TABLE 21
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Upper	50%	25%	22%	38%	22%	29%
Upper Middle	17	25	22	38	22	16
Lower Middle	33	38	30	12	11	32
Lower	<u>0</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>23</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Classified	12	8	23	8	9	38
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
Lg. Agencies: Irish vs. Prot.	3	1.94	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	5.26	.20	.39		
Md/Sm Agencies: Irish vs. Prot.	3	2.15	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	2.98	N.S.			

SOCIAL ORIGIN SUMMARY

Reviewing the material on social origins we have observed ethnic differences on every dimension examined, with the Protestant group consistently seen to represent a more established class elite than the other groups. The contrast is greatest between the Protestant and Italian group; however, the Jewish and Irish members as well derive from less established origins than the Protestants. The differences were considerable in terms of generational level, occupation and socio-economic status; more marginal variations were found in the education of fathers.

These differences by ethnicity were independent of role, prevailing separately within the group of executives in functional and in top executive roles. At the same time, it has been seen that those in top executive roles derive from more established origins than those in functional roles, this distinction existing consistently within every ethnic group. Role then reinforces ethnic differences. Protestant top executives therefore, are at one end of the continuum and the Irish, Jews and Italians in functional roles are at the other end.

Ethnic differences were also independent of size of

agency, the overall patterns invariably remaining when size of agency was held constant. Comparisons by size of agency within role by ethnicity were severely hampered by sample size. However, Protestant top executives in large agencies, generally, were found to have more advantaged origins than those in the less large agencies. For the functional executives, however, no consistent differences were seen within ethnic group by size of agency.

In agreement with other studies of the business leadership, the findings have demonstrated that the top advertising leadership is essentially drawn from middle and upper class origins, not from those of blue collar or lower socio-economic status, and is largely second generation or older in stock. Yet it is clear that the Irish, Jews and Italians now in the higher echelons have added considerably to the ranks of those who derived from the lower levels of the white collar group, rather than from the very upper crust, and that they even include a number of blue collar origins. Also it has been shown that the inroads have not been restricted to those who are third generation or more, a considerable proportion of Jewish and particularly of Italian executives are immigrants or

sons of immigrants. The leadership currently cannot therefore be considered entirely homogeneous in its derivations nor can one say mobility has been limited to those who are more than second generation. Further, it has been noted that relatively few of the leadership had their ways paved for them through inheritance or occupational continuity, by fathers who preceded them in the business.

Individual Background of the Elite Members

Now that we have discussed the social origins of the current advertising leadership, we move on to the backgrounds of the individuals themselves. Here we shall examine their places of birth, the level of their educational achievement and the colleges and professional schools they attended. Our expectation is that these backgrounds will also vary by ethnicity, inasmuch as they obviously are not independent of family origins and characteristics.

As indicated earlier, we shall also be seeking to determine whether in terms of areas of study, there are differentials by ethnicity. Our particular interest will be in whether different technical or specialization credentials exist among the various groups.

As in the first part of the chapter, where deemed appropriate and feasible, type of position and size of agency will be introduced as variables of analysis.

PLACE OF BIRTH

Starting with place of birth, it is easily evident that the Protestant members of the executive leadership are markedly distinct from the other ethnic groups (see Table 22). Most of the Irish, Jewish and Italian members were born in New York City. On the other hand, the vast majority of Protestants were born elsewhere. While not shown in the table, a few (3 persons) were born in the suburbs of New York but most in other eastern states and the midwest.

TABLE 22
PLACE OF BIRTH OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
New York City	53%	21%	59%	70%	67%
Elsewhere in U.S.A.	43	77	41	23	33
Outside U.S.A.	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	203	55	32	94	12
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	12.68	.01	.38	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	41.52	.01	.53	
Italian vs. Prot.	2	9.51	.01	.38	

As Tables 23 and 24 show, differences are particularly great within the top executive group, but exist in the functional area as well. Also in each ethnic group, more top executives than functional executives were born outside of New York City.

TABLE 23
PLACE OF BIRTH OF TOP EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
New York City	40%	13%	55%	64%
Elsewhere in U.S.A.	57	87	45	33
Outside U.S.A.	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	77	30	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	7.41	.05	.43
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	17.89	.01	.55

TABLE 24
PLACE OF BIRTH OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
New York City	61%	32%	62%	73%	70%
Elsewhere in U.S.A.	34	64	38	19	30
Outside U.S.A.	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	126	25	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	4.54	.20		.31
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	17.08	.01		.44
Italian vs. Prot.	2	4.33	.10		.35

Also as Table 25 and 26 make clear, the ethnic distinctions are not contingent upon size of agency. There is, though, a difference between Protestants in large versus medium and smaller agencies, fewer of those in the large agencies having origins in New York City.

TABLE 25
PLACE OF BIRTH OF TOP EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Large Agencies</u>	<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
New York City	7%	20%	64%
Elsewhere in U.S.A.	93	80	32
Outside U.S.A.	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	15	15	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig.L Cramer Phi</u>
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	8.74	.05 .47

TABLE 26

PLACE OF BIRTH OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
New York City	38%	64%	74%	27%	60%	73%
Elsewhere in U.S.A.	62	36	17	64	40	20
Outside U.S.A.	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	13	11	23	11	10	41
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
Lg. Irish vs. Agenc: Prot.	2	1.51	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	7.69	.05	.46		
Md/Sm Irish vs. Agenc: Prot.	2	2.78	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	8.77	.02	.41		

There is then a relationship between ethnicity and place of birth that is independent of role or size of agency. Role and size of agency are, however, individually also related to place of birth. As a result, the

contrast is sharpest between Protestants in top executive positions in large agencies, 7% of whom were born in New York City, and Jewish and Italian members in functional roles, over seven out of ten of whom have local origins.

Level of Educational Achievement - For the purpose of establishing both the level of educational achievement of the executives under study, the nature of the colleges or professional schools attended and the areas of their study, the following questions were asked:

Did you ever attend college, graduate or professional school?

Yes () No ()

Please indicate your educational background below.

<u>School Attended</u>	<u>College</u>	<u>Graduate School</u>	<u>Major Area of Study</u>	<u># of yrs attended</u>	<u>Degree Awarded</u>
_____	()	()	_____	()	()
_____	()	()	_____	()	()
_____	()	()	_____	()	()

To begin with, the responses indicate that the large preponderance of current advertising executives attended college. Moreover, among those who attended college, better than eight out of ten graduated, with roughly one-fourth (26%) of the college graduates having advanced degrees.

(Tables 27 and 28). Regarding the data by ethnicity, the findings are as follows: First, while the differences between the Jews and Protestants in terms of college attendance are not significant, the Protestant members more often attended college. On the other hand, the Protestants who attended college were less likely to graduate than were the Jews. Further, the Jews attending college went on to obtain advanced degrees in considerably higher proportions than their counterparts.

TABLE 27

PROPORTION OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Attended College	88%	93%	84%	87%	83%
Didn't Attend College	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	205	57	32	94	12
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	1	2.76	.10		.18
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	1.24	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	1	1.16	N.S.		

TABLE 28
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT
AMONG TOTAL EXECUTIVES WHO ATTENDED
COLLEGE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Attended but didn't graduate	19%	26%	15%	13%	20%
College Graduate	55	53	70	54	60
Masters Degree	23	21	15	27	20
PhD	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Attending College	181	53	27	82	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	3	2.34	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	6.66	.10	.22	
Italian vs. Prot.	3	0.22	N.S.		

This general pattern is reflected in the separate data for the top executives and the functional executives, though with varying magnitudes. Among the top executive group, the difference between the Jews and Protestants in college attendance is significant. However the differences in

college completion and graduate school attendance are minimal (Tables 29 and 30).

TABLE 29
PROPORTION OF TOP EXECUTIVES WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Attended College	89%	94%	82%	83%
Didn't Attend College	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	79	32	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	1	1.38	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	1.68	.20	16

TABLE 30

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT
AMONG TOP EXECUTIVES WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Attended but didn't Graduate	24%	27%	11%	20%
College Graduate	56	53	78	56
Has Masters' Degree	20	20	11	24
Has PhD	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	100%	100%	100%	100%
Number of Executives Attending College	70	30	9	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	3	1.73	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	.37	N.S.	

Among the functional group, the reverse is the case. The differences in college attendance are inconsequential, but more Jewish than Protestant attendees are found to have completed college and to have obtained graduate degrees (Tables 31 and 32).

TABLE 31
PROPORTION OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES WHO ATTENDED
COLLEGE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Attended College	88%	92%	86%	89%	80%
Didn't attend College	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	126	25	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.47	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.17	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	1	1.02	N.S.		

TABLE 32

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT
AMONG FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Attended but didn't					
Graduate	15%	26%	17%	11%	25%
College Graduate	56	52	66	53	50
Has Master's Degree	24	22	17	28	25
Has PhD	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives					
Attending College	111	23	18	57	8
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	3	0.90	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	4.91	.20	.25	
Italian vs. Prot.	3	0.04	N.S.		

Knowing that proportionately more Jews than others are from the Research area, one might reasonably hypothesize that the individual distinctions between Jewish and non-Jewish functional executives are due to Research. To test this hypothesis, an analysis of educational achievements was

made by type of functional position occupied, even though the bases involved were known to be small. The results are presented in Table 33. As that table indicates, the level of educational achievement among Researchers is higher than among other groups. In fact, while the table does not distinguish between those having masters and doctoral degrees, it turns out that all the PhD's in the sample are from the Research area. The large proportion of Jews in Research is then a partial explanation for the higher educational achievements of Jewish versus. non-Jewish functional executives. It is, however, not the entire explanation. In the Creative and Media areas as well, larger percentages of Jews who attended college are found to have graduated and to have obtained advanced degrees.

TABLE 33

COLLEGE ATTENDANCE AND LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT
WITHIN FUNCTIONAL DEPARTMENTS

	Total Exec. in Group	Percent- age Who Attended College	Total Attending College	Percentage with Coll. or Higher Degree	Percentage with Graduate Degree
<u>Creative</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>13</u>
Protestant	7	100	7	71	0
Jewish	16	88	14	93	21
<u>Media</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>19</u>
Protestant	13	92	12	75	17
Irish	10	80	8	62	0
Jewish	18	100	18	95	28
<u>Research</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>69</u>
Jewish	19	95	18	89	72
<u>Art</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>8</u>
Jewish	11	64	7	71	0

As to the possible influence of size of agency, the data for the top executives (seen in Tables 34 and 35) continue to show a pattern similar to that for the total group when size is held constant. Such data also reveal that more Protestants in the large agencies than in the middle or small agencies attended college, the figure

for the large agencies, in fact, turning out to be 100%.

TABLE 34

PROPORTION OF TOP EXECUTIVES WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg Agencies</u>	<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Attended College	100%	88%	80%
Didn't Attend College	<u>0</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Attending College	16	16	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig. L Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Sm Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.39	N.S. 0

TABLE 35
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT
AMONG TOP EXECUTIVES WHO ATTENDED COLLEGE
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg Agencies</u>	<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Attended but didn't			
Graduate	25%	29%	20%
College Graduate	56	50	55
Has Master's Degree	19	21	25
Has PhD	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives			
Attending College	16	14	20
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u> <u>Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Sm			
Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	3	0.34	N.S.

For the functional group, when size is controlled, a mixed pattern is seen. Among those in large agencies, a higher proportion of Jews than Protestants (though not significantly so) attended college; in the middle and small

agencies, the reverse is the case. In both instances, the proportion of Jews attending who completed college is higher than the comparable proportion of Protestants; it is only within the larger agencies, though, that there is an important difference in the percentage having advanced degrees (Tables 36 and 37).

TABLE 36

PROPORTION OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES WHO ATTENDED
COLLEGE BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Attended College	85%	91%	96%	100%	80%	85%
Didn't Attend College	<u>15</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>15</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	13	11	23	11	10	41
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
Lg Agencies:						
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.22	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	1.32	N.S.			
Md/Sm Agencies:						
Irish vs. Prot.	1	2.23	.20	.33		
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	1.82	.20	.19		

TABLE 37

HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT
AMONG FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES WHO ATTENDED
COLLEGE BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Attended but didn't						
Graduate	18%	10%	5%	36%	25%	14%
College Graduate	55	70	36	46	63	63
Has Master's Degree	27	20	41	18	12	20
Has PhD	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives						
Attending College	11	10	22	11	8	35
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
Lg. Agencies:						
Irish vs. Prot.	3	0.56	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	4.45	.05		.37	
Md/Sm Agencies:						
Irish vs. Prot.	3	0.54	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	2.85	.10		.25	

In review, we have observed the following with respect to education:

- Among top executives, a slightly higher proportion of Protestants than those of other ethnic casts attended college. However, among those attending, somewhat more Jewish than Protestant executives graduated. Both these things were true even when size of agency was held constant.
- Among functional executives, the major distinctions seen were in the large agencies. More of the Jews than Protestants there attended college and substantially more of those attending, achieved higher levels of education. In the medium and smaller agencies, while more Jewish than Protestant college attendees graduated from college, fewer Jews were found to have attended at all.

A further perspective on the findings in this area may be gained from Table 38, where all of the data have been percentaged on a common base and where those for all groups are compared. The following emerges:

- Among top executives, it becomes apparent that the greater number of Protestants than Jews attending college is counterbalanced by the smaller number of those attending who graduated. It nets out then that the two groups have about an equal percentage of their totals who completed college, and also who have advanced degrees.

- Among functional executives, the latter is not the case; the Jewish group includes more college graduates and more with advanced degrees, especially in the large agencies.

TABLE 38

SUMMARY COMPARISON OF LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

	<u>Number of Execu- tives</u>	<u>Percent- age attend. college</u>	<u>Percent- age with college degree</u>	<u>Percent- age with any Grad. degree</u>	<u>Percent- age with PhD</u>
<u>Total Exec.</u>	<u>205</u>	<u>88%</u>	<u>72%</u>	<u>22%</u>	<u>2%</u>
Prot.	57	93	68	19	0
Irish	32	84	72	13	0
Jewish	94	87	76	29	5
Italian	12	83	67	17	0
<u>Top Exec.</u>	<u>79</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>0</u>
Prot.	32	94	69	19	0
Irish	11	82	73	9	0
Jewish	30	83	67	20	0
<u>Functl. Exec.</u>	<u>126</u>	<u>88</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>4</u>
Prot.	25	92	68	20	0
Irish	21	86	71	14	0
Jewish	64	89	80	33	8
Italian	10	80	60	20	0
<u>Top Exec.</u>					
Lg Agen.: Prot.	16	100	82	19	0
Md/Sm Agen: Prot.	16	88	63	19	0
Md/Sm Agen: Jews	25	80	64	20	0
<u>Functl. Exec.</u>					
Lg. Agen: Prot.	13	85	69	23	0
Irish	11	91	82	18	0
Jewish	23	96	91	56	17
<u>Md/Sm Agen:</u>					
Prot.	11	100	64	18	0
Irish	10	80	60	10	0
Jewish	41	85	73	20	2

Colleges Attended - Turning now to the colleges attended, we shall examine the data from several perspectives, to determine:

- . The extent to which the executives involved attended a school out of town versus one in New York City.
- . The extent of attendance at a private college or university, at a state one, or at one associated with City University.
- . The extent of attendance at "elite" institutions.

Locale of School Attended - Substantial differences exist by ethnicity with respect to the locale of school attended. These are shown in Table 39. As we see there, the vast majority of Protestants obtained their college education in schools outside of New York City and so did most Irish. However, half of the Italians and six out of ten Jews attended a New York City school.

TABLE 39
LOCALE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
New York City	41%	18%	30%	59%	50%
Outside New York City	<u>59</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>50</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Attending College	174	50	27	80	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	1	1.38	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	20.84	.01	.40	
Italian vs. Prot.	1	4.77	.05	.28	

As we examine the data for the top versus functional executives, we see that within each ethnic group, fewer of those in top positions than in functional roles were educated locally. This, however, was especially so for the Protestants. As a consequence, differences by ethnicity are larger within the top executive group (where 4% of the Protestants, compared to 22% of the Irish and 52%

of the Jews are seen to have gone to a New York college) than within the functional group. In fact, within the functional group, the differences between the Irish and the Protestants, and between the Italians and the Protestants, disappear, though the Jewish-Protestant differences remain considerable. See Tables 40 and 41.

TABLE 40
LOCALE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY TOP EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
New York City	30%	4%	22%	52%
Outside New York City	<u>70</u>	<u>96</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>48</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Attending College	67	27	9	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.71	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	15.39	.01	0.54

TABLE 41

LOCALE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
New York City	48%	35%	33%	62%	38%
Outside New York City	<u>52</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>62</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Attending College	107	23	18	55	8
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.01	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	5.70	.02	.27	
Italian vs. Prot.	1	0.02	N.S.		

With such a large difference between Protestant and Jewish top executives, it is no surprise that the differential remains even when size of agency is controlled. (See Table 42) Also worth noting is that none of the Protestants in large agencies reported their college education as having been in New York City.

TABLE 42
LOCALE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY TOP EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	
New York City	0%	8%	60%	
Outside New York City	<u>100</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>40</u>	
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	
Total Executives Attending College	14	13	20	
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Sm Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	1	10.34	.01	.56

Turning to the functional executives, we see here as well that the distinction between Jews and Protestants exists regardless of size of agency. The difference, though, is especially great in the large agencies; in those agencies, more than twice as many Protestants as Jews are from schools outside of New York City (see Table 43).

TABLE 43

LOCALE OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY FUNCTIONAL
EXECUTIVES BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
New York City	18%	30%	62%	45%	38%	62%
Outside New York City	<u>82</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>38</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending	11	10	21	11	8	34
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
Lg. Agencies: Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.40	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	5.54	.02	0.42		
Md/Sm Agencies: Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.12	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.91	N.S.			

As to locale of education, the Protestants then were educated outside of New York far more often than the Jews, Italians and even the Irish. Top executives in every ethnic group were less often educated locally than were functional executives. The difference was especially notable in the case of the Protestants; all Protestants in top executive positions in large agencies were, in fact, educated outside of New York.

As we shall now see, these findings, as expected, are related to the types of schools attended.

Attendance at Public or Private Institutions - Approximately equal proportions of the total executives in the various ethnic groups attended private colleges, roughly seven out of ten in each group having done so. Among the balance, there is, however, a distinct difference to be noted. The Irish and even more so the Protestants who did not attend a private college, attended a state college. In contrast, twice as many Jews attended the City University as went to a state college. As for the Italians in the sample, all who were not products of a private institution, reported they obtained their education in one of the free tuition universities.

TABLE 44
ATTENDANCE OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES AT PUBLIC VERSUS
PRIVATE COLLEGES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Private	70%	74%	70%	67%	70%
State	14	20	19	11	0
CUNY	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>30</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending College	174	50	27	80	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	0.64	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	7.06	.05	.23	
Italian vs. Prot.	2	6.82	.05	.34	

The figures for the Irish executives are virtually duplicated when the data are examined separately for those in functional versus top executive roles. This is not true for the Protestants and Jews. As a result of the differences

within these groups, it turns out that only small distinctions (not statistically significant) exist between Protestant and Jewish top executives. The overall differences we saw are really due to the variations in locale of college attended by Protestants and Jews in functional roles (See Tables 45 and 46).

TABLE 45
ATTENDANCE OF TOP EXECUTIVES AT PUBLIC VERSUS
PRIVATE COLLEGES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Private	79%	82%	67%	76%
State	16	18	22	16
CUNY	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending	67	27	9	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	3.24	.20	.30
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.26	N.S.	

TABLE 46
ATTENDANCE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES AT PUBLIC
VERSUS PRIVATE COLLEGES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Private	65%	65%	72%	62%	63%
State	12	22	17	9	0
CUNY	<u>23</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>37</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending College	107	23	18	55	8
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	0.24	N.S.		
Jewish vs/ Prot.	2	4.66	.10	.24	
Italian vs. Prot.	2	3.58	.20	.34	

When Protestant and Jewish top executives in the same size agencies are compared (Table 47), the difference remains small and is again not significant.

TABLE 47

ATTENDANCE OF TOP EXECUTIVES AT PUBLIC VERSUS
PRIVATE COLLEGES BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Private	79%	85%	75%
State	21	15	15
CUNY	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending College	14	13	20
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u> <u>Cramer</u> <u>Phi</u>
Md/Sm Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.39	N.S.

When size is held constant for the functional executives, there, too, the differences become non-significant. Observation, however, clearly indicates that fewer Jews than Protestants in the large agencies went to a private college and that more Jews, in both large and less large agencies, went to the City University.

TABLE 48
ATTENDANCE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES AT PUBLIC
VERSUS PRIVATE COLLEGES BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Private	64%	70%	54%	64%	76%	68%
State	27	20	14	18	12	6
CUNY	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>26</u>
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending Answering	11	10	21	11	8	34
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig. L.</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
Lg. Irish vs.						
Agencies:Prot.	2	0.15	N.S.			
Jewish vs.						
Prot.	2	2.51	N.S.			
Md/Sm Irish vs.						
Agencies:Prot.	2	0.28	N.S.			
Jewish vs.						
Prot.	2	1.67	N.S.			

To summarize the findings with respect to attendance at private colleges versus state colleges versus CUNY, a relationship exists between ethnicity and such attendance. The major difference is that among the functional executives, more Jews and Italians than Protestants and Irish went to the free City University. Among top executives, the differences were marginal, the large majority of Jews as well as Protestants having gone to a private college and only a few having attended the City University.

Status of Colleges Attended - Having examined the locale of the colleges attended and the extent of attendance at public versus private institutions, we shall now focus on the social status of the colleges attended. Here we run into a categorizing problem.

For purposes of simplicity and lacking other objective criteria, Ivy League institutions were considered "elite." Within these institutions, two subsegments were also examined: one consisting of Princeton, Yale and Harvard, subjectively thought to be the most prestigious, and the other consisting of Brown, Cornell, Columbia, Dartmouth and the University of Pennsylvania. Here we shall look at the proportions of respondents in the various ethnic groups who attended one of

the colleges in each subgroup, as well as at the proportion attending any Ivy League institution rather than some other private college or university.

Table 49 makes it obvious that there are important distinctions in these areas. A considerably smaller proportion of Jews than of Irish or Protestant executives, and none of the Italians involved, attended an Ivy League college; moreover, Protestants who attended such were far more likely than any other group to have gone to Princeton, Yale or Harvard. See Table 49.

TABLE 49
STATUS OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
<u>Ivy League</u>	<u>30%</u>	<u>49%</u>	<u>49%</u>	<u>18%</u>	<u>7%</u>
Princeton, Yale, Harvard	20	41	27	6	0
Other Ivy League	10	8	22	12	7
Other Private	<u>70</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>93</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending a Private College	122	37	19	54	7
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	2.40	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	16.94	.01	0.43	
Italian vs. Prot.	2	5.76	.10	0.36	

Because our base here is those who attended a private college, the samples become particularly small when the data are examined separately for the top and functional executives. Nevertheless, we see marked differences between the Jews and Protestants in both groups. Particularly outstanding, though, is the contrast among the top executives in the proportion

of Jews versus Protestants having gone to Princeton, Yale or Harvard.

TABLE 50

STATUS OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY TOP EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	
<u>Ivy League</u>	<u>38%</u>	<u>55%</u>	<u>21%</u>	
Princeton, Yale, Harvard	30	50	5	
Other Ivy League	8	5	16	
Other Private	<u>62</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>79</u>	
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	
Total Executives Attending A Private College	53	22	19	
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	10.17	.01	0.50

TABLE 49

STATUS OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
<u>Ivy League</u>	<u>30%</u>	<u>49%</u>	<u>49%</u>	<u>18%</u>	<u>7%</u>
Princeton, Yale, Harvard	20	41	27	6	0
Other Ivy League	10	8	22	12	7
Other Private	<u>70</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>93</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attend- ing a Private College	122	37	19	54	7
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	2.40	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	16.94	.01	0.43	
Italian vs. Prot.	2	5.76	.10	0.36	

Because our base here is those who attended a private college, the samples become particularly small when the data are examined separately for the top and functional executives. Nevertheless, we see marked differences between the Jews and Protestants in both groups. Particularly outstanding, though, is the contrast among the top executives in the proportion

TABLE 51
STATUS OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
<u>Ivy League</u>	<u>24%</u>	<u>40%</u>	<u>46%</u>	<u>15%</u>
Princeton, Yale, Harvard	12	26	15	7
Other Ivy League	12	14	31	8
Other Private	<u>76</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>85</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending A Private College	70	15	13	34
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.48	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	5.24	.10	0.33

Moreover, the evidence indicates that in the case of both top and functional executives the distinctions in status of college attended is not contingent upon size of agency. At the same time, in both instances, we note that the large agencies, especially, include very large percentages of

Protestants who came from the most prestigious institutions.

Following in Table 52 are the data for the top executives.

TABLE 52

STATUS OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY TOP EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
<u>Ivy League</u>	<u>56%</u>	<u>54%</u>	<u>13%</u>
Princeton, Yale, Harvard	56	45	0
Other Ivy League	0	9	13
Other Private	<u>44</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>87</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending A Private College	11	11	15
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u> <u>Cramer</u> <u>Phi</u>
Md/Sm Jewish vs. Prot. Agencies:	2	8.47	.02 0.57

Table 53 presents the material for the functional executives.

TABLE 53

STATUS OF COLLEGE ATTENDED BY FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Sm Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
<u>Ivy League</u>	<u>58%</u>	<u>43%</u>	<u>28%</u>	<u>14%</u>	<u>9%</u>
Princeton, Yale, Harvard	44	29	19	14	0
Other Ivy League	14	14	9	0	0
Other Private	<u>42</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>91</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending A Private College	7	7	11	8	23
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Lg. Irish vs.Prot.	2	0.34	N.S.		
Agencies:Jewish vs.Prot.	2	1.67	N.S.		
Md/Sm					
Agencies:Jewish vs.Prot.	2	3.58	.20	.34	

In terms then of status of college or university attended, differences have been found by ethnicity that exist even when role or size of agency is held constant. Role and size of agency are also, however, independently related to the status of the institutions attended. As a result, the differences are especially large between Protestant top executives in large agencies and Jewish functional executives in medium and small agencies. To wit, 56% of the former attended an Ivy League institution (all in fact, Princeton, Yale or Harvard), compared with 9% of the latter (none of whom went to any of the three most prestigious schools).

GRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED

The graduate school analysis is limited by the fact that only one-third of the executives attended graduate schools. With so few involved, analyses by role and size of agency are precluded. However, it is felt that the data for the total group of executives are of some interest, permitting us to determine whether the patterns observed for undergraduate study are mirrored in those for graduate work.

The data on locale of graduate school attended follow in Table 54.

TABLE 54

LOCALE OF GRADUATE SCHOOL ATTENDED BY TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
New York City	60%	47%	43%	65%
Outside New York City	<u>40</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>35</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Attending Graduate School Answering	65	15	7	37
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.03	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	1.47	N.S.	

As for undergraduate study, these data indicate that a higher proportion of Jews than Irish or Protestants attended a school in New York City. At the same time the differences here, evident from the comparative figures below, are not as large as those observed earlier. Our assumption is that this is because some members attended graduate school when they were already working.

Proportion of Total Executives Attending a College or
University Located in New York City

	<u>For Undergraduate Work</u>	<u>For Graduate Work</u>
	%	%
<u>Total Executives</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>60</u>
Protestants	18	47
Irish	30	43
Jewish	59	65

With respect to attendance at a public versus private institution or at one associated with CUNY, there are also distinctions by ethnicity. With the sample sizes involved, though, only those distinctions between the Irish and Protestant can be regarded as significant. (Table 55)

TABLE 55
ATTENDANCE OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES AT PUBLIC VERSUS PRIVATE
GRADUATE SCHOOLS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Private	89%	100%	72%	86%
State	2	0	14	0
CUNY	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Attending Graduate School Answering	65	15	7	37
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L.</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	4.71	.10	0.46
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.24	N.S.	

Comparing these data with the earlier data, we see that higher proportions of both the Protestants and the Jews attended a private college or university for their graduate work than had done so for their undergraduate studies.

Proportion of Total Executives Attending a Private College
or University

	<u>For Undergraduate Work</u>	<u>For Graduate Work</u>
	%	%
<u>Total Executives</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>89</u>
Protestants	74	100
Irish	70	72
Jewish	67	86

Finally, regarding the status of the private school or college at which graduate school training was obtained, there are only enough cases to examine the Protestants and Jews. For these two groups, the proportions attending an Ivy League School are quite similar. A distinction, however, exists in the proportions having gone to the most prestigious of the Ivy League School group--13% for the Protestants versus 3% for the Jews (Table 56).

TABLE 56

STATUS OF GRADUATE SCHOOL ATTENDED BY TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
<u>Ivy League</u>	<u>31%</u>	<u>26%</u>	<u>34%</u>
Princeton, Yale, Harvard	5	13	3
Other Ivy League	26	13	31
Other Private	<u>69</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>66</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Attending a Private College	58	15	32
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X</u>	<u>Sig.L</u> <u>Cramer Phi</u>
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	3.04	N.S.

On either basis though (total Ivy League School attendance or attendance at Princeton, Yale or Harvard), the differentials are more minimal than those in undergraduate school attended. We must keep in mind, however, that these figures might reflect the consequences of respondents attending graduate schools while working, the only local Ivy League School being Columbia.

Proportion of Total Executives Attending A Private
College or University Who Attended

	<u>Any Ivy League School</u>		<u>Princeton, Yale, Harvard</u>	
	<u>For Under- Graduate Work</u>	<u>For Graduate Work</u>	<u>For Under- Graduate Work</u>	<u>For Graduate Work</u>
	%	%	%	%
<u>Total Executives</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>5</u>
Protestants	49	26	41	13
Jewish	18	34	6	3

In summary, the graduate schools attended also indicate differences by ethnicity with regard to locale, financial sponsorship and status. Here, however, the differentials are more moderate than those observed earlier. We have suggested this is because of fewer opportunities or choices available to anyone attending graduate school while working.

To complete this section on the educational backgrounds of the current advertising leadership, we shall now examine their major academic areas of study.

MAJOR AREAS OF STUDY

In examining the executives' major areas of study, we had two considerations. One was to determine whether the

areas of study indicated greater specialization on the part of some groups, suggesting that such specialization may have been a means of offsetting their lesser social credentials. Our second interest relates to the fact that advertising involves the development and transmission of ideas. Persons with different educational orientations can be expected to approach such tasks with different perspectives. We, therefore, believed it relevant to establish whether the newer ethnic groups had educational orientations that were distinct from those who entered earlier.

As a prelude to examining ethnicity differences, an analysis was made in total of the areas of study by those occupying different positions in the industry. The data are shown in Table 57. The disciplines grouped together there and in the remaining part of this section are described below:

Humanities - including English, Language, History,
Liberal Arts

Social Science - including Economics, Psychology,
Sociology, Political Science

Business/Marketing - including Business Administration,
Business, Marketing

Advertising/Art/Communication - including Advertising,
Communication, Art, Design, Architecture, Theatre, Music
Physical Science - including Biology, Physics, Geology
Mathematics/Market Research/Statistics - including
Mathematics, Statistics, Advertising Research, Market
Research

The table indicates that almost all in Art have educational backgrounds in the Art area and that a very large proportion of Researchers were Social Science majors. In other cases, the educational backgrounds are less homogeneous. This is particularly so for the top executives and the Media heads, but even among the Creatives there is a substantial split.

TABLE 57
MAJOR AREA OF STUDY IN COLLEGE
BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	<u>Top</u> <u>Exec.</u>	<u>Creative</u> <u>Head</u>	<u>Media</u> <u>Head</u>	<u>Research</u> <u>Head</u>	<u>Art</u> <u>Head</u>
Humanities	38%	47%	31%	19%	9%
Social Sciences	23	7	10	70	0
Business, Mktg.	22	10	29	4	0
Adv., Art, Comm.	13	43	21	0	91
Physical Science	5	0	7	0	9
Math, Res. Stat.	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>104%</u>	<u>107%</u>	<u>105%</u>	<u>105%</u>	<u>109%</u>
Total Executives Answering	64	30	42	26	11

Note: On this and subsequent tables concerned with areas of study, percents may add to more than 100 due to duplicate areas of study.

We turn now to examine the ethnic patterns within each group, beginning with the top executives. That there are differences within this group is easily observed in Table 58. Specifically, we see that a considerably higher proportion of Protestants than Jews were Humanities majors, that more Jews

had backgrounds in the Social Sciences and in Advertising,
Art and Design.

TABLE 58

TOP EXECUTIVES' MAJOR AREA OF STUDY IN COLLEGE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Humanities	38%	52%	24%	29%
Social Sciences	23	15	38	33
Business, Marketing	22	22	38	21
Advertising, Art, Comm.	13	4	0	17
Physical Science	5	4	0	4
Math, Research, Stat.	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>104%</u>	<u>104%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>104%</u>
Total Executives Answering	64	27	8	24
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	5	4.29	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	5	7.41	.20	0.38

The same general pattern is seen to prevail when size of agency is held constant, though on this basis a difference emerges with respect to Business and Marketing, and the Humanities' figures for the Jews and Protestants are closer. The lesser differential noted for Humanities is obviously due to the substantial difference between Protestant top executives in large versus medium and small agencies, seven out of ten of those in the bigger agencies indicating such a major, compared with four out of ten in the less large ones.

TABLE 59
TOP EXECUTIVES' MAJOR AREA OF STUDY IN COLLEGE
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Humanities	69%	36%	26%
Social Sciences	15	14	37
Business, Marketing	15	29	16
Advertising, Art, Comm.	8	0	21
Physical Science	0	7	5
Math, Research, Stat.	<u>0</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>107%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>105%</u>
Total Executives Attending College Classified	13	14	19
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig.L Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Small Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	5	8.06	.20 0.49

With respect to the top executives, the data in more general terms then reveal that the Jews in these roles have more specialized backgrounds than the Protestants and that there are substantial differences between those Protestants who are top executives in large versus less large agencies.

We now turn to the areas of study of those currently in specialized roles. Table 60 provides the data, with the data for subsegments limited to those in which at least seven cases were available.

TABLE 60

MAJOR AREA OF STUDY WITHIN FUNCTIONAL DEPARTMENTS

	<u>Total</u> <u>Executives</u> <u>Answering</u>	<u>Humanities</u>	<u>Social</u> <u>Sciences</u>	<u>Business</u> <u>Mktg</u>	<u>Adv</u> <u>Arts</u> <u>Comm</u>	<u>Phys</u> <u>Sci</u>	<u>Math</u> <u>Research</u> <u>Stat</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Creative</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>47%</u>	<u>7%</u>	<u>10%</u>	<u>43%</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>107%</u>
Protestant	7	57	0	0	43	0	0	100
Jewish	14	43	0	21	43	0	0	117
<u>Media</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>105</u>
Protestant	12	42	25	42	0	0	0	109
Irish	7	28	0	14	29	0	29	100
Jewish	18	22	6	22	39	17	0	106
<u>Research</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>105</u>
Jewish	17	18	64	6	0	0	12	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	7	14	0	0	86	0	0	100

In the Research and Art areas, ethnic comparisons are patently impossible due to sample size. In the Creative area, equal percentages of Protestants and Jews majored in Art or Advertising; more Jews, though, had Business backgrounds and fewer majored in the Humanities. In the Media area, the Protestants again include more from Humanities and also a large number who were Business majors while the Jews again are comprised of relatively many who majored in Advertising or Art.

On an overall basis, we conclude that ethnicity differences are not marked in those areas where special skills are required: in Creative, Art or Research. However, in areas where specific skills are not required, the top executive and Media areas, the Protestants in these positions have less specialized backgrounds than the Jews.

SEX AND AGE OF RESPONDENTS

To complete our descriptions of the characteristics of the individuals under study, we turn to their age and sex.

In terms of sex, unquestionably the present advertising leadership is predominantly male. As Table 61 indicates, all of the top executives who responded are male (and there is in fact only one female heading up an advertising agency in the

universe studied); nine out of ten of the functional key executives are men also. In the aggregate, females represent 6% of the executives, they come totally from the Media or Research areas.

TABLE 61

SEX OF THE EXECUTIVES
BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	<u>Total</u> <u>Execu</u> <u>tives</u>	<u>Top</u> <u>Execu-</u> <u>tives</u>	<u>Functional Executives</u>				
			<u>Total</u>	<u>Creat-</u> <u>ive</u>	<u>Media</u>	<u>Re-</u> <u>search</u>	<u>Art</u>
Male	94%	100%	90%	100%	85%	78%	100%
Female	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	205	79	126	34	46	27	19

In examining the data on the females in the study, we see that they are distributed proportionately by ethnicity except for the Italian group in which there are no women (Table 62).

TABLE 62
SEX OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES BY ETHNICITY

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Male	94%	95%	94%	93%	100%
Female	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	205	57	32	94	12
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.05	N.S.	0	
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.27	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	1	0.66	N.S.		

With respect to age, the figures indicate that about half of the total executives are in their forties, that about one-fourth are under this age, while three out of ten are 50 years or older. As Table 63 indicates there are significant differences by ethnicity. The Protestant group includes a large number, 50 or over; the few Italians represented are especially young.

TABLE 63
AGE OF TOTAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Under 40 years.	24%	18%	25%	27%	42%
40-49 years	46	35	50	49	58
50 years & over	<u>30</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	205	57	32	94	12
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	4.30	.20	0.22	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	8.43	.02	0.24	
Italian vs. Prot.	2	9.71	.01	0.38	

As Tables 64 and 65 demonstrate, in each ethnic group, on average, the ages of the top executives exceed those of the functional executives. The ethnic pattern observed above continues, however, to prevail within each group, (though the differences become statistically insignificant due to the reductions in sample).

TABLE 64
AGE OF TOP EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Under 40 years	8%	3%	18%	7%
40-49 years	40	34	37	50
50 years & over	<u>52</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>43</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	79	32	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	3.08	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.37	N.S.	

TABLE 65
AGE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Under 40 years	34%	36%	29%	36%	40%
40-49 years	49	36	57	48	60
50 years & over	<u>17</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	126	25	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	2.30	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.06	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	2	3.80	.20	0.33	

Size of agency is, however, a contingency factor. This is true both in the case of top executives and functional executives. Beginning with top executives, the data indicate virtually no difference in the age distribution of the Protestants and Jews when size is controlled. The distinction observed among the total group of top executives is then attributable to the higher age levels of the Protestant top

executives in large agencies, eight out of ten of whom are over 50. See Table 66.

TABLE 66
AGE OF TOP EXECUTIVES
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Under 40 years	0	6	8
40-49 years	19	50	40
50 years & over	<u>81</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>52</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	16	16	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u> <u>Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Sm Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.39	N.S.

A distinction between Protestants in large versus middle and small agencies is also seen in the functional area.

The net effect here as well is to negate the differences by ethnicity within the middle and smaller agencies. In the large agencies, however, the Protestant group is, on average, older (though admittedly the differences are not significant). See Table 67.

TABLE 67
AGE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES BY
SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Under 40 years	15%	27%	31%	55%	30%	39%
40-49 years	46	64	52	27	50	46
50 years & over	39	9	17	18	20	15
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	13	11	23	11	10	41
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
Lg.						
Agencies: Irish vs. Prot.	2	2.80	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.18	N.S.			
Md/Small						
Agencies: Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.46	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.31	N.S.			

Finally, to satisfy possible further questions regarding the relationship between age and ethnicity, the data were examined by department. As Table 68 shows, in total, the personnel in the various departments are about equal in age. It turns out that what overall distinctions were observed in the functional areas are really due to the relatively high proportion of Protestants in Media roles who are 50 years or over; in other areas, the Protestants are no older than their counterparts.

TABLE 68

AGE OF EXECUTIVES WITHIN FUNCTIONAL DEPARTMENTS

	Total Executives	Under 40 yrs.	40-49 yrs.	50 yrs. & over	Total
<u>Creative</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>35%</u>	<u>47%</u>	<u>18%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestant	7	43	43	14	100
Jewish	16	37	44	19	100
<u>Media</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>100</u>
Protestant	13	39	31	30	100
Irish	10	30	60	10	100
Jewish	19	39	50	11	100
<u>Research</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	19	37	53	10	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	11	27	45	28	100

Reviewing the data on age then, we have observed a relationship between age and ethnicity. This relationship appears to be contingent on role and size of agency. It results essentially from the older age of Protestant Media heads and Protestant top executives in large agencies.

INDIVIDUAL BACKGROUND SUMMARY

Recapitulating, we have examined the relationship between ethnicity and a number of individual background variables.

Several of these variables pertained to the local versus non-local background of the executives studied. These included place of birth, locale of college or university attended for undergraduate study, and locale of college or university attended for graduate work. Here we consistently observed variations by ethnicity; the Protestants being the least local based, the Jews and Italians, the most. Wherever these relationships could be examined by role and size of agency, they were found to prevail even when these other variables were held constant. Role and size of agency were, however, shown to interact with ethnicity, the consequences of which were to sharpen some of the distinctions among the various subgroups. Thus, the sharpest distinctions were between

Protestant top executives in large agencies and Jewish functional executives, with no important differential existing within the latter group between those in large versus middle or smaller agencies. See the Capsule Summary below.

SUMMARY OF LOCALE VARIABLES

	<u>Percentage Born in New York City</u>	<u>Percentage of Those Attending College Who Went to School In New York</u>
<u>Protestants</u>		
Top Executives in lg. agencies	7	0
Top Executives in md/small agencies	20	8
Functional Executives in lg. agencies	38	18
Functional Executives in md/small agencies	27	45
<u>Jews</u>		
Top Executives in md/small agencies	64	60
Functional Executives in lg. agencies	74	62
Functional Executives in md/small agencies	73	62

A second set of variables related to the status of college or university attended--whether it was a private college or university, a state one or part of the City

University system; whether the college was one of the Ivy League schools, and whether it was among those Ivy League schools considered the most prestigious. On those variables as well, considerable differences were found among the ethnic groups, with the Protestants at one end of the spectrum and the Jews and Italians at the other end. Moreover, here too, the distinctions existed regardless of role or size of agency, with size of agency and role reinforcing some of the differences. Thus Protestant top executives in large and middle or small agencies, and Protestant functional executives in large ones, were found to include the highest proportions attending some Ivy League institutions. Based specifically on attendance at Princeton, Yale and Harvard, a further gradation was seen, Protestants occupying top executive positions in large agencies emerging as having the most elite background.

SUMMARY OF VARIABLES
RELATED TO TYPE OF COLLEGES OR
UNIVERSITY ATTENDED

	<u>Percentage of those attending college who:</u>		
	<u>Attended a</u>	<u>Attended</u>	<u>Attended</u>
	<u>Private or</u>	<u>an Ivy</u>	<u>Princeton,</u>
	<u>State College</u>	<u>League</u>	<u>Yale or</u>
	<u>Not CUNY</u>	<u>School(a)</u>	<u>Harvard(a)</u>
<u>Protestant</u>			
Top executives in			
lg. agencies	100	44	44
Top executives in			
md/small agencies	100	46	38
Functional executives			
in lg. agencies	91	37	28
Functional executives			
in md/small agencies	82	9	9
<u>Jews</u>			
Top executives in md/			
small agencies	90	10	0
Functional executives			
in lg. agencies	68	15	10
Functional executives			
in md/small agencies	74	6	0

(a) Figures cited above are not the same as those shown earlier because here the base is total executives who attended college, rather than those who attended a private college. The change has been made here to place the data for all variables on a common basis.

Additionally, we analyzed level of education. Here we found the Jews had superior credentials. The differences were, though, contingent on role and size of agency, with the distinctions really in the functional roles and most notably there, among those in the large agencies.

ACHIEVEMENT CREDENTIALS

	<u>Percentage of Executives With College Degrees</u>	<u>Percentage of Executives With Graduate Degree</u>
<u>Protestants</u>		
Top Executives in lg. agencies	82	19
Top Executives in md/small agencies	63	19
Functional executives in lg. agencies	69	23
Functional executives in md/small agencies	64	18
<u>Jews</u>		
Top Executives in md/small agencies	64	20
Functional executives in lg. agencies	91	56
Functional executives in md/small agencies	73	20

Further, we compared the areas of study of the various ethnic groups, concluding no important differences exist in most functional areas (Research, Creative and Art), but that

differences do exist in those areas where less specific talents are required, the top executive and Media areas. Specifically, we observed that fewer Protestant than Jewish top executives had Social Science backgrounds or backgrounds in Advertising Art or Design, while more came from the fields of Humanities; also, more Protestant Media executives had backgrounds in Humanities, Business and Marketing, while fewer studied Advertising, Art or Design.

Finally, we observed differences in age by ethnicity; these too were, however, not uniformly seen. Rather we found that the overall differences were a function of the older age composition of Protestants in Media roles and Protestant top executives, specifically those in large agencies.

The general conclusions suggested by these findings are the following:

- The individual characteristics and backgrounds of the current advertising leadership clearly vary by ethnicity.
- In terms of their backgrounds, the Protestant members within the group are clearly the least locally based and the most socially elite; the Jews and Italians are the most locally based and the least socially elite.

- Ethnicity differences are in many instances affected by role and size of agency; thus generally it is the Protestant top executives in large agencies that rank at the top in terms of social credentials.
- Distinctions between Jews and Protestants in educational credentials suggest that the superior credentials of Jews may have served to offset their lesser social credentials in areas where education is an important criteria, i.e., in functional roles. This appears to be particularly so in the larger agency.
- Differences in the areas of study indicate that in general Jews have more specialized backgrounds than Protestants.

As a closing note, we have then observed substantial differences in the individual backgrounds and characteristics of the executives under study, differences which both are consistent with and reinforce the distinctions observed with respect to social origins. We now turn to the paths the various groups of executives followed in reaching their current positions.

Chapter 7 Footnotes

¹The questionnaire, in addition to soliciting information about the education and occupation of the respondents' fathers, asked the respondents whether their fathers were in the "upper class," "middle class" or "working class." However those responses were regarded as subjective, with a bias existing to cause respondents to favor the choice of "middle class." Accordingly for the purpose of categorizing respondents into various social classes, an index based on education and occupation of father was considered preferable.

CHAPTER 8

CAREER PATHS OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

As mentioned earlier, prior studies have indicated that the paths by which members of minority groups achieve mobility are distinct from those characterizing the established elite. It has been pointed out that Jews and Italians have been more successful in small businesses than in large bureaucracies, that Jewish mobility has often been attained by their forming their own firms, that minorities are most apt to succeed where skill and technical competence are required, and so on.

Our data to this point have already shed some light in these areas. It has been shown that the penetration of Jews and Italians in the higher echelons of the advertising agency business is substantially greater in the functional areas than in the more general administrative roles, and greater in smaller than in larger agencies; further we have suggested that for the Jews, superior educational achievements and more specialized backgrounds may have facilitated their entry into certain areas.

In this and the following chapter, we shall focus more directly and in greater detail on the paths by which members with different ethnic backgrounds reached their current positions in the advertising structure. Thus, we will establish wherein the paths of the minority groups were similar to those of the established group and wherein they were different. In this chapter we will deal with the functional executives; in the next, with those in top executive roles.

For both groups of executives, we shall examine the career paths of the various ethnic members represented in three broad areas: first, the nature of their career experience, including what their first position in the advertising agency business was, the subsequent areas in which they were engaged, what their major area of emphasis was, the position they occupied prior to their present one, and their occupational experience outside the agency business; second, their experience with and assessments of various size agencies, including the size in which they started, the sizes with which they were subsequently associated, those which provided the best opportunities for skill development and upward mobility; and third, the amount of switching they did among agencies, and the means by which they made their best strides.

Wherever appropriate, we will analyze the data in terms of time of entry into the agency business, the size of agency entered, the size of agency now employed in, and the specific functional role currently held.

Nature of Career Experience

ENTRY

Time of Entry - By way of background, we start with the length of time the functional group of executives have been in the agency business, as indicated by their responses to the question, "In total, how many years have you spent in the advertising agency business?" Consistent with our earlier finding that the Protestants occupying leadership positions (functional as well as top executive positions) are on average older than those from other groups, we observe that in general the Protestants in functional roles have been in the business somewhat longer than those from the other ethnic groups. As expected, the difference is particularly large between the Protestants and the Italians, but there is also a difference between the Irish and Protestants, and the Jews and the Protestants. The data follow in Table 1. At the bottom of the table are test results indicating the level of significance

of the differences between the respective groups and the Protestants. T tests are used here and in all other tables dealing with metric data, as well as where multiple responses render the chi-square test inappropriate.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF YEARS FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES SPENT IN ADVERTISING

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Under 10 years	19%	12%	14%	16%	20%
10-20 years	50	44	53	56	70
21 years or more	<u>31</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Average Number of Years</u>	<u>17.2</u>	<u>20.4</u>	<u>16.8</u>	<u>16.8</u>	<u>13.5</u>
Total Executives	126	25	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>L</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	44	1.62	.20		
Jewish vs. Prot.	87	1.98	.10		
Italian vs. Prot.	33	2.85	.01		

As in the case of age, when the results are analyzed by size of agency, the differences disappear among those in medium and smaller agencies; it is then just within the larger agencies that on the average the Protestant group consists of members who have been in the business longer than their Irish and Jewish counterparts. There, though, the differences are substantial; more than twice as many Protestants as Jews or Irish entered the business more than 20 years ago. See Table 2.

TABLE 2

NUMBER OF YEARS FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES SPENT IN ADVERTISING
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Under 10 years	0%	9%	13%	27%	20%	17%
11-20 years	46	73	61	37	30	54
21 years or more	54	18	26	36	50	29
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Average Number</u> <u>of Years</u>	<u>22.5</u>	<u>16.5</u>	<u>16.7</u>	<u>17.9</u>	<u>17.1</u>	<u>16.8</u>
Total Executives	13	11	23	11	10	41
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>		<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>		
<u>Large Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	22		2.46	0.05		
Jewish vs. Prot.	34		2.87	0.01		
<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	19		0.21	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	50		0.35	N.S.		

Within the middle and smaller agencies, we are thus dealing with ethnic groups which on the whole have been in the agency

business an equal length of time; within the larger agencies, we are not. Here the Protestants, in general, represent earlier entrants than the Jews or Irish.

First Position in Advertising - Information on respondents' positions upon entering the agency business was obtained by asking the question: "What was your first position in an advertising agency?" The responses have been classified in such a way as to permit us to determine the degree to which members occupying functional roles entered the business in the same area or in an area related to that in which they are now engaged, as opposed to coming into another specialized area, or into a general trainee, messenger, mail room or clerical position. By way of explanation, Creative, Art and Production were considered related areas; Media and Media Research were categorized as related; Media Research and Market Research were also deemed related (Media Research was then considered related to either Media or Research). Further, it should be understood that agencies often started future executives in trainee or messenger or mail room roles with the objective of familiarizing them with the agency before placing them in any particular area.

Table 3 shows the first positions occupied by the total group of functional executives. In the aggregate, it can be seen that almost seven out of ten (67%) of the functional executives entered the business in an area related to that in which they now occupy a leadership position. Only a few (6%) entered via a different area of specialty. The balance (27%) started essentially as trainees, mail room men or messengers. As indicated, differences by ethnicity in this respect are not significant with the sample sizes involved. Nevertheless, it is obvious that more Jews and Italians than Protestants or Irish entered the business in the same area or in one related to that in which they are now engaged. In reverse, fewer Jews and Italians started as trainees, mail room men or messengers.

TABLE 3
FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' FIRST POSITION IN ADVERTISING

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
In general trainee/ mail room clerical position	27%	36%	43%	20%	20%
In current or related area of specialty	67	56	52	74	70
In area other than/not related to current specialty	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	126	25	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>		
Irish vs. Prot.	2	0.35	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.66	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	2	0.85	N.S.		

For further insight, an analysis of these data was made by role. See Table 4. As that Table indicates, the overall ethnicity pattern observed above cannot be attributed to any

single area of specialty. With one exception, very large proportions of Jews (better than eight out of ten) entered the agency business in a position related to that which they now occupy. The exception is Media. Why the Media exception? First, Media is an area in which fewer specific skills are required. On this basis, it is understandable that a high proportion of Jews or of any other group could easily switch into that area from general trainee type positions. On the other hand, we note that a high proportion of Protestants came directly into that area; the reason for that will become clear later on.

TABLE 4
FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES FIRST POSITION IN ADVERTISING
BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	<u>Number of Executives</u>	<u>In General Trainee/Mail Room/Clerical Position</u>	<u>In Current Or Related Area of Specialty</u>	<u>In Area Other Than/Not Related to Current Specialty</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Creative</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>24%</u>	<u>73%</u>	<u>3%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestants	7	57	43	0	100
Jewish	16	12	82	6	100
<u>Media</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>100</u>
Protestants	13	31	62	7	100
Irish	10	70	30	0	100
Jewish	18	50	39	11	100
<u>Research</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	19	11	84	5	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>95</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	11	0	100	0	100

As Table 5 indicates neither is the overall pattern unique to those who started in a particular size agency. Within both those who began in medium and small agencies and those who began in large agencies, more Jews than others started in their current area of specialty or in an area related to it.

TABLE 5
FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' FIRST POSITION IN ADVERTISING BY
SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
In General Trainee/ Mail Room/Clerical Position	33%	56%	18%	50%	33%	22%
In Current or Re- lated Area of Specialty	60	44	75	38	59	72
In Area Other Than/ Not Related to Current Specialty	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	15	9	28	8	12	36
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
<u>Large Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.52	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.32	N.S.			
<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	0.83	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	3.51	.20		0.28	

Time of entry is clearly, however, a conditional factor.
 As we examine the data from this standpoint (Table 6), we see

the overall differences by ethnicity are very largely a consequence of disparities among those who represent the earlier starters. Among the more recent entrants, differences between the Protestants and Jews are barely discernible.

TABLE 6
FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' FIRST POSITION IN ADVERTISING BY
LENGTH OF TIME IN AGENCY BUSINESS

	<u>In Business Over</u> <u>20 Years</u>			<u>In Business Over</u> <u>20 Years</u>		
	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
In General Trainee/ Mail Room/Clerical Position	21%	36%	17%	55%	57%	28%
In Current or Re- lated Area of Specialty	72	57	74	36	43	72
In Area Other Than/ Not Related to Current Specialty	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	14	14	46	11	7	18
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
<u>20 Years or Less</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	0.72	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.14	N.S.			
<u>Over 20 Years</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	0.69	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	4.42	.20		0.39	

In conclusion, we have seen considerable differences by ethnicity in the type of position first occupied in the agency business by those now in key functional roles. These differences seem to be largely independent of the type of role (Creative, Research) occupied and the size of agency in which the executives started. However, the distinctions were primarily among those who entered the business some time ago. The Jews who came in early came in almost exclusively via specialized roles, whereas the Protestants and Irish often started in general trainee positions, subsequently moving into other departments. Among recent entrants these distinctions were not seen, the Protestants and Irish, as well as the Jews, having largely started in specialized areas. It is then not that the pattern of entry for the Jews has changed, but rather that the entry paths of the Protestants and Irish have done so, indicating that with time, agency recruitment of all potential future functional executives has been more focussed.

TOTAL RANGE OF EXPERIENCE

Areas Ever Engaged In - Now we move from the first position occupied by the group under study to the executives'

total range of experience and their major areas of concentration. This information was solicited through the following questions:

"Many people in the agency business start in one area of the business and then move into other areas. Please indicate:

- a) which areas you've been in
- b) in which sequence were you in them, and
- c) how many years you spent in each area."

Here it should be noted we were concerned with the areas they were engaged in beyond those they may have spent some time in as part of a training program.

Table 7 indicates that irrespective of ethnicity; excluding any time in a general training program, a majority spent their entire career in their current area of specialty. Nevertheless, we find that three times as many Protestants as Jews or Irish indicated they had at some point been in a specialized area other than that in which they are now engaged.

TABLE 7
AREAS IN WHICH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
HAVE EVER BEEN ENGAGED

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Only in Area of Specialty or Related Area	72%	60%	76%	77%	80%
<u>In Other Area as Well</u>					
In Other Specialized Area ^(a)	16	32	10	11	10
In Account Management ^(a)	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>
	<u>28</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	126	25	21	64	10

<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>
<u>Irish vs. Prot.</u> Only in Specialty	44	-1.18	N.S.
Other Spec. Area	44	1.93	.10
Account Management	44	-0.65	N.S.
<u>Jewish vs. Prot.</u> Only in Specialty	87	-1.53	.20
Other Spec. Area	87	2.08	.05
Account Management	87	-0.50	N.S.
<u>Ital. vs. Prot.</u> Only in Specialty	33	-1.25	N.S.
Other Spec. Area	33	1.65	.20
Account Management	33	0.17	N.S.

(a)Note: The figures for "In Other Specialized Area" and "In Account Management" on this and the following table add to more than the figure "In Other Area as Well" since some respondents were both in another specialized area and in Account Management.

Moreover, as Table 8 shows, these ethnicity distinctions exist both among those in large and those in medium and small agencies. However, we find that among the Jews in the large agencies, a particularly high percentage were never in an area unrelated to their current specialty.

TABLE 8

AREAS IN WHICH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES HAVE EVER BEEN ENGAGED
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Only in Area of Specialty or Related Area	69%	73%	83%	45%	80%	73%
<u>In Other Area as Well</u>						
In Other Specialized Area	31	18	4	37	0	15
In Account Management	<u>8</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>17</u>
	<u>31</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>27</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	13	11	23	11	10	41
<u>Groups Compared</u>			<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>L</u>
<u>Large Agencies:</u>						
<u>Irish vs. Prot.</u> Only in Specialty			22	-0.22	N.S.	
Other Spec. Area			22	0.75	N.S.	
Account Management			22	-0.72	N.S.	
<u>Jewish vs. Prot.</u> Only in Specialty			34	-0.93	N.S.	
Other Spec. Area			34	2.01	.10	
Account Management			34	-0.49	N.S.	
<u>Md/Small Agencies:</u>						
<u>Irish vs. Prot.</u> Only in Specialty			19	-1.79	.10	
Other Spec. Area			19	2.54	.02	
Account Management			19	-0.12	N.S.	
<u>Jewish vs. Prot.</u> Only in Specialty			50	-1.69	.10	
Other Spec. Area			50	1.41	.20	
Account Management			50	0.08	N.S.	

Area in Which Major Portion of Career Was Spent - We turn now to the area where current functional executives spent the major portion of their career, derived from the number of years they reported spending in each area in which they were ever engaged. Here, it is clear that the current area of specialty is for the vast majority of Protestants and Irish, as well as Jews, the very same as that where most of their career in advertising was spent. However, a few Protestants and Irish, while no Jews, indicated more time was spent in some other area. See Table 9.

TABLE 9
AREA IN WHICH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES SPENT MAJOR
PORTION OF CAREER

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
In Area Currently Area of Specialty	98%	96%	95%	100%	100%
In Other Area	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Classifiable	126	25	20	62	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.03	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	2.51	.20	0.17	
Italian vs. Prot.	1	0.41	N.S.		

The few Protestants and Irish who reportedly spent more time in some other area, it turns out, are entirely from the larger agencies; in the middle and smaller agencies, in no case did any one in a major functional role indicate a predominant portion of his career was in an unrelated area. See Table 10.

TABLE 10

AREA IN WHICH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES SPENT MAJOR
PORTION OF CAREER BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
In Area Currently Area of Specialty	92%	91%	100%	100%	100%	100%
In Other Area	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Classifiable	13	11	22	11	9	40
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>x²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
<u>Large Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.09	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	1.74	.20		0.22	
<u>Md/Small Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0	N.S.			

To complete the section on the nature of the functional executives' careers in the agency business, we shall now examine the positions they held prior to the present one.

Nature of Position Occupied Prior to Present Position -

To obtain information on the kind of position from which current executives moved into their present position, they were asked:

"What position did you hold just prior to this one?"

Title _____

Description of Responsibilities _____

Consistent with our earlier finding regarding the high proportion of functional executives who spent the major portion of their career in the area in which they are now engaged, almost all (95%) reported they moved from another position within the same area of specialty to their present position. Deviations by ethnicity, it follows, were small. Nevertheless, it is seen that 8% of the Protestants reported they had previously occupied a position in another specialty, compared to 3% of the Jews and none of the Irish; 10% of the Irish but no Protestants or Jews indicated that their prior job was in Account Management. (Table 11)

TABLE 11
FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' POSITION PRIOR TO PRESENT ONE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
In Same Area of Specialty	95%	92%	90%	97%	100%
In Other Specialized Area	3	8	0	3	0
In Account Management	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	126	25	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	4.06	.10	0.30	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.00	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	2	0.85	N.S.		

Examination of the results by size of agency indicates a similar pattern for the Irish in large versus medium or small agencies; as for the Protestants, however, all who reported moving into their present position from another area are seen to be from the larger agencies. See Table 12.

TABLE 12
FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' POSITION PRIOR TO PRESENT ONE
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
In Same Area of Specialty	85%	91%	100%	100%	90%	95%
In Other Specialized Area	15	0	0	0	0	5
In Account Management	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	13	11	23	11	10	41
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
<u>Large Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	2.90	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	3.75	.10	0.29		
<u>Md/Small Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.15	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.56	N.S.			

The following, then, are the major findings with respect to the range of experience of the functional executives in the advertising agency business, the area in which they spent the major portion of their career, and the positions they occupied prior to the present one.

By and large, the careers of the functional executives were exclusively in the area in which they are now engaged and, these areas were those in which they spent most time.

Differences by ethnicity were, however, observed. The most notable were the following:

Considerably fewer Jews, particularly in the large agencies, than Protestants had at some time been in a specialized area other than that in which they are now engaged.

Some Protestants, though a small minority, holding key functional posts in large agencies had actually spent most of their career in an area other than that in which they are now engaged, and had moved into their present positions from one in another

specialized area. No Jews in large, medium or small agencies, had spent more time in another area, and in only very few cases was their prior position in a different specialty.

This completes the information on the nature of the functional executives' experience within the agency business. The next section will cover their experience outside the industry, both before entering and after they had been in it for a time.

OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OUTSIDE AGENCY BUSINESS

Prior Occupational Experience - To determine whether the various ethnic groups entered the business with a different degree and type of occupational experience which they had gained elsewhere, and whether at times after entry, they varied in the extent to which they spent a part of their career outside the business, the following questions were asked:

"Was any significant portion of your occupational career spent outside of advertising agencies?"¹

"Indicate the nature of this experience by answering parts 'a' through 'd'.

(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)		
In what other types of businesses, companies or organizations did you spend a part of your career?	How many years did you spend in each type of business?	In what kind of work were you primarily involved?	Was this prior to or after your first job in an advertising agency?		
			Prior To	After	Both Prior to and After
_____	_____	_____	()	()	()
_____	_____	_____	()	()	()
_____	_____	_____	()	()	()

Table 13 reports the data on experience prior to entry for the functional executive group. It will be observed that only a minimally higher percentage of Jews (25%) than of Protestants (20%) reported such experience, with the difference between the Jews and the Protestants certainly not a significant one. One-third of the Irish indicated that they had had prior occupational experience, but even that proportion is not statistically significantly higher than the comparable figure for the Protestants.

TABLE 13

PRIOR OUTSIDE CAREER EXPERIENCE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Spent a Portion of Career Outside Before Entering	25%	20%	33%	25%	10%
Did Not Spend a Portion Outside Before Entering	<u>75</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>90</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Average Number of Years Spent Outside by Those Spending a Portion Outside	5.8	3.8	8.4	4.8	(Base too small)
Total Executives	126	25	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	1	1.05	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.25	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	1	0.50	N.S.		

Table 14 shows these same data for those occupying various functional roles. On this basis, differences by ethnicity easily become evident. Specifically, we see that high proportions of Jews in each area other than Media had had occupational experience prior to their entry into the agency business. Regarding Media, it will be recalled that that area also represented an exception in another context, it being the only area in which comparatively few Jews were found to have started directly in that specialty. Consistent with what was said then, we believe that here too the explanation is related to the lesser specific skills required in Media. Why so many Protestants had prior experience we do not know; in fact, the numbers are even too small to determine whether their outside experience was specifically in the Media area. The high proportion does, however, make the earlier finding that many Protestants entered directly into that area an understandable one.

TABLE 14
FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' PRIOR OUTSIDE CAREER EXPERIENCE
BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	<u>Total</u> <u>Executives</u>	<u>Spent a</u> <u>Portion</u> <u>of Career</u> <u>Outside</u>	<u>Did Not</u> <u>Spend a</u> <u>Portion</u> <u>of Career</u> <u>Outside</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Creative</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>24%</u>	<u>76%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestant	7	14	86	100
Jewish	16	25	75	100
<u>Media</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>100</u>
Protestant	12	33	67	100
Irish	10	20	80	100
Jewish	18	11	89	100
<u>Research</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>66</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	19	37	63	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	11	36	64	100

The kinds of prior occupational experience reported by the Jews are indicated in Table 15. Not only are we dealing here with small numbers, but also, unfortunately, with some responses too unclear to permit classification. Not unexpectedly, though, the data indicate the prior occupational

experience of Jews was primarily in Research or in some type of Creative work. Fewer of them than of others came into the agency business with general advertising experience.

TABLE 15

KIND OF WORK FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES INVOLVED IN
BEFORE ENTERING ADVERTISING AGENCY BUSINESS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Research	32%	~~44%~~
Writing/Art/Production	29	31
Advertising	10	6
Other	29	25
Not Clear	<u>16</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>116%</u>	<u>115%</u>
Total Executives With Outside Experience	31	16

Consistent with the above, a relatively large number of Jews indicated their prior experience was in a Research company, while relatively few stated that they had worked for a manufacturer or other type of advertiser (service company, utility, etc.) See Table 16.

TABLE 16

NATURE OF ORGANIZATION FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES WORKED
FOR BEFORE ENTERING ADVERTISING AGENCY BUSINESS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Media	35%	31%
Advertiser/Manufacturer	19	6
Printing Co./Design	19	13
Research Company	19	31
Other	<u>29</u>	<u>38</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>121%</u>	<u>119%</u>
Total Executives With Outside Experience	31	16

Finally, as Table 17 indicates, we also examined the material on prior occupational experience in relation to the size of agency in which executives started. The conclusion from this analysis is that the ethnic distinctions we have seen arise from variations, though not significant, among those who began in medium or small agencies rather than among those who started in large agencies. While we have yet to see the data on the size of agencies in which the various members started their career, it can be stated that this finding is a function of the relatively large number of Jews in Creative and Art who began in the medium and smaller-sized shops.

TABLE 17
FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' PRIOR OUTSIDE CAREER EXPERIENCE
BY SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Spent a Portion of Career Outside Before Entering	25%	22%	26%	14%	42%	26%
Did Not Spend a Portion Outside Before Enter- ing	<u>75</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>74</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives	16	9	28	7	12	38
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>x²</u>	<u>Critical Level</u>			
<u>Large Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.02	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.00	N.S.			
<u>Md/Small Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	1	1.53	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.30	N.S.			

Outside Occupational Experience After Entry - As regards
outside experience after entry, the results by ethnic group

shown in Table 18, indicate that none of the Irish spent any time outside of the business after entry; aside from that, there are no differences among the groups, two out of ten of each of the remaining groups reporting such experience.

TABLE 18
FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' SUBSEQUENT OUTSIDE CAREER
EXPERIENCE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Spent a Significant Portion Outside After Entering	12%	16%	0%	16%	20%
Did Not Spend a Significant Portion Outside After Entering	<u>88</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>80</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Average Number of Years Spent Outside (Among Those Spending Any Time Outside)	3.9	6.0		3.3	Base Too Small
Total Executives	126	25	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	1	3.68	.10	0.28	
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.002	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	1	0.08	N.S.		

Nor do any major differences between the Protestants and Jews develop when the size of agency in which the executives are located is introduced. If anything, though, in the large agencies there are somewhat more Jews than Protestants with such experience; in the medium or small agencies, the reverse is true. See Table 19.

TABLE 19
FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' SUBSEQUENT OUTSIDE EXPERIENCE
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Spent a Significant Portion Outside After Entering	15%	0%	22%	18%	0%	12%
Did Not Spend A Significant Portion Outside After Entering	<u>85</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>78</u>	<u>82</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>88</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	13	11	23	11	10	41
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>x²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
<u>Large Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	1	1.85	.20		0.28	
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.21	N.S.			
<u>Md/Small Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	1	2.01	.20		0.31	
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.27	N.S.			

Again, there are some distinctions by role. In general these are of a similar nature to those observed with respect to experience prior to entry, albeit of a lesser magnitude. Thus, a relatively high proportion of Jews from the Research and Creative area, but a relatively low proportion of those from the Media area, were found with such experience. Here, Art though also turned up as an area in which outside experience among the Jews was very limited. See Table 20.

TABLE 20

FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' OUTSIDE CAREER EXPERIENCE
AFTER ENTRY BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	<u>Total</u> <u>Executives</u>	<u>Spent a</u> <u>Portion</u> <u>of Career</u> <u>Outside</u>	<u>Did Not</u> <u>Spend a</u> <u>Portion</u> <u>of Career</u> <u>Outside</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Creative</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>12%</u>	<u>88%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestant	7	14	86	100
Jewish	16	19	81	100
<u>Media</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>100</u>
Protestant	12	25	75	100
Irish	10	0	100	100
Jewish	18	11	89	100
<u>Research</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	19	21	79	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	11	9	91	100

As to the nature of the experience outside the business after entry, the numbers involved are too small to warrant the reporting of the data, there being only seven Jews and five Protestants with such experience.

SUMMARY OF NATURE OF CAREER EXPERIENCE

In review to this point, we have examined the careers of the functional executives from a number of standpoints, starting with the position which they first occupied in the business, moving on to their total range of experience in it, their major area of concentration, and the position they occupied prior to the present one, and finally to the experiences they had outside the business prior to and subsequent to their original entry into it. The conclusions emerging from the findings in these areas follow:

- Prior occupational experience (experience before entry into advertising) probably facilitated the entry of Jews into the Research and Creative areas, more of them having had such experience than their counterparts of Protestant stock. There is also an indication that outside experience after entry played a more significant role for Jews than for others in these same areas.

- Specialization was a key factor in the entry of Jews, a very large proportion of Jews having entered directly into positions related to their current area of specialty. By contrast sizable portions of Protestants and Irish, particularly of those who started very early in the business, came in via non-specialized routes, subsequently moving into areas of specialty.
- Specialization also has symbolized the paths of the Jews after entry. This has been demonstrated by a number of findings: the relatively great proportions of Jews found to have devoted their career exclusively to one area, the fact that none was found to have spent a major portion of his career in an area other than his current specialty, and the fact that almost none moved into his current position from a position other than one related to his present role.
- The careers of the majority of Protestants and Irish in functional roles have as well been marked by such specialization. In comparison with the Jews it is clear, however, that the Protestants, especially those in the larger agencies, have experienced

considerably more interdepartmental mobility, with a few even moving into their present positions after spending more time in some other area.

At this point, we leave the material on career content and turn to size of agency, a variable which, it should be clear by now, is crucial to our understanding of the career paths of the executives under study.

Size of Agency

To obtain information on size of agency, both in terms of the respondents' experiences and their perceptions, the following questions were asked:

"With what size agencies have you been associated? (Using domestic billings at the time you were associated with an agency as the criterion).

	<u>Please Check as Many as Apply</u>
Large	()
Medium	()
Small	()

"If you have been associated with more than one size agency, please answer parts 'a' through 'd' below.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
	In What Size Agency Was Your First Position?	In What Size Agency Have you Spent Most Of Your Career?	In What Size Agency Did You Develop Greatest Skills?	What Size Agency Produced The Greatest Opportunities To Move Ahead?
Large	()	()	()	()
Medium	()	()	()	()
Small	()	()	()	()

SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

Starting with the experience data, three items of information are available: the sizes of agency in which the respondents' first positions were, the sizes of agencies with which they were ever associated, and the sizes of agency in which the major portion of their careers were spent. We begin with the size of the agency in which their first position was. As Table 21 shows, there are substantial differences in this respect by ethnicity. Though the differences are not statistically significant with the sample sizes involved, the Irish and Jews definitely seem to have started at a large agency less often than the Protestants. The difference between the Italians and the Protestants is even greater and statistically significant.

TABLE 21
SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' FIRST
POSITION WAS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Large	46%	66%	43%	44%	20%
Medium	28	17	38	31	20
Small	<u>26</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>60</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	124	23	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	2.75	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	3.18	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	2	6.97	.05	0.46	

Here it is obvious that time of entry might be relevant. First, therefore, as reported in Table 22, the data were analyzed separately among those who entered the agency business within the past 20 years, and among those who came in to the business before then. The results demonstrated that within both groups, more Protestants than Irish started in large agencies.

TABLE 22

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' FIRST POSITION
WAS BY LENGTH OF TIME IN ADVERTISING AGENCY BUSINESS

	<u>In Business</u> <u>20 Years or Less</u>			<u>In Business</u> <u>Over 20 Years</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	72%	57%	48%	56%	14%	33%
Medium	14	29	28	22	57	39
Small	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>28</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	14	14	46	9	7	18
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>			
<u>20 Years or Less</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	0.89	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.42	N.S.			
<u>Over 20 Years</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	3.13	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.30	N.S.			

Sample size precluded still finer breakdowns within the Protestant and Irish groups. The data for the Jews, though, were examined still further, as shown in Table 23. That

table indicates that the more recent the entry, the greater the proportion of Jews entering via a large agency, with a big change having come in the late fifties. As was pointed out earlier, it was in the late fifties that there was a dramatic increase in the proportion of Jews occupying top functional roles in the large agencies. Among the most recent Jewish entrants, 58% are seen to have started in a large agency, almost twice as many as among those who started over 20 years ago. Even at that the 58% figure is lower than the 72% recorded in the previous table for the group of Protestants who entered within the past 20 years. Unless, therefore, very recent Protestant entrants have entered large agencies in far fewer numbers than the 72% figure would suggest, a disparity has remained between Protestants and Jews in this regard.

TABLE 23

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE JEWISH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' FIRST POSITION WAS BY GROUPS WHO ENTERED AT FOUR POINTS IN TIME

	<u>Under 10 Years Ago</u>	<u>11-15 Years Ago</u>	<u>16-20 Years Ago</u>	<u>Over 20 Years Ago</u>
Large	58%	53%	37%	33%
Medium	34	20	32	39
Small	<u>8</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>28</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	12	15	19	18

Variations by role are to be expected, attributable simply to the fact that many of the smaller agencies do not now have Research departments or didn't have such departments at the times of entry of the executives involved, and also to the comparatively few large agencies which included Art heads in their rosters of top personnel. Our interest is, though, not in the between-department variations but in those within departments. Focussing on the latter, we see that, with

one exception, relatively few Jews started in the large agencies. The exception is Research; better than eight out of ten Jewish Research heads began their careers in large agencies, a bigger proportion than is indicated for the total group of executives in Research. See Table 24.

TABLE 24

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FIRST POSITION OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
WAS BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	<u>Total Executives</u> <u>Answering</u>	<u>Large</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Creative</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>33%</u>	<u>26%</u>	<u>41%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestant	7	57	14	29	100
Jewish	16	25	37	38	100
<u>Media</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>100</u>
Protestant	11	82	9	9	100
Irish	10	40	50	10	100
Jewish	18	40	44	16	100
<u>Research</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>70</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	19	84	11	5	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	11	9	36	55	100

SIZE OF AGENCY EVER ASSOCIATED WITH

Moving on to the sizes of agencies with which they have ever been associated, we start again by examining the data for the total group of functional executives, observing here as well differences by ethnicity. The biggest difference can be described as follows: Compared to the Protestants, fewer Jews, Italians or Irish spent any part of their career in a large agency; significantly more Irish spent a part in a medium-sized agency and significantly more Italians, in a small agency. Yet most outstanding is the fact that three-fourths of the Jews at some point succeeded in becoming associated with a large agency, even though only 44% had started in one. See Table 25.

TABLE 25
SIZE OF AGENCIES FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Large	74%	96%	57%	75%	60%
Medium	69	58	76	72	60
Small	<u>56</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>80</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>199%</u>	<u>200%</u>	<u>171%</u>	<u>206%</u>	<u>200%</u>
Total Executives Answering	125	24	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>		<u>df</u>	<u>t-score</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	
<u>Irish vs. Prot.</u>					
Large		43	3.39	.01	
Medium		43	-1.31	.20	
Small		43	0.54	N.S.	
<u>Jewish vs. Prot.</u>					
Large		86	3.12	.01	
Medium		86	-1.21	N.S.	
Small		86	-1.09	N.S.	
<u>Italian vs. Prot.</u>					
Large		32	2.25	.05	
Medium		32	-0.11	N.S.	
Small		32	-2.09	.05	

As expected, the highest proportion of Jews with experience in a large agency is found among the Researchers, so many of them having started in a large agency. As Table 26 points up, though, as many as seven out of ten Jews in the Creative and Media areas also eventually become associated with a large agency; in these areas, it will be recalled, only 25% and 40% had begun in one.

TABLE 26

SIZES OF AGENCIES FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED
WITH BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	Total Executives	Large	Medium	Small	Total
<u>Creative</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>74%</u>	<u>74%</u>	<u>79%</u>	<u>227%</u>
Protestants	7	100	57	71	228
Jewish	16	75	81	75	231
<u>Media</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>74</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>183</u>
Protestants	13	85	46	23	154
Irish	10	50	70	20	140
Jewish	18	72	78	72	222
<u>Research</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>93</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>182</u>
Jewish	19	95	42	26	163
<u>Art</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>199</u>
Jewish	11	45	100	73	218

These data do not, however, tell the entire story. Indeed, many Jews who did not start in a large agency succeeded in moving into one at some point. However, as Table 27 demonstrates, the Jews, while more successful than the Irish in this regard, were far less successful than their Protestant counterparts; almost twice as many Protestants (88%) as Jews (47%) who began in a medium or small agency eventually moved into a larger one.

TABLE 27

SIZE OF AGENCIES FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED
WITH BY SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

	<u>Started In</u> <u>Lg. Agency</u>			<u>Started In</u> <u>Md/Small Agency</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	100%	100%	100%	88%	25%	47%
Medium	44	44	46	88	100	92
Small	<u>31</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>73</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>175%</u>	<u>200%</u>	<u>189%</u>	<u>251%</u>	<u>158%</u>	<u>212%</u>
Total Executives	16	9	28	8	12	36

<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>
<u>Started in Lg. Agency</u>			
Irish vs. Prot. - Large	23	0.00	N.S.
Medium	23	0.00	N.S.
Small	23	-1.24	N.S.
Jewish vs. Prot.- Large			
Medium	42	0.00	N.S.
Small	42	-0.13	N.S.
Small			
Small	42	-0.81	N.S.
<u>Started in Md/Small Agency</u>			
Irish vs. Prot. - Large	18	3.71	.01
Medium	18	-1.04	N.S.
Small	18	2.05	.10
Jewish vs. Prot.- Large			
Medium	42	2.89	.01
Small	42	-0.32	N.S.
Small	42	0.12	N.S.

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE MOST OF CAREER SPENT

Against this picture of the size agencies with which they had any association, we shall now examine the data on the sizes of agencies in which these executives spent the major portion of their career. Table 28 presents the data for the total group of functional executives; substantial distinctions are easily evident. Most Protestants have spent the major portion of their career in a large agency; most Irish in a medium-sized agency; most Italians in a small agency; and the bulk of the Jews, in about equal numbers, in a large or medium-sized one.

TABLE 28

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES SPENT MOST OF CAREER

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Large	45%	61%	20%	49%	22%
Medium	41	26	60	43	22
Small	14	13	20	8	56
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	120	23	20	63	9
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	7.53	.05	0.42	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.15	N.S.		
Italian vs Prot.	2	6.65	.05	0.46	

By role, among the Jews, the highest figure for the large agency is again recorded for Research, the lowest for Art. Among the Protestants, an especially high figure for the large agency is seen in the Media group. More germane, the figures indicate that it is only in the Media area that there are more Protestants than Jews who spent the major portion of their career in a large agency. See Table 29.

TABLE 29

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES SPENT MOST OF
CAREER BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	Total Executives Answering	Large	Medium	Small	Total
<u>Creative</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>33%</u>	<u>43%</u>	<u>24%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestant	7	43	43	14	100
Jewish	16	50	38	12	100
<u>Media</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>100</u>
Protestant	11	72	19	9	100
Irish	10	30	60	10	100
Jewish	17	53	41	6	100
<u>Research</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	19	70	25	5	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	11	9	82	9	100

Table 30 examines the sizes of agencies in which executives spent most of their career in relation to the sizes in which they began it. Not surprisingly those who started in large agencies are much more often found to have spent most of their careers there than those who began their careers in medium and small agencies, and vice versa. What is interesting, though, is that given equal starting places, almost no differences are observed between the Protestants and the Jews. This is not the case for the Irish. Fewer Irish than their counterparts spent most of their career in a large agency and more spent it in a medium-sized agency regardless of what size agency they started in.

TABLE 30

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES SPENT MOST OF
CAREER BY SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

	<u>Started In</u> <u>Lg. Agency</u>			<u>Started In</u> <u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
<u>Size Agency Where</u> <u>Most of Career Spent</u>						
Large	80%	38%	81%	29%	8%	25%
Medium	13	25	15	57	84	64
Small	<u>7</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	15	8	27	7	12	36
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
<u>Started in Lg. Agency</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	4.71	.10	0.20		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.11	N.S.			
<u>Started in Md/Small Agency</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.71	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.12	N.S.			

Still one more set of data needs to be examined to complete the story, namely, where executives who spent the major portion of their career in various size agencies are now located.

These data are provided in Table 31. (Figures for the Irish are not shown for the group who spent the major portion of their career in a large agency because of the small numbers involved.) Here, in contrast to the similarity observed above between the Protestants and the Jews, a couple of differences are apparent. While most Protestants who spent the major part of their career in a medium or small agency are now in a medium-sized one, most Jews who spent most of their career in a medium or small agency are currently in a small one. (This, it should be pointed out, is not because fewer Jews than Protestants had been in medium agencies and more had been in small agencies.) More importantly, we see a dramatic difference in the proportion of Jews versus Protestants now in large agencies among those who spent the major portion of their careers there; far fewer of these Jews than of these Protestants are now there.

TABLE 31

SIZE OF AGENCY FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES ARE CURRENTLY IN BY
SIZE OF AGENCY SPENT MOST OF CAREER

	<u>Lg. Agency</u>		<u>Md/Small Agency</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	72%	45%	25%	38%	28%
Medium	21	45	63	43	31
Small	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>41</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	14	31	8	16	32
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>x²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>		
<u>Spent Most of Career:</u>					
<u>Large Agency</u>					
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	2.76	N.S.		
<u>Md/Small Agency</u>					
Irish vs. Prot.	2	0.75	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	3.14	N.S.		

In review, we have to this point indicated that substantial distinctions existed in the sizes of agencies in which the various ethnic groups began their careers, the

Protestants far more often starting in large agencies than the Irish or the Jews, and Italians least often starting there. Comparing the Jews and the Protestants, we saw this pattern prevailed in all areas other than Research. Further, the pattern appeared to be independent of time of entry, though Jews have clearly become more successful in entering large agencies with the passage of time.

We went on to observe that ethnic differences in size of agency persisted beyond the point of entry. This, it became clear, was not only because fewer Jews or Irish started in larger agencies, but also because they had lesser success than their Protestant counterparts in moving from medium or small agencies to large ones. Yet most Jews, irrespective of area, did eventually become associated with a large agency.

Still later it became apparent that where executives spent the major portion of their career was influenced by where they started, and that where they are now is partly a function of the size agency in which most of their career was. The significant finding was, however, that even among Jews and Protestants, both of whom had spent most of their time in a large agency, far fewer Jews are there now. Why these Jews defected is something we shall try to uncover in the subsequent sections.

SIZE OF AGENCY BEST FOR DEVELOPMENT OF SKILLS

With respect to executives' assessments of the various size agencies, the following data report their views on the size of agency in which they developed their major skills. Table 32 reports the data for the total group of functional executives. Here we see that both the Protestants and the Jews (and to about an equal degree) credited the large agencies with being most contributory. By contrast, the majority of Irish said medium-sized agencies provided them with the best opportunities for skill development, while the small group of Italians were fairly equally divided in their opinions as to which size agency was best.

TABLE 32
SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES DEVELOPED THEIR
SKILLS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Large	48%	59%	21%	54%	30%
Medium	35	23	58	35	30
Small	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>40</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	119	22	19	63	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer</u>	<u>Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	7.26	.05	0.41	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.47	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	2	2.62	N.S.		

As these data are examined, it may be recalled that there were differences in the extent to which the various groups had been associated with each size agency. With more Irish having ever been in a medium than a large or small agency, the finding for the Irish is not unexpected. However, the similarity of

Jewish and Protestant views may be surprising, since we observed that fewer Jews than Protestants had ever been in a large agency, and that as many Jews had been in a medium-sized one as in a large one. The explanation lies in the next set of data - Table 33. It turns out that even more of the Jews than of the Protestants who were once in a large agency said the large agency was best for the development of skills; also, the large agency was a more frequent choice of the Jews who had been there than was the medium among those who had spent time in that size agency. Table 33 also indicates that the Irish preference for the medium agency stands out even when size of agency of prior association is controlled, and that Protestants who had been with small agencies were more likely than Jews who had been in them to select the small agency as best for skill development.

TABLE 33

PERCENTAGE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES WHO SPENT A PORTION
OF CAREER IN EACH SIZE AGENCY WHO INDICATED THAT SIZE
AGENCY WAS WHERE MAJOR SKILLS DEVELOPED

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	65%	61%	37%	72%
Medium	51	40	76	49
Small	30	39	55	19

The earlier data might bring still another set of questions to mind. The reference here is to our finding that fewer Jews than Protestants who had once been in large agencies are there now. Table 34, which shows the views of those who are currently in large versus medium and small agencies, might suggest that those who defected did so because they did not regard the large agencies as being as effective for skill development as those who remained in them. One could come to this conclusion because of the difference noted in the proportion of Jews in the two size agencies who chose the large agency.

TABLE 34

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES DEVELOPED MAJOR
SKILLS BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	82%	45%	68%	40%	0%	46%
Medium	18	33	27	30	80	39
Small	<u>0</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>15</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	11	9	22	10	10	41
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
<u>Large Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	3.96	.20	0.44		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.94	N.S.			
<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	6.47	.05	0.57		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.32	N.S.			

The above conclusion would, however, be an erroneous one. This is demonstrated by the next set of figures which clearly indicate that the proportion of Jews naming the large agency

as best for skill development was the same among those who remained in large agencies as among those who moved from large agencies to medium and small ones. See Table 35.

TABLE 35

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES DEVELOPED MAJOR SKILLS FOR SELECTED GROUPS OF JEWS

	<u>In Lg. Agencies</u> <u>Now</u>	<u>In Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Now But Had Been In</u> <u>Lg. Agencies</u>
Large	68%	68%
Medium	27	14
Small	5	18
Total	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	22	28

To complete the data on skill development, the views of those in the various functional roles are compared in Table 36. Research and Media executives, far more often than Creative

and Art personnel, selected the large agency. Again, however, the views of the Protestants and the Jews were found to be relatively comparable.

TABLE 36

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES DEVELOPED MAJOR SKILLS BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	<u>Total</u> <u>Executives</u>	<u>Large</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Small</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Creative</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>28%</u>	<u>36%</u>	<u>36%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestant	7	29	42	29	100
Jewish	16	44	31	25	100
<u>Media</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestant	10	90	0	10	100
Irish	10	30	60	10	100
Jewish	18	67	33	0	100
<u>Research</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>100%</u>
Jewish	19	79	16	5	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>65</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>100%</u>
Jewish	10	0	80	20	100

Essentially, we have observed that Jews are as appreciative as Protestants of the opportunities provided by large agencies for skill development. We do not find any evidence that those who defected from large to medium and small agencies did so because they did not regard the large agency as superior in this respect.

SIZE OF AGENCY PROVIDING BEST OPPORTUNITIES FOR UPWARD
MOVEMENT

Finally, we shall now examine the data on the sizes of agencies which executives regard as having been best in providing opportunities for upward movement. As Table 37 indicates, again a great similarity is seen in the views of the Jews and the Protestants, both groups having chosen the large agency more frequently than either the medium or small. The Irish, on the other hand, most often selected the medium-sized agency; the Italians, the small agency.

TABLE 37
SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' GREATEST
OPPORTUNITIES WERE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Large	42%	52%	20%	49%	20%
Medium	40	29	60	40	30
Small	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>50</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	119	21	20	63	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	5.81	.10	0.38	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.32	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	2	3.93	.20	0.36	

Just as in the case of the assessments on skill development, here, too, the selection of the large agency is seen to be more frequent among those Jews who had been in large agencies than among those Protestants who had. Also as found earlier, the Irish preference for the medium-sized agency comes through even when the experience factor is equalized. See Table 38.

TABLE 38

PERCENTAGE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES WHO SPENT A PORTION
OF CAREER IN EACH SIZE AGENCY WHO INDICATED THAT SIZE
AGENCY PROVIDED GREATEST OPPORTUNITIES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	57%	54%	35%	65%
Medium	58	50	79	56
Small	32	41	53	19

Further, it is again obvious that there is a relationship between the size of agency in which executives are currently located and those which they credited with offering the best opportunities. Irrespective of ethnicity, those in the large agencies considerably more often said the large agency was best than those in medium or small agencies; similarly those in the medium and small agencies, more often than those in the large, selected the medium and small agencies. See Table 39.

TABLE 39

SIZE OF AGENCIES WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' GREATEST OPPORTUNITIES WERE BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	83%	40%	74%	11%	0%	35%
Medium	17	40	26	44	80	48
Small	<u>0</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>45</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>17</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	12	10	23	9	10	40
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>		
<u>Large Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	5.10	.10			0.48
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.40	N.S.			
<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	2.96	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	3.76	.20			0.28

Here, too, though a comparison was made between those views expressed by Jews formerly in large agencies but not there now and those expressed by those still in large agencies.

The results are presented in Table 40. Unlike the similarity observed between the two groups in their assessments on skill development, here a difference is seen.

TABLE 40

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' GREATEST
OPPORTUNITIES WERE FOR SELECTED GROUPS OF JEWS

	<u>In Large Agencies Now</u>	<u>In Md/Small Agencies Now But Had Been in Large Agencies</u>
Large	74%	52%
Medium	26	30
Small	<u>0</u>	<u>18</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	22	28

The difference is that fewer of the Jews who moved from large agencies to medium and small ones than of those who remained indicated the large agency provided the best opportunities for upward movement. The less favorable attitude

of those who moved no doubt explains some of the defection; nonetheless, it must be recognized that even among the defectors, half credited the large agency with being best.

Finally, views in this regard were also found to vary by type of role occupied (see Table 41. Research and Media executives favored the large agencies more than those in the Creative or Art areas. Again, though, it is clear that it is not any single area that accounts for the overall ethnic patterns observed; wherever comparisons are given, Jews were found to name the large agency as often as Protestants, and the Irish figure for medium agencies exceeded that for the other groups shown.¹

TABLE 41

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' GREATEST
OPPORTUNITIES WERE BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	Total Executives Answering	Large	Medium	Small	Total
<u>Creative</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>31%</u>	<u>40%</u>	<u>29%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestant	6	33	33	33	100
Jewish	16	50	38	12	100
<u>Media</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>100</u>
Protestant	11	56	35	9	100
Irish	10	40	50	10	100
Jewish	17	53	35	12	100
<u>Research</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	19	63	26	11	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	11	19	72	9	100

SUMMARY ON SIZE OF AGENCY

Now that we have examined all of the data on size of agency, executives' reports re their career history in various types of agencies and their assessments of the opportunities offered by them in terms of skill development and upward mobility, we can summarize the major findings. For the Jews versus the Protestants, they are as follows:

- The career paths of Jews and Protestants clearly differed with respect to size of agency of entry, Protestants being far more likely than the Jews to have entered the agency business via a large agency. Jews who entered the agency business more recently were more successful in entering via large agencies than those who entered earlier. Nevertheless, what evidence we have indicates that even in the more recent period, Jews have been less able to do so than Protestants.
- Moreover, fewer Jews than Protestants who started in a medium or small agency ever moved into a large one, though as many as half of the Jews succeeded in doing so, with the result that a clear majority of Jews have at some point been in a large agency. In fact, almost as many Jews as Protestants spent the major portion of their careers there; however, fewer of those who spent most of their career in a large agency are there now; also compared to the Protestants, fewer Jews who spent most of their career in a medium or small agency are in a medium-sized agency now and more are in a small agency.

- The nature of the Jewish experience has been such that Jewish views on the opportunities offered by various size agencies for the development of their skills and upward mobility are very similar to Protestant views, with most Jews as well as most Protestants specifying the large agency as the best in these respects. Further, when only the opinions of those who have been in each size agency were considered, the large agency was found to be selected even more often by Jews than Protestants. In addition, the evidence indicates that even the Jews who defected from the large agencies regard them highly from the standpoint of the opportunities they provide for skill development. Somewhat fewer of those Jews who defected, than of those who remained in the large agencies, indicated that the large agency was also the best in terms of opportunities for upward mobility; however, even among the defectors, a clear majority assessed the large agency as superior in this respect as well. Only in part can their defection be attributed then to perceptions that the large agency offered restricted opportunities. In other instances,

then, we speculate that they moved to medium or smaller agencies simply because of the limited number of spots available as one moves up the hierarchy.

- Distinctions in a number of respects were observed by particular functional role occupied, the most notable being the greater success Jews in Research than Jews in other areas had entering via large agencies, and the considerably greater numbers of all executives in Research and Media than in Creative or Art who indicated the large agency was best both for developing skills and getting ahead. At the same time, such analyses indicated that the overall similarity of Jewish and Protestant views was not attributable to any particular area and that irrespective of area, Jews emerged as about as positive as Protestants in their attitudes toward the large agency.

With regard to the Irish, the data are far more limited. They too started in larger agencies to a lesser degree than the Protestants and were not as successful, even as the Jews,

in moving from medium and small agencies to large ones. Their major experience has been in medium-sized agencies and a very high proportion of the Irish spent most of their careers there. Consistent with this, the Irish credited the medium-sized agency with providing the best opportunities, both with respect to skill development and upward mobility.

For the Italians, the small agency was not only the major point of entry but the place in which the highest portion spent any or the major part of their career, and it was the small agency which they favored from the standpoint of the opportunities offered.

Interagency Switching and Mobility Assessments

So much for size of agency; now we shall examine a few other mobility-related items, starting first with the number of agencies with which the executives reported they had been associated during their career.

NUMBER OF AGENCIES ASSOCIATED WITH

The data on number of agencies were obtained in response to the question: "In total, with how many agencies have you been affiliated?" Here too, there are ethnic distinctions.

Fewer Protestants than others indicated that they had been with as many as four agencies, and the average number of agencies specified was significantly higher for the Jews than the Protestants. See Table 42.

TABLE 42
NUMBER OF AGENCIES WITH WHICH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
<u>Number of Agencies</u>					
One	10%	12%	14%	6%	10%
Two	26	28	24	28	20
Three	24	28	19	22	20
Four or More	<u>40</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>50</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Average Number of Agencies	<u>3.5</u>	<u>3.1</u>	<u>3.4</u>	<u>3.8</u>	<u>3.4</u>
Total Executives	126	25	21	64	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>		
Irish vs. Prot.	44	-0.49	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	87	-1.44	.20		
Italian vs. Prot.	33	-0.49	N.S.		

Further analysis indicates that the average number of agencies Jews were affiliated with was higher than the equivalent number for the Protestants only among those in medium and small agencies; however, among those in large as well as medium and small agencies, somewhat higher proportions of Jews are found who have been with four or more agencies. As for the Irish, it is only the distinctions within the large agencies that account for the greater switching observed for them in total. See Table 43.

TABLE 43

NUMBER OF AGENCIES WITH WHICH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
<u>Number of Agencies</u>						
One	15	0	4	9	30	7
Two	39	27	44	18	20	20
Three	31	18	26	27	20	20
Four or More	<u>15</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>53</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Average Number of Agencies</u>						
	2.9	3.8	2.8	3.2	2.9	4.3
Total Executives	13	11	23	11	10	41
<u>Groups Compared</u>		<u>df</u>		<u>t</u>		<u>Sig. L</u>
<u>Large Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.		22		-1.19		N.S.
Jewish vs. Prot.		34		0.15		N.S.
<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.		19		0.39		N.S.
Jewish vs. Prot.		50		-2.25		.05

Here it may be recalled that fewer Jews than Protestants started in large agencies. A reasonable hypothesis is that this could account for the greater switching among the Jews, since they would have been required to do more switching to get into the larger agencies. Hence, switching was examined among those who started in large versus medium or small agencies. The results are presented in Table 44. They make it clear that switching among Jews who started in medium or small agencies was no greater than among Protestants who did; however, they easily demonstrate that for both Protestants and Jews, there was more switching among those who began in the medium and small agencies than among those who began in the large ones. When we consider this along with the relative proportions of Protestants and Jews who started in medium and small agencies (56% of the Jews compared to 34% of the Protestants), it is obvious that place of entry can be regarded as a factor in the differential observed for Jews versus Protestants.

TABLE 44
NUMBER OF AGENCIES WITH WHICH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED BY SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
<u>Number of Agencies</u>						
One	11%	0%	4%	12%	25%	8%
Two	41	33	29	0	17	28
Three	24	11	32	38	25	14
Four or More	<u>24</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>50</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Average Number of Agencies</u>						
	2.6	3.9	3.6	4.1	3.1	3.8
Total Executives	17	9	28	8	12	36
<u>Groups Compared</u>		<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>		<u>Sig.</u>	<u>L</u>
<u>Large Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.		24	-1.65		.20	
Jewish vs. Prot.		43	-2.19		.05	
<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.		18	1.06		N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.		42	0.31		N.S.	

At the same time, it is evident that the fact that fewer Jews started in large agencies is not the only explanation. This can be stated since Table 44 also indicates that Jews who started in large agencies engaged in more switching than Protestants did. Moreover, if the greater switching resulted only from the attempts by Jews to gain entry into the large agencies, we would not have observed, as we did in Table 43, greater switching among Jews than Protestants currently in medium or small agencies.

Still further analyses were therefore undertaken. First, as seen in Table 45, interagency switching was examined separately for those Protestants and Jews who started in large agencies and are in a large agency now versus for those who started in a large agency and are now in a medium or small agency. That analysis shows that among those now in a medium or small agency who started in a large one, if anything, fewer Jews than Protestants engaged in a great deal of switching (having been in 4 or more agencies). But both Protestants and Jews in this category clearly engaged in more switching than those who began in a large agency and are in one now. Since those who are now in a

large agency represent a somewhat lower proportion of the Jews than the Protestants who started in one, a further reason then that emerges for the higher switching among Jews is that fewer of them who began in a large agency are currently in one. We also see though that even among those who did start in a large agency and are there now, somewhat more Jews than Protestants engaged in multiple-agency switching.

TABLE 45

NUMBER OF AGENCIES WITH WHICH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES HAVE
BEEN ASSOCIATED BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN AMONG THOSE
WHO STARTED IN LARGE AGENCIES

	Now in Lg. Agency		Now In Md/Small Agency	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>
<u>Number of Agencies</u>				
One	22%	0%	0%	7%
Two	56	46	14	20
Three	22	31	29	27
Four or More	<u>0</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>46</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Average Number of Agencies	2.0	2.8	3.6	4.3
Number of Executives	9	13	7	15
<u>Groups Compared</u>		<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>
Lg. Agency: Jewish vs. Prot.		18	-2.46	.05
Md/Small Agency: Jewish vs. Prot.		19	-0.99	N.S.

Table 46 provides additional enlightenment. Shown there are the levels of interagency switching for those Jews who started in medium or small agencies and are in a large versus medium and small one now, and further, among those now in a medium or small agency, for those who had or had never been in a large agency. (Breakdowns for the Protestants are not shown since so few began in a medium or small agency.) The results make two points: first, comparing the figures for those now in a large agency with those in Table 45 further supports that place of start was a factor in the greater switching among Jews - the percentages who reported affiliation with four or more agencies being 23% for those now in a large agency who started in a large agency and 30% for those now in a large agency who started in a medium or small one. The second point that is most clearly seen is that, among those Jews now in a medium or small agency who began in one, it is those who in the interim were in a large agency who engaged in the most switching--84% of this group having been associated with four or more agencies.

TABLE 46

NUMBER OF AGENCIES WITH WHICH JEWISH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES
HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN AMONG
THOSE WHO STARTED/HAVE BEEN IN MD/SMALL AGENCIES

<u>Number of Agencies</u>	<u>Now In Lg. Agency</u>	<u>Now in Md/Small Agency</u>		
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Once in a Lg. Agency</u>	<u>Never in a Lg. Agency</u>
One	10%	8%	0%	15%
Two	40	19	8	31
Three	20	15	8	23
Four or More	<u>30</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>84</u>	<u>31</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Average Number of Agencies	2.8	4.3	4.9	2.8
Number of Executives	10	26	13	13

The higher amount of interagency switching among Jews than Protestants is then accounted for by several factors. One is that more Jews started in medium and small agencies. A second is the defection of Jews from large agencies to

medium and small ones, defection by those who started there and by those who did not, but subsequently spent some time in a large agency. Third there was more switching by Jews than Protestants who began in a large agency even if they are in one now. The data on executives' assessments of the opportunities provided for upward mobility by various size agencies offered some explanation for these findings; the next sets of data will add further insight.

Also of interest here, though, are the data by department. As Table 47 shows, in areas in which comparisons can be made between the Protestants and Jews, namely Creative and Media, substantial differences are seen. These differences are, in fact, bigger than those we might have expected from previous figures; the low level of switching among Jews in Research obviously deflated the level of switching found overall for the Jewish group, and particularly for Jews in the large agencies - this being where most Jewish Research executives are.

TABLE 47

NUMBER OF AGENCIES WITH WHICH FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES HAVE
BEEN ASSOCIATED BY ROLE WITHIN AGENCY

	<u>Total Execu- tives</u>	<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Four or More</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Average Number of Agencies</u>
<u>Creative</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>9%</u>	<u>26%</u>	<u>9%</u>	<u>56%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>4.2</u>
Protestant	7	14	14	29	43	100	4.2
Jewish	16	0	31	0	69	100	4.8
<u>Media</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>3.1</u>
Protestant	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>2.5</u>
Irish	10	20	10	20	50	100	3.3
Jewish	18	6	28	22	44	100	3.8
<u>Research</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>2.9</u>
Jewish	<u>19</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>2.6</u>
<u>Art</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>3.8</u>
Jewish	<u>11</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>4.2</u>

LOCALE OF PREVIOUS POSITION

After the executives were questioned on the nature of the position they held just prior to their current one (the information on which we reported earlier), they were asked the following in order to find out the locale of that position: "Was this latter position in the same agency where you now are, in another advertising agency, with another type of company or organization?" As indicated in Table 48, differences in the responses by ethnicity were not significant. However, somewhat fewer Jews and Irish than Protestants moved into their present position from another position within the same agency, more coming in either from a position in another agency or from one in another type of company.

TABLE 48
LOCALE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' PRIOR POSITION

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
In Same Agency as Current Position	50%	56%	48%	46%	50%
In Another Advertising Agency	46	44	48	49	40
With Another Type of Company or Organization	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	123	25	21	61	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>x²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>		
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.38	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.70	N.S.		
Italian vs. Prot.	2	2.57	N.S.		

To understand the full picture here as well, there are several factors that need to be considered. Most important is the size of agency with which the executives are currently associated. As Table 49 makes very evident, the locale of

the executives' prior positions was markedly different for those currently in large versus those currently in medium or small agencies. Most of the former moved into their present position from one in the same agency; most of the latter moved into it from a position in another agency. Moreover, different ethnicity patterns are observed in the two groups of agencies, though in neither case are the differences statistically significant. Within the medium and small agencies, Jews appear to have been as successful as Protestants in moving into their present position from one in the same agency; in the large agencies, this is not the case. If then not for the fact that a higher proportion of the Jews than of the Protestants are in medium or small agencies rather than large ones (64% of the Jews compared with 45% of the Protestants), the distinctions we observed in the prior table would certainly have been greater.

TABLE 49

LOCALE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' PRIOR POSITION BY SIZE
OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agency</u>			<u>Md/Small Agency</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
In Same Agency as Current Position	77%	64%	64%	36%	30%	36%
In Another Advertising Agency	23	36	32	64	60	59
With Another Type of Company or Organization	0	0	4	0	10	5
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	13	11	22	11	10	39
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>L</u>		
<u>Large Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	0.51	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.02	N.S.			
<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.17	N.S.			
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.60	N.S.			

As we reviewed these various findings it was obvious that it would have been desirable to know for those who

indicated their prior position was in another agency, in what size agency it was. This would have enabled us to determine whether those who achieved their present post by moving from one agency to another, did so by moving from one size agency to another, particularly from a large to a less large one, and whether the patterns of such changes varied for Jews versus others. Unfortunately, the questionnaire did not provide information on the size agency in which the previous position was located. Lacking that information, we examined the data on the locale of the prior position in relation to where the executives spent the major portion of their career, the assumption being that in a high proportion of cases the agency in which they previously were, might in fact have been the one in which most of their career was, or one similar in size at least. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 50, for those groups whose numbers permitted any separation.

TABLE 50

LOCALE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' PRIOR POSITION BY SIZE
OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN AND IN WHICH MOST OF CAREER WAS SPENT

	<u>Spent Most of Career In</u>					
	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Now in</u>		<u>Now in</u>	<u>Now in</u>		<u>Now in</u>
	<u>Lg.</u>	<u>Md/Sm.</u>		<u>Lg.</u>	<u>Md/Sm.</u>	
	<u>Agency</u>	<u>Agency</u>		<u>Agency</u>	<u>Agency</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>
In Same Agency as Current Position	82%	69%	25%	56%	33%	44%
In Another Advertis- ing Agency	18	31	69	33	67	52
With Another Type of Company or Organ- ization	0	0	6	11	0	4
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	11	13	16	9	6	23
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>		<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>		
<u>Lg. Agencies</u> : Prot.vs.Jews	2		0.50	N.S.		
<u>Md/Small</u> <u>Agencies</u> : Prot. vs. Jews	2		0.56	N.S.		

From that table, several points emerge: first, we see that even among those Jews and Protestants, both of whom spent most of their career in a large agency and have a top position in one now, fewer Jews achieved that position by upward movement within an agency. The reverse appears true for medium or small agencies. Jews there moved into their present positions from one in the same agency as often as Protestants, if they had spent most of their time in such an agency. Secondly, it is obvious that a very high proportion of the Jews with top positions in medium or small agencies who had spent a major portion of their career in a large agency, achieved their present position by moving from one agency to another. Our inference is that they sacrificed size for position or to put it another way, to reach the top, they had to move out of the large agency.

Finally, it is clear that role is an important factor. See Table 5L. In the Research and Art areas, Jews appear to have been at least as successful as others, and perhaps even more so, in achieving their present positions by upward movement. This is not so in the Creative and Media Areas, many more Jews than Protestants having done so by switching from one agency to another.

TABLE 51

LOCALE OF FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' PRIOR POSITION BY ROLE
WITHIN AGENCY

	<u>Total</u> <u>Executives</u>	<u>In</u> <u>Same</u> <u>Agency</u>	<u>In</u> <u>Other</u> <u>Agency</u>	<u>With Another</u> <u>Type of Co.</u> <u>or Org.</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Creative</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>50%</u>	<u>50 %</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestant	7	57	43	0	100
Jewish	16	38	62	0	100
<u>Media</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>100</u>
Protestant	13	62	38	0	100
Irish	10	50	40	10	100
Jewish	18	33	56	11	100
<u>Research</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	18	61	33	6	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	9	56	44	0	100

Now we come to the functional executives' assessments of how they made their best strides.

Assessments of How Best Strides Were Made - Respondents'
assessments of how their best strides were made were solicited through the following question: "Looking back at your entire

career with advertising agencies, would you say you have made your major career strides:

moving from one agency to another

moving up within an agency

starting your own agency

other

"Other" responses were negligible; in some instances, however, executives checked all three or two of the three specified alternatives. Such responses were excluded as not representing proper answers to the question. The responses for the remainder are shown for the total group of functional executives in Table 52, and indicate very close agreement in the aggregate among the Protestants, Irish and Jews. In each group, between 53% and 57% indicated their best strides were made moving up within an agency, and approximately 40% in each indicated moving from one agency to another was most effective. The only major difference is in the case of the Italians; here, of course, we are dealing with very small numbers.

TABLE 52
HOW FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' MAJOR STRIDES WERE MADE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Italian</u>
Moving Up Within Agency	58%	57%	53%	54%	80%
Moving Up From One Agency To Another	39	43	37	44	20
Starting Own Agency	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	110	21	19	57	10
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>L</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	2	2.34	N.S.		
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.39	N.S.		
Italians vs. Prot.	2	1.55	N.S.		

As shown in Table 53, quite different views prevail though among those in large versus medium or small agencies and ethnic differences are easily apparent when this factor is controlled. Those in large agencies generally say their best strides were made by upward movement, those in medium or small by movement from one agency to another. Within the

large agencies while most Jews, like most Protestants and Irish, ascribe their strides to upward movement, more Jews than others attribute it to interagency movement. Within the medium and small agencies, this is not so; there, as many Jews as Irish, and more Jews than Protestants, credit their progress essentially to movement within an agency.

TABLE 53
HOW FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' MAJOR STRIDES WERE MADE
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Moving Up Within Agency	82%	60%	71%	22%	45%	44%
Moving From One Agency to Another	18	30	29	78	44	53
Starting Own Agency	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	11	10	21	9	9	36
<u>Groups Compared</u>			<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	
<u>Lg. Agencies:</u> Irish vs. Prot.			2	1.76	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.			2	0.42	N.S.	
<u>Md/Small Agencies:</u>						
Irish vs. Prot.			2	2.48	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.			2	1.92	N.S.	

Here as well, the size of agency in which executives spent most of their career provides additional insight. Consistent with our earlier observations on the locale of the prior positions of the executives, ethnicity differences are observed even when both size of agency in which executives are currently located and in which they spent most of their career are controlled. Jews who spent most of their careers in large agencies and are there now, made their best strides by moving from one agency to another more often than Protestants; these same Jews made strides less often by upward movement within an agency. In reverse, Jews who spent most of their careers in medium or small-sized agencies and are in those agencies now, made their best strides through inter-agency switching less often than Protestants; these Jews more often made strides by upward movement within an agency. Further, we see that a high proportion of Jews who spent most of their career in a large agency, and are now in a medium or small one, indicate their major strides were made through interagency switching, suggesting again that this group moved from a large to medium or small agency in order to achieve upward mobility. See Table 54.

TABLE 54

HOW FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' MAJOR STRIDES WERE MADE BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN AND IN WHICH MOST OF CAREER WAS SPENT

	Spent Most of Career In					
	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>			<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>		
	Now in	Now in		Now In	Now in	
	Lg.	Md/Sm		Lg.	Md/Small	
	<u>Agency</u>	<u>Agency</u>		<u>Agency</u>	<u>Agency</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>
Moving Up Within an Agency	89%	62%	53%	88%	20%	38%
Moving From One Agency to Another	11	38	47	12	80	57
Starting Own Agency	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	9	13	15	8	5	21
<u>Groups Compared</u>		<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>L</u>	
Lg. Agencies: Prot.vs. Jews	2	2.01	N.S.			
Md/Small Agencies: Prot. vs. Jews	2	0.96	N.S.			

Table 55 shows the data on how those in different types of roles responded when asked how they made their best strides.

Aside from one deviation in the Art area, where the base is very small, no important differences are seen by ethnicity.

TABLE 55

HOW FUNCTIONAL EXECUTIVES' MAJOR STRIDES WERE MADE BY ROLE
WITHIN AGENCY

	<u>Total</u> <u>Executives</u> <u>Answering</u>	<u>Moving Up</u> <u>Within</u> <u>Agency</u>	<u>Moving From</u> <u>One Agency To An-</u> <u>other</u>	<u>Starting</u> <u>Own</u> <u>Agency</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Creative</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>62%</u>	<u>31%</u>	<u>7%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Protestant	6	67	33	0	100
Jewish	13	61	39	0	100
<u>Media</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>51</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>
Protestant	11	46	54	0	100
Irish	9	56	44	0	100
Jewish	17	47	53	0	100
<u>Research</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	19	63	37	0	100
<u>Art</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>100</u>
Jewish	8	38	50	12	100

Review of Interagency Switching and Mobility Assessments -

In this section we examined the amount of interagency switching among the functional executives, the extent to which their

present positions are in the same agency as their prior one, and their assessments of how they made their best strides within the agency business.

In review, we saw first that Jews engaged in somewhat more interagency switching than Protestants. One factor was that fewer Jews started in small agencies; thus, if they were to get into a large agency, greater switching was necessary. A second was the defection of Jews from large to medium and small agencies. A third was the greater switching among Jews than Protestants even among those who started in a large agency and are there now. With the data on the locale of the executives' prior positions and their assessments of how their best strides were made, it becomes clear that the defection by Jews from the large agencies, as well as the greater switching by those who began in a large agency and are in one now, is at least partly attributable to the lesser mobility the Jews, compared to the Protestants, had in the large agencies. Fewer of the Jews than of the Protestants who began in a large agency and are there now, moved into their position from one in the same agency, and more of the Jews than of the Protestants said their best

strides were made through movement between agencies. Those Jews who spent most of their career in a large agency but are not there now included still more who said their previous position was in a different agency, and that their best strides came from going from one agency to another.

It should be emphasized, however, that though Jews had more difficulty than Protestants reaching the higher levels within the large organizations, a substantial number have achieved posts there, and many did so by upward movement within an agency; also, as said before, some Jews may have moved out of larger agencies simply because of the limited positions available as one moves to a higher position.

In contrast, the data, both on locale of executives' prior positions and on the executives' reports of how their best strides were made, indicate that within the medium and small organizations, Jews were as successful as Protestants in achieving upward mobility within an organization. This is consistent with our earlier finding that interagency switching among those Jews who never were in a large agency was not especially high.

Concluding Comments on Functional Executives

As we have proceeded, we have traced the careers of the functional executives from their inception to the present, with consideration given to a variety of factors relevant to the paths they followed in reaching their current statuses. Individual sections of the data have been summarized; some overall generalizations now can be made.

- Very major distinctions existed in the entry paths of Jewish versus Protestant functional executives who entered the business quite early: distinctions in terms of point of entry, first position held and prior occupational experience. Differences with respect to type of position appear to have disappeared over time as agencies have apparently changed their recruitment practices for Protestants, bringing more of them into specialized positions and fewer into general trainee jobs. Distinctions in size of agency of entry have also lessened over time; the indications are, however, that even the more recent Jewish entrants were less successful than Protestants in entering a large agency.

- Distinctions by ethnicity clearly persisted beyond entry, reflected in differential degrees of specialization, in the amount of interagency switching and in the sizes of agencies with which they have been associated. Jews compared to Protestants had a lesser degree of interdepartmental mobility, had less mobility from medium and smaller agencies to large ones, were less successful in moving up within the large agencies, and more frequently are now in a medium and small agency, even if they spent most of their career in a large one.
- Many Jews in functional roles were, however, able to overcome the disadvantages associated with their entry and once in the large agencies, a substantial number found their experience satisfactory.

Now that we have completed the material on the functional executives, we turn to examine the paths of the top executives.

Chapter 8 Footnotes

¹As indicated, the question on occupational experience outside the agency business asked the respondents to indicate only those experiences which represented a significant portion of their occupational careers. This was done to eliminate reports of incidental jobs held during the summer or at other times while the respondent might still have been attending school. Conceivably the wording might have also discouraged mentions of positions occupied very early in the respondents' careers which were not incidental in the sense intended. However, examination of the questionnaires indicates this was not the case - the degree to which prior experience was reported appears consistent with the various respondents' ages at the time they entered the business, and the ages at which they may reasonably have been expected to have ceased being a full time student.

CHAPTER 9

CAREER PATHS OF TOP EXECUTIVES

In the last chapter we examined in detail the career paths of the executives now occupying key functional roles within the advertising agency business. In this chapter we turn to those who are now top executives, again studying their careers in depth. Our interest here once more will be in comparing the paths of the various ethnic groups in the executive leadership.

While the specific analyses may differ on occasion from those contained in the last chapter, essentially the same areas will be covered. These will again include the nature of executives' experiences in the agency business, their experience with and assessments of various size agencies, the extent of their interagency switching and the means by which their best strides were made.

As we examine this top leadership, it might be well to keep in mind that while the members of the various ethnic groups are alike in having achieved top executive posts, the

size of agencies in which they hold those posts vary considerably: Protestants and Irish command a much higher proportion of the top executive posts in the larger agencies; Jews hold such posts almost exclusively in medium or smaller agencies.

Nature of Career Experience

ENTRY

Time of Entry - On average, Protestant top executives have been in the business longer than Irish top executives, and, though not significantly so, also longer than Jewish top executives. See Table 1.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF YEARS TOP EXECUTIVES SPENT IN ADVERTISING

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Under 10 years	4%	3%	0%	7%
10-20 years	34	28	46	33
21 years or more	<u>62</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>60</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Average number of years</u>	<u>21.9</u>	<u>24.3</u>	<u>21.4</u>	<u>22.6</u>
Total Executives	79	32	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.	41	1.38	.20	
Jewish vs. Prot.	60	0.78	N.S.	

What distinction there is between Jews and Protestants disappears when size of agency is held constant; the original differential is then due to the long tenure of the Protestant top executives who are in the larger agencies. See Table 2.

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF YEARS TOP EXECUTIVES SPENT IN ADVERTISING
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Under 10 years	0%	6%	4%
10-20 years	19	38	36
21 years or more	<u>81</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>60</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Average number of years</u>	<u>27.1</u>	<u>21.5</u>	<u>21.6</u>
Total Executives	16	16	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>
Md/Small Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	39	-0.02	N.S.

With this in the background, we turn to the data on how the top executives first started in the business, their activities within it and the extent to which they spent a significant portion of their career outside the agency business.

First Position in Advertising - We begin with how the top executives started their careers. As Table 3 indicates, in total, Protestant and Jewish top executives started in similar positions. Within both groups, about half began in some specialized area, about two of ten started directly in the Account area and an equivalent number in some trainee job; however, more Jews (13%) than Protestants (3%) are seen to have started in the business as owners. As for the Irish, about half of them also began their careers in a specialized area, and two out of ten in Account Management, but somewhat more Irish than Jews or even Protestants started as trainees.

TABLE 3
TOP EXECUTIVES' FIRST POSITION
IN ADVERTISING

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
In general trainee/mail room/clerical position	23%	25%	37%	20%
In Account area	18	16	18	23
In specialized area	50	50	45	44
In top position	3	6	0	0
As owner	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>13</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	79	32	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	4	1.48	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	4	4.67	N.S.	

To understand the picture fully, we need, however, to examine the data in two other respects. For one, we have to consider, the size of agency in which the executives reportedly started - Table 4. We mentioned earlier that these reports may have been affected by varying frames of reference; nevertheless, they shed some additional light. Though we

have yet to report the percentages who started in various size agencies, it is obvious from the base sizes in Table 4 that the large majority of the Jews in top positions started in medium and small agencies rather than large ones; in fact, there are too few Jews who started in large agencies even to present separate data for them. Given this, the figures for the Jews who started in medium or small agencies closely resemble those in total. Among the Protestants, even though about equal percentages of those claiming to start in medium or small versus large agencies said they started in a specialized area, substantial differences are seen within the two groups. Among those reporting a start in a large agency, almost half began in a general trainee position and none directly in the Account area; among those who started in medium or small agencies, 17% began in a trainee/messenger type position, while 22% began in Account work. Because of the differences between the two groups of Protestants, there is then even more similarity between the Jews and the Protestants when those who started in the large agencies are excluded. Even so, though, a distinction remains with respect to entry via ownership.

TABLE 4
TOP EXECUTIVES' FIRST POSITION IN ADVERTISING BY
SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	
In general trainee/mail- room/clerical position	44%	17%	14%	
In Account area	0	22	24	
In specialized area	56	48	48	
In top management position	0	9	0	
As owner	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>14</u>	
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	
Total Executives	9	23	21	
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Small Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	4	3.11	N.S.	

Secondly, it is appropriate that we examine the data in relation to time of entry, comparing, as we did in the case of the functional executives, those who started in the business more than 20 years ago with those who started within the past 20 years. This has been done in Table 5 and several

points become evident. It becomes clear that recent entrants, whether Protestant or Jewish, less often began as general trainees and more often began in specialized areas than was the case for earlier entrants. This is consistent with the observation made in connection with the functional executives. Also, it is observed that among the more recent Jewish entrants, a greater proportion started in Account Management, and fewer came into the business as owners than among those who entered earlier. On this basis, two distinctions between the Jews and Protestants are seen: among the later entrants, more Protestants started in general trainee positions and fewer in the Account area; among earlier entrants, the principal point of difference is in the percentage who came into the business by starting their own agency, many more Jews than Protestants having done so.

TABLE 5
TOP EXECUTIVES' FIRST POSITION IN ADVERTISING
BY LENGTH OF TIME IN AGENCY BUSINESS

	<u>In Business</u> <u>20 Years or Less</u>		<u>In Business</u> <u>Over 20 years</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
In general trainee/mail- room/clerical position	20%	0%	27%	33%
In Account area	10	42	19	12
In specialized area	60	58	45	33
In top management position	10	0	4	0
As owner	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>22</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	10	12	22	18
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
20 Years or Less: Jewish vs. Prot.	4	5.61	N.S.	
Over 20 Years: Jewish vs. Prot.	4	4.11	N.S.	

To bring the picture into still clearer focus, a two-variable analysis, involving both time of entry and size of agency of entry, was done for that portion of the sample

where size permitted it. To explain, the earlier entrants were further subdivided into those who started in a large versus medium or small agency, and three groups were compared: Protestant early entrants who started in large agencies, Protestant early entrants who started in medium or small agencies, Jewish early entrants who started in medium or small agencies. The data are shown in Table 6. The analysis reveals very major differences between the groups of Protestants identified above and again shows a distinction between the Protestants and Jews in regard to the number who began as owners.

TABLE 6
EARLY ENTRANT TOP EXECUTIVES' FIRST POSITION
IN ADVERTISING BY SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

<u>In Agency Business Over 20 Years</u> <u>Started In:</u>			
	<u>Lg. Agency</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
In general trainee/mail- room/clerical position	43%	20%	23%
In Account area	0	26	15
In specialized area	57	40	39
In top management position	0	7	0
As owner	<u>0</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>23</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	7	15	13
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L Cramer Phi</u>
Med/Small Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	4	2.63	N.S.

From the above data, the distinctions that emerge for the Protestants versus the Jews can be summarized as follows: Among the earlier entrants, a number of Protestants (almost half) who started in large agencies, started in trainee

positions. Among Protestants and Jews, both of whom entered the business via medium and small agencies, a sizable percentage of Jews (almost one-fifth) began their careers by starting their own business. This is a considerably larger number than the Protestants who reportedly did so(7%).

Protestants, more often than Jews, came in via Account positions. In review then, considerable differences have developed as we analyzed the point of entry for the Jews versus the Protestants. These were most notable among the earlier entrants, but some distinctions were also seen among those who came in more recently.

With regard to the Irish, the data were too limited for intensive analysis; we merely noted that more Irish than Jews or even Protestants seem to have started as trainees.

TOTAL RANGE OF AGENCY EXPERIENCE

Areas Ever Engaged In - We now turn to the total range of the top executives' experience in the advertising business, starting first with the areas they have ever been engaged in.

The data by ethnic classification are presented for the total group of top executives in Table 7. By and large, it is apparent from those data that the groups are closely comparable in this respect, the only significant differences being that more Protestants than Jews or Irish are indicated as having spent time in Research, and that fewer Irish reported they had ever been engaged in Account Management.

TABLE 7
AREAS IN WHICH TOP EXECUTIVES
HAVE EVER BEEN ENGAGED

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Account Management	81%	88%	64%	90%
Creative, Art, Production	46	44	36	40
Media	18	19	18	20
Research	18	31	0	13
Other	<u>15</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>178%</u>	<u>207%</u>	<u>136%</u>	<u>170%</u>
Total Executives	79	32	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	
<u>Irish vs. Prot.</u>				
Account Management	41	1.54	.20	
Creative	41	0.47	N.S.	
Media	41	0.07	N.S.	
Research	41	3.79	.01	
<u>Jewish vs. Prot.</u>				
Account Management	60	-0.25	N.S.	
Creative	60	0.32	N.S.	
Media	60	-0.10	N.S.	
Research	60	2.55	.02	

As Table 8 shows, the similarity between the Jews and Protestants remains when size of agency is held constant, again the only important difference being in the proportion reporting that Research was an area in which they had some experience.

TABLE 8
AREAS IN WHICH TOP EXECUTIVES HAVE EVER BEEN ENGAGED
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agency</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot. Jewish</u>	
Account Management	94%	81%	88%
Creative, Art, Production	56	31	40
Media	19	19	20
Research	31	31	12
Other	<u>31</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>231%</u>	<u>181%</u>	<u>168%</u>
Total Executives	16	16	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>
Md/Small Agencies: Jewish vs Prot.			
Account Management	39	-0.59	N.S.
Creative	39	-0.59	N.S.
Media	39	-0.08	N.S.
Research	39	1.43	.20

Time of entry and size of agency in which respondents started their careers were considered here as well. For the sake of brevity, rather than first analyzing the data for these variables individually, we moved directly to a combination analysis. The combination analysis shown in Table 9 involved five groups:

- Protestants in the agency business 20 years or less
- Jews in the agency business 20 years or less
- Protestants in the agency business over 20 years who started in large agencies
- Protestants in the agency business over 20 years who started in medium or small agencies
- Jews in the agency business over 20 years who started in medium or small agencies

From this five-group analysis, it is clear that in general earlier entrants more often spent a portion of their career in the Creative area and less often in the Research area than is so for later entrants. With respect to Protestant versus Jewish differences, two distinctions are suggested: Among the earlier entrants who started in medium or small agencies, more Protestants than Jews spent some time in the Research area; among the later entrants,

more Protestants were at some point engaged in Creative work. The Research difference arises, we believe, from the fact that in earlier days when Research was less sophisticated, potential future Protestant top executives were often placed in that area for a stint as part of their basic training. We have no explanation for the difference in the Creative area among the more recent entrants.

TABLE 9
AREAS IN WHICH TOP EXECUTIVES HAVE EVER BEEN
ENGAGED BY TIME AND SIZE OF AGENCY ENTERED

	<u>In Business</u> <u>20 Years or</u> <u>Less</u>		<u>In Business Over 20 Years</u> <u>Started In:</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Lg. Agency</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Account Manage- ment	70%	83%	100%	92%	85%
Creative, Art, Production	30	8	50	67	69
Media	10	17	17	8	15
Research	30	33	17	17	0
Other	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>150%</u>	<u>158%</u>	<u>234%</u>	<u>201%</u>	<u>169%</u>
Total Executives Classifiable	10	12	6	12	13
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>		
<u>In business 20 years</u> <u>or less:</u>					
<u>Jewish vs. Protestant</u>					
Account Management	20	-.72	N.S.		
Creative	20	1.34	.20		
Media	20	-.49	N.S.		
Research	20	-.15	N.S.		
<u>In business over 20</u> <u>years:</u>					
<u>Md/Small Agencies:</u>					
<u>Jewish vs. Protestant</u>					
Account Management	23	.55	N.S.		
Creative	23	-.11	N.S.		
Media	23	-.55	N.S.		
Research	23	1.57	.20		

Area In Which Major Portion of Career Was Spent - To

obtain a further understanding of the career paths the various groups followed, we now turn to the area to which they devoted most time during their career. This information, to repeat the explanation given for the functional executives, was derived from the number of years top executives reported spending in each area. Since our interest is in the areas from which they came into overall management that area was excluded from the computations, with the numbers spent in each other area the basis for classification. Table 10 reports the data for the total group of top executives. Based on these data it is clear that, irrespective of ethnicity, very few top executives came into top management positions from areas other than Account Management or the Creative areas. A number of executives, we saw earlier, spent some time in Media or Research (in the case of Research, particularly Protestants) and even in some miscellaneous areas; these, however, were not areas of major concentration for any but a very, very few top executives. Comparing Account Management with the Creative areas, we see further that Account Management far more often than Creative was the area out of which the current executive leadership came. This is

true for Jews as well as Protestants, with no significant differences observed between the two groups; directionally, though, more Jews reported spending most time within the Creative area and fewer reported spending most in the Account area. As regards the Irish, what evidence we have indicates fewer of them may have come from the Account area and more from areas other than Account or Creative.

TABLE 10
AREA IN WHICH TOP EXECUTIVES SPENT MAJOR PORTION OF CAREER

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Account Management	62%	74%	50%	62%
Creative, Art, Production	32	23	30	31
Other	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Classifiable	73	31	10	26
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	3.73	.20	0.30
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.23	N.S.	

While distinctions between the Jews and the Protestants remain not significant when size of agency of current association is controlled, we now observe that a substantially greater percentage of Jews than Protestants (33% versus 19%) specify that most of their career was devoted to the Creative area. See Table 11.

TABLE 11

AREA IN WHICH TOP EXECUTIVES SPENT MAJOR PORTION OF CAREER
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agency</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Account Management	73%	75%	57%
Creative, Art Production	27	19	33
Other	<u>0</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Classifiable	15	16	21
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u> <u>Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Small Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	2	1.28	N.S.

Looking at the data in terms of time of entry and size of agency of entry (Table 12), we see that among the more recent entrants, the areas from which the Jews and Protestants came are extremely similar. However, among the earlier entrants, a marked and significant difference now appears, the number of Jews in this group coming from the Creative area far exceeding the number of Protestants. The proportion of Jews with Creative backgrounds is especially large in relation to Protestants who started in large agencies but is also very high compared to Protestants who started in medium or small agencies. Among the Jews who started in the business over 20 years ago, as many in fact spent most of their career in the Creative area as did in Account Management. This is certainly not the case for the Protestants, eight out of ten beginning in small or medium agencies, and all those beginning in large agencies, having been engaged primarily in Account work.

TABLE 12

AREA IN WHICH TOP EXECUTIVES SPENT MAJOR PORTION OF CAREER
BY TIME AND SIZE OF AGENCY ENTERED

	<u>In Business</u> <u>20 Years or</u> <u>Less</u> <u>Prot. Jewish</u>		<u>In Business Over 20 Years</u> <u>Started In:</u> <u>Lg. Agency</u> <u>Prot.</u> <u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u> <u>Jewish</u>		
Account Manage- ment	89%	84%	100%	82%	44%
Creative, Art, Production	11	8	0	18	44
Other	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>12</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Classifiable	9	12	5	11	9
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>x²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
<u>In Business 20 years</u> <u>or Less</u>					
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.81	N.S.		
<u>In Business Over 20</u> <u>Years</u> <u>Md/Small Agencies</u>					
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	3.42	.20	0.41	

Nature of Position Occupied Prior to Present Position -

Our analysis of the data on the position occupied prior to the present one again includes data for the total group, data by size of agency in which the executives are currently located, and data by size of agency of start and time of entry for selected subsamples. Here even in the aggregate a significant difference is evidenced between the Protestants and Jews. (See Table 13) Among the Jews, 28% indicated that their prior position was in the Creative area; among the Protestants, only 3% did so. Among the Protestants, 65% reported that they moved into their present position from another top management spot; among the Jews, considerably fewer (45%) did so.

TABLE 13
TOP EXECUTIVES' POSITION PRIOR TO PRESENT ONE

<u>Previous Position</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Other Top Management Position	47%	65%	55%	45%
Account Management	26	29	18	28
Creative	24	3	9	28
Other	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>Total (a)</u>	<u>105%</u>	<u>103%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>108%</u>
Total Executives Answering	78	31	11	29
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	3	2.25	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	3	15.51	.01	0.51

(a) In some cases percentages add to more than 100% because some prior positions covered more than one area.

When size of agency is introduced (see Table 14), the difference between the Jews and Protestants in comparable size agencies is not found to be significant; clearly, though, this is a function of sample size, the pattern shown remaining like that seen in total.

TABLE 14

TOP EXECUTIVES' POSITION PRIOR TO PRESENT ONE BY SIZE OF
AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

<u>Previous Position</u>	<u>Lg. Agency</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Other Top Management			
Position	69%	60	42
Account Management	25	33	29
Creative	0	7	29
Other	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>106%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>108%</u>
Total Executives			
Answering	16	15	24
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>
Md/Small			
Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	3	4.21	N.S.

Again analysis by size of agency of start and time of entry is important. As Table 15 indicates, among the later entrants there are virtually no differences between the Protestants and Jews; among the earlier entrants indeed there are. We see that almost four out of ten of the prior

positions of the Jews were in the Creative area, while none of the Protestants' previous positions were in that area. This then further underlines the importance of the Creative path for Jews who entered the business very early.

TABLE 15

TOP EXECUTIVES' POSITION PRIOR TO PRESENT ONE BY TIME AND SIZE OF AGENCY ENTERED

<u>Previous Posit Position</u>	<u>In Business 20 Years or Less</u>		<u>In Business Over 20 Years Started In:</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Lg. Agency Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Other Top Manage- ment Position	40%	42%	83%	92%	54%
Account Manage- ment	50	50	17	8	8
Creative	10	8	0	0	38
Other	0	0	0	0	0
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Classifiable	10	12	6	12	13
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>x²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
<u>In Business 20 years or less</u> Jewish vs. Prot.	3	0.02	N.S.		
<u>In Business Over 20 Years</u> Md/Small Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	3	5.86	.20	0.48	

It has then been indicated that for the earlier entrants, over and above the distinction previously noted with respect to the percentage who started as owners, there is a marked distinction by ethnicity in the number who reached their current position via a basically Creative career; the Jews did so far more often than the Protestants. In contrast, virtually no distinctions have been observed in these respects between the more recent Protestant and Jewish entrants. With regard to the Irish, our analysis has been limited by sample size; within the limits, no important differences have been observed between the Irish and the Protestants.

We now turn to the data on the executives' occupational experience outside the agency business, both prior to and subsequent to entry into it.

OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OUTSIDE AGENCY BUSINESS

Prior Occupational Experience - Our data on the prior occupational experience of the functional executives indicated that somewhat more Irish and Jews than Protestants entered the advertising agency business after having spent a portion of their career elsewhere. This also is true for the top executives, though again the distinction between the

Protestants and the Jews is not of sufficient magnitude to be statistically significant. See Table 16.

TABLE 16
TOP EXECUTIVES' PRIOR OUTSIDE CAREER EXPERIENCE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Spent a Portion of Career Outside Before Entering	34%	28%	54%	36%
Did Not Spend a Portion Outside Before Entering	<u>66</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>64</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Average Number of Years Spent Outside by Those Spending a Portion Outside	7.4	7.9	8.2	7.3
Total Executives	79	32	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	1	2.52	.20	0.24
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.52	N.S.	

Contrary to what might have been expected, considering other data we have seen, here the difference turns out to be

greater among the more recent rather than earlier entrants.

See Table 17. Why this is so we frankly do not know.

TABLE 17

TOP EXECUTIVES' PRIOR OUTSIDE CAREER EXPERIENCE BY
TIME AND SIZE OF AGENCY ENTERED

	<u>In Business</u> <u>20 Years or</u> <u>Less</u>		<u>In Business Over 20 Years</u> <u>Started In:</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Lg. Agency</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Spent a Significant Portion Outside Before Entering	20%	50%	33%	25%	31%
Did Not Spend a Significant Portion Outside Before Entering	<u>80</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>67</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>69</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Classifiable	10	12	6	12	13
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
<u>In Business 20 years or less</u> Jews vs. Prot.	1	2.12	.20	0.31	
<u>In Business Over 20 Years</u> Jews vs. Prot.	1	0.10	N.S.		

With such small numbers involved, the nature of the prior experience of the various ethnic members represented is of little moment. For completeness, the data are, however, reported in Tables 18 and 19. By way of comment, the indications are that the prior experience of the Protestants, in comparison with the Jews, was more often in sales or marketing/product management (Table 18), and more often with a manufacturer and less often with a retailer (Table 19).

TABLE 18

KIND OF WORK TOP EXECUTIVES INVOLVED IN
BEFORE ENTERING ADVERTISING AGENCY BUSINESS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Sales	26%	44%	20%
Marketing/Product Management	22	22	10
Creative/Art/Writing	22	23	20
Advertising/Promotion	19	33	20
Other	26	33	30
Not Clear	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>20</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>130%</u>	<u>166%</u>	<u>120%</u>
Total Executives With Outside Experience	27	9	10

TABLE 19

NATURE OF ORGANIZATION TOP EXECUTIVES WORKED FOR
BEFORE ENTERING ADVERTISING AGENCY BUSINESS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Manufacturer	67%	78%	50%
Retailer	37	44	50
Media	26	33	30
Other	15	22	20
Not Clear	4	11	0
<u>Total</u>	<u>149%</u>	<u>188%</u>	<u>150%</u>
Total Executives With Outside Experience	27	9	10

Occupational Experience After Entry - Reports with respect to experience outside of agencies after entry clearly indicate that such experience did not play an important role in the careers of the top executives involved, only a tenth of all executives reporting such experience. In this respect, it is also evident that no important differences exist by ethnic group. (Table 20)

TABLE 20

TOP EXECUTIVES' SUBSEQUENT OUTSIDE CAREER EXPERIENCE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Spent a Significant Portion Of Career Outside After Entering	10%	9%	9%	10%
Did Not Spend a Significant Portion Outside After Entering	<u>90</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>90</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Average Number of Years Spent Outside (Among Those Spend- ing Any Time Outside)	3.6	6.0	Base Too Small	2.5
Total Executives	79	32	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>L Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	1	0.001	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.01	N.S.	

Nor do any ethnic distinctions develop when the data are analyzed by size of agency of current association. (Table 21)

TABLE 21
TOP EXECUTIVES' SUBSEQUENT OUTSIDE CAREER EXPERIENCE
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Spent a Significant Portion Outside After Entering	12%	6%	8%
Did Not Spend a Significant Portion Outside After Entering	<u>88</u>	<u>94</u>	<u>92</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	16	16	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig. L Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Small Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	1	0.04	N.S.

Further, no significant finding results when size of agency of entry and time of entry are brought into the picture. See Table 22.

TABLE 22

TOP EXECUTIVES' SUBSEQUENT OUTSIDE CAREER EXPERIENCE
BY TIME AND SIZE OF AGENCY ENTERED

	<u>In Business</u> <u>20 Years or</u> <u>Less</u>		<u>In Business Over 20 Years</u> <u>Started In:</u>		
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Lg. Agency</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Agencies</u> <u>Jewish</u>
Spent a Significant Portion Outside After Entering	10%	8%	17%	0%	8%
Did Not Spend a Sig- nificant Portion Outside After Entering	<u>90</u>	<u>92</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>92</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Classifiable	10	12	6	12	13
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>	
<u>In Business 20 Years</u> <u>or Less</u>					
Jews vs. Prot.	1	0.02	N.S.		
<u>In Business Over 20</u> <u>Years</u>					
Md/Small Agencies: Jews vs. Prot.	1	0.96	N.S.		

As to the nature of the experience outside the business after entry, the numbers involved are obviously too small to justify any examination of the data.

SUMMARY OF NATURE OF CAREER EXPERIENCE

Emerging from the data so far on how executives began their careers, the nature of their experience within the agency business, and the occupational experience they had prior to and after beginning their careers in agencies, are the following findings:

- No significant evidence exists to indicate that prior occupational experience played any more important part in the careers of Jewish top executives than in those of Protestant top executives, though marginally more Jews were found to have come into the business after spending a portion of their careers elsewhere. Neither is there any indication that outside experience after entry distinguishes Jewish versus Protestant top executives.
- In many other respects as well a great similarity exists between the aggregate group of Jewish and Protestant top executives. Time of entry and size of agency of entry are, however, key here. While some

differences were observed between those Jews and Protestants who entered more recently, by and large, those groups were found to have followed like paths in the areas so far examined; this was not, however, the case for the earlier entrants.

- . Clearly many more Jews than Protestants among the earlier entrants came into the business by starting their own agencies, while fewer Jews than Protestants who started in a medium or small agency began in the Account area. Also, compared to Protestants and Jews who began in medium and small agencies, a very large number of the Protestants who started in large agencies began in general trainee positions.
- . A sizable number of Jews made their way up via Account Management, but as many spent most of their career in the Creative area and moved into their present positions through a creative route. By contrast, in the vast majority of cases the Protestant top executives moved into top management positions through an Account Management path.
- As regards the Irish, it was observed that even more of them than the Protestants started as

trainees/messenger boys or the like, and that somewhat more devoted most of their careers to areas other than Account Management or Creative. The numbers involved are, however, so small as to make any conclusions precarious.

As with the functional executives, we now move on to examine the extensive data on size of agency.

Size of Agency

SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

As previously indicated, the data on the size of agency in which respondents reported they started was undoubtedly influenced by their particular frames of reference. Even so, our judgment is that the patterns revealed by the data are essentially correct. To examine these, we begin with Table 23 which shows the data by ethnicity for the group as a whole. As seen there, more Irish than Protestants reported starting in a large agency, and more Jews than Protestants said they began in a small one; however, only the difference between the Irish and Protestants is statistically significant.

TABLE 23
SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE TOP EXECUTIVES'
FIRST POSITION WAS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	35%	28%	60%	25%
Medium	36	44	30	35
Small	<u>29</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>40</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	72	28	10	28
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	3.36	.20	0.30
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.72	N.S.	

By now it is easily apparent that the time of entry is a factor to be contended with; thus Table 24 examines the data separately for Jews and Protestants who entered the agency business over 20 years ago and for those who entered more recently. Among those who entered later, considering the

sample sizes involved, the differences are not very important. However, among the earlier entrants, even though the differences are not statistically significant, we see that almost twice as many Jews as Protestants began their careers in small agencies; some of these Jews no doubt are those who started their own businesses.

TABLE 24

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE TOP EXECUTIVES' FIRST POSITION WAS
BY LENGTH OF TIME IN ADVERTISING AGENCY BUSINESS

	<u>In Business</u> <u>20 Years or Less</u>		<u>In Business</u> <u>Over 20 Years</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>
Large	20%	33%	33%	19%
Medium	50	42	39	31
Small	<u>30</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>50</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	10	12	18	16
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>L Cramer Phi</u>
<u>In Business 20 Years or Less</u>				
Jews vs. Prot.	2	0.49	N.S.	
<u>In Business Over 20 Years</u>				
Jews vs. Prot.	2	1.91	N.S.	

SIZE OF AGENCY EVER ASSOCIATED WITH

In terms of the sizes of agencies with which top executives have ever been associated, there is clearly a significant difference even in the aggregate between the Jews and the Protestants, fewer Jews having ever been in a large agency. See Table 25.

TABLE 25

SIZE OF AGENCIES TOP EXECUTIVES HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	55%	66%	70%	36%
Medium	71	66	50	79
Small	<u>52</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>57</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>178%</u>	<u>180%</u>	<u>160%</u>	<u>172%</u>
Total Executives Answering	73	29	10	28
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t-score</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	
Irish vs. Prot.-Large	37	-0.24	N.S.	
Medium	37	0.88	N.S.	
Small	37	0.44	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot. - Large	55	2.37	.05	
Medium	55	-1.11	N.S.	
Small	55	-0.68	N.S.	

When we consider the sizes of agencies with which top executives reported ever having been associated in relation to the sizes where they said they started, it is immediately evident that fewer Jews than Protestants moved from medium or small agencies to large ones at any point during their career. This is brought into clear focus by Table 26 which shows the relative proportions of Protestants and Jews who started in large versus medium and small agencies who subsequently became associated with the various-sized agencies. We see here that half of the Protestants, but only 14% of the Jews, who began in a medium or small agency, were at some point associated with a large one. Also to be noted is the greater frequency with which Jews, compared to Protestants, moved from large agencies to small ones, the equivalent figures being 57% and 13%. (The differential in the figure for "large" among Protestants and Jews who started in large agencies should be ignored, for the reason that the 75% figure would be 100% if all had answered correctly since all are now in a large agency.)

TABLE 26

SIZES OF AGENCIES TOP EXECUTIVES HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH
BY SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

	<u>Started In</u> <u>Large Agency</u>		<u>Started In</u> <u>Md/Small Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	75%	100%	50%	14%
Medium	25	43	85	90
Small	<u>13</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>57</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	8	7	20	21
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	
<u>St. in Lg. Agency:</u>				
Prot. vs. Jewish -Large	13	-1.63	.20	
Medium	13	-0.74	N.S.	
Small	13	-1.98	.10	
<u>St. in Md/Small Agency:</u>				
Prot. vs. Jewish -Large	39	2.67	.02	
Medium	39	-0.48	N.S.	
Small	39	0.19	N.S.	

Still another question comes to mind here, namely,
 whether there are ethnic distinctions in the sizes of agencies

in which different kinds of experience were obtained. The information provided by the questionnaire precludes a direct answer, since the size of agency information was obtained independently of the material on career content; thus, for example, if an executive had been at some point engaged in Account work and at another time in a Creative area and had experience in various size agencies, there is no way to determine whether the Account experience was obtained in one size agency and the Creative experience in another. However, Table 27 sheds some light on this question; it indicates separately for those whose major tenure was in the Creative versus the Account area, the sizes of agencies with which they were ever associated. It is seen that irrespective of area of engagement, Protestants, more often than Jews, had experience in a large agency. What particularly stands out though is that only 35% of the Jews who primarily followed an Account Management route to the top executive position they now occupy were ever associated with a large agency. For the most part, they obviously had to obtain their experience in medium or small agencies; this was not true for the Protestants who came up via the Account route or for Jews who came up primarily via the Creative area.

TABLE 27

SIZE OF AGENCIES TOP EXECUTIVES HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH BY
AREA IN WHICH MAJOR PORTION OF CAREER WAS SPENT

	<u>Account Management</u>		<u>Creative</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>
Large	61%	35%	90%	63%
Medium	70	78	100	75
Small	<u>48</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>88</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>179%</u>	<u>163%</u>	<u>261%</u>	<u>226%</u>
Number of Executives Answering	23	14	7	8
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	
<u>Account Management</u>				
Jews vs. Prot. - Large	35	1.59	.20	
Medium	35	-0.55	N.S.	
Small	35	-0.12	N.S.	
<u>Creative</u>				
Jews vs. Prot.- Large	13	1.32	.20	
Medium	13	1.63	.20	
Small	13	-0.82	N.S.	

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE MOST OF CAREER SPENT

In view of the data seen in the last section and knowing the current locations of the various groups of executives, it comes as no surprise that substantially fewer Jews than Protestants spent the major portion of their career in a large agency, more of the Jews having spent it in a medium-sized or small agency.

TABLE 28

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE TOP EXECUTIVES
SPENT MOST OF CAREER

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	36%	48%	50%	21%
Medium	52	48	50	61
Small	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>18</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	70	27	10	28
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	0.38	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	5.76	.10	0.32

However, examination of these data in relation to the sizes of agencies in which top executives started brings some further distinctions to light. It shows very directly that fewer Jews than Protestants who started in large agencies spent most of their careers in these agencies, and (though the difference is not significant) that more Protestants than Jews who began in medium and small agencies have been in a large agency during most of their career. See Table 29.

TABLE 29

SIZE OF AGENCIES IN WHICH TOP EXECUTIVES SPENT MOST OF
CAREER BY SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

	<u>Lg. Agency</u>		<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>
Large	88%	43%	30%	14%
Medium	12	43	60	67
Small	<u>0</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>19</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	8	7	20	21
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
<u>Started in Large Agency</u>				
Jews vs. Prot.	2	3.55	.20	0.49
<u>Started in Md/Small Agency</u>				
Jews vs. Prot.	2	2.88	N.S.	

Finally, to complete the section, we see in Table 30 that fewer Jews than Protestants, even among those who spent the major portion of their career in a large agency, are there now, and directionally, that more Protestants than Jews whose careers were primarily in medium or small agencies are now in a large one.

TABLE 30

SIZE OF AGENCY TOP EXECUTIVES ARE CURRENTLY IN BY SIZE
OF AGENCY IN WHICH SPENT MOST OF CAREER

	<u>Lg. Agency</u>		<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	85%	50%	14%	9%
Medium	15	33	50	59
Small	<u>0</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>32</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives	13	6	14	22
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
<u>Large Agency: Jewish vs. Prot.</u>	2	3.46	.20	0.43
<u>Md/Small Agency: Jewish vs. Prot.</u>	2	0.37	N.S.	

In summary what we have observed to this point is that there were no major differences in the aggregate in the proportion of Jews versus Protestants who started in various size agencies, though among the earlier entrants fewer Jews than Protestants began in the larger ones.

As we progressed the following story unfolded. We saw that considerably fewer Jews than Protestants have ever been in large agencies and have spent the major portion of their careers there. Delving further, we observed that a smaller proportion of Jews than Protestants who started in medium and small agencies ever became associated with a large agency, and that more Jews than Protestants who began in large agencies subsequently moved to medium and small ones.

Further we found a marked relationship between the size agency in which executives are now and the agencies with which they spent most of their career. More to the point, though, we observed that fewer Jews than Protestants, even among those who spent the major portion of their careers there, are in large agencies now, and that more Protestants than Jews (though not a significantly greater number) are now in large agencies, after having spent most of their career in a medium or small agency.

Also, we observed that the majority of Jews with Account Management backgrounds had never been in a large agency. In contrast with Protestants and with Jews who had Creative backgrounds, Jews who moved up via Account Management had to get their experience in medium or smaller agencies.

SIZE OF AGENCY BEST FOR DEVELOPMENT OF SKILLS

Against the background of the experience of top executives with various size agencies, we turn to their assessments of the opportunities offered by each size agency. Here, as with the functional executives, we shall deal first with their views regarding the opportunities offered for the development of skills. These views, as we see in Table 31, are substantially different among the Jews than among the Protestants or Irish; considerably fewer Jews credit the large agency with being best for the development of skills and considerably more credit the medium size agency.

TABLE 31

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE TOP EXECUTIVES DEVELOPED MAJOR SKILLS

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	31%	43%	40%	18%
Medium	52	50	40	61
Small	<u>17</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>21</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	71	28	10	28
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig.L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.33	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	5.17	.10	0.30

Table 32 indicates, however, that the opinions of the Protestants in large agencies are almost diametrically opposed to those in medium or small agencies. As a result, no significant differences between the Protestants and Jews are found when the comparison is restricted to those in medium or small agencies; more Jews, though, selected the small agency as most preferable.

TABLE 32

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE TOP EXECUTIVES DEVELOPED MAJOR SKILLS
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agency</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	77%	13%	9%
Medium	23	74	65
Small	<u>0</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>26</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executive Answering	13	15	23
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Small Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.	2	0.97	N.S.

Here, just as with the functional executives, it is appropriate to consider how similar the views of the ethnic groups are when only the views of those who have respectively been in each size agency are considered. The results for the Protestants and Jews are given in Table 33; data for the Irish have been excluded because of the small number involved.

The data indicate (though it should be cautioned that the sample sizes are small even for the Protestants and Jews) that considerably more Jews than Protestants who have been associated with small shops regard them as providing the best opportunities for the development of skills, while fewer Jews than Protestants who have been in large agencies assign credit to them for being best.

TABLE 33

PERCENTAGE OF TOP EXECUTIVES WHO SPENT A PORTION OF CAREER
IN EACH SIZE AGENCY WHO INDICATED THAT SIZE AGENCY WAS WHERE
MAJOR SKILLS WERE DEVELOPED

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	56%	65%	50%
Medium	73	76	77
Small	33	8	37

SIZE OF AGENCY PROVIDING BEST OPPORTUNITIES FOR UPWARD
MOVEMENT

The picture, with respect to the opportunities provided by various size agencies for upward movement, is virtually

identical to that with respect to skill development. In the aggregate, as Table 34 shows, there are significant differences between the Jews and the Protestants, fewer Jews giving tribute to the large agencies, more to the small agencies and most naming the medium size agencies.

TABLE 34
SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE TOP EXECUTIVES' GREATEST
OPPORTUNITIES WERE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	31%	47%	40%	15%
Medium	52	47	40	63
Small	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>22</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	71	28	10	27
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.29	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	7.28	.05	0.36

When size of agency of current association is introduced, substantial differences between Protestants in large versus medium or small agencies are noted. The differences between the Protestants and Jews, on the other hand, become not significant, though directionally more Jews are seen to have selected the small agency. See Table 35.

TABLE 35

SIZE OF AGENCY WHERE TOP EXECUTIVES' GREATEST OPPORTUNITIES
WERE BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agency</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	85%	13%	4%
Medium	15	74	70
Small	<u>0</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>26</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	13	15	23
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L Cramer Phi</u>
Md/Small Agencies: Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.65	N.S.

Finally when comparisons are restricted to those with experience in each size agency, clearly more Jews than Protestants are indicated as preferring the small agency, and fewer the large agency, with the medium agency once more being most often chosen by the Jews. See Table 36.

TABLE 36

PERCENTAGE OF TOP EXECUTIVES WHO SPENT A PORTION OF CAREER
IN EACH SIZE AGENCY WHO INDICATED THAT SIZE OF AGENCY PRO-
VIDED GREATEST OPPORTUNITIES

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Large	56%	71%	42%
Medium	73	71	80
Small	33	7	39

SUMMARY OF MATERIAL ON SIZE OF AGENCY

Reviewing the findings on the size of agency, we indicated earlier that:

Mobility for the Jewish top executives from medium and small agencies to the large agencies was more limited than for the Protestant top executives.

Even among Jews who started in large agencies or at some point were associated with a large agency, fewer spent most of their career there or are there now than is true for the Protestants.

Now we find that:

Considerably fewer Jews than Protestants regard the large agencies as offering the best environment for skill development and upward mobility; further this is true even when the comparison is restricted to those who have ever been in large agencies.

Clearly then Jews had more difficulty than Protestants moving into large agencies, but even among those who succeeded, the opportunities in those agencies as perceived by them were not as good as those their Protestant counterparts perceived; nor were they as good as those they perceived in medium or small agencies.

Interagency Switching and Mobility Assessments

In this last section, as in the case of the functional executives, we shall examine the number of agencies with which the top executives have been associated, where the position they occupied prior to the present one was, and how they believe they made their best strides.

NUMBER OF AGENCIES ASSOCIATED WITH

In the aggregate, the distinctions between the numbers of agencies with which Jews versus Protestants have reportedly been associated, or for that matter Irish versus Protestants, are not significant. Somewhat more Jews, though, indicated an association with four or more agencies during their careers. See Table 37.

TABLE 37

NUMBER OF AGENCIES WITH WHICH TOP EXECUTIVES HAVE
BEEN ASSOCIATED

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
One	29%	38%	36%	24%
Two	32	22	46	40
Three	19	25	9	13
Four or More	<u>20</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>23</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Average Number of Agencies</u>	2.3	2.3	1.9	2.5
Total Executives	79	32	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>L</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	41	1.04	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	60	-0.65	N.S.	

Even this difference disappears, however, when the Jews and Protestants in medium and small agencies are compared, the aggregate difference being due to the small percentage of Protestants in large agencies who had been associated with four or more agencies. See Table 38.

TABLE 38

NUMBER OF AGENCIES WITH WHICH TOP EXECUTIVES HAVE BEEN ASSOCIATED BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
One	37%	38%	20%
Two	19	25	36
Three	38	12	16
Four or More	<u>6</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>28</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Average Number of Agencies</u>	2.3	2.3	2.7
Total Executives	16	16	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>
<u>Md/Small Agencies: Jewish vs</u> Prot.	39	-0.86	N.S.

By the same token, no distinctions are found between the Protestants and Jews who started (rather than are currently) in medium and small agencies; a difference, not quite significant though, is observed among those who started in large agencies, more Jews among the few who started there, than among the Protestants, indicating substantial interagency switching. See Table 39.

TABLE 39

NUMBER OF AGENCIES WITH WHICH TOP EXECUTIVES HAVE BEEN
ASSOCIATED BY SIZE OF AGENCY STARTED IN

	<u>Lg. Agency</u>		<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>	
	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jews</u>
One	25%	0%	30%	24%
Two	38	43	20	43
Three	25	14	30	14
Four or More	<u>12</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<u>Average Number of Agencies</u>	2.4	3.1	2.5	2.4
Total Executives	8	7	20	21
<u>Groups Compared</u>			<u>df</u>	<u>t</u> <u>Sig. L</u>
<u>Started in Large Agencies</u>				
Jews vs. Prot.			13	-1.27 N.S.
<u>Started in Md/Small Agencies</u>				
Jews vs Prot.			39	0.17 N.S.

We turn now to the locale of the top executives' prior positions.

LOCALE OF PREVIOUS POSITION

In this respect, several distinctions are found among the various groups of top executives. See Table 40. The positions of considerably more Protestants and Irish than Jews are seen to have been in the same agency as that in which their present position is, more Jews having moved into their current position from one in another agency. Also, more Jews than Irish or Protestants came to their present post from one in a different type of company.

TABLE 40
LOCALE OF TOP EXECUTIVES' PRIOR POSITION

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
In Same Agency as Current Position	65%	78%	91%	40%
In Another Advertising Agency	28	16	9	47
With Another Type Company or Organization	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>13</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	79	32	11	30
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>χ^2</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.10	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	9.44	.01	0.39

Further, the differences between the Protestants and Jews are marked even when the comparison is restricted to those currently in the same size agencies. See Table 41.

TABLE 41

LOCALE OF TOP EXECUTIVES PRIOR POSITION
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agency</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agency</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
In Same Agency as Current Position	88%	69%	28%
In Another Advertising Agency	6	25	56
With Another Type Company or Organization	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>16</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	16	16	25
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L Cramer Phi</u>
<u>Md/Small Agencies: Jewish vs. Prot.</u>	2	6.59	.05 0.40

In review, it is apparent that many more Jews than Protestants came into their present positions through movement from another agency or another company, and fewer did so by upward movement within the same agency. This was true, regardless of size of agency of current association.

And now finally to top executives' assessments of how they made their best strides.

ASSESSMENTS OF HOW BEST STRIDES WERE MADE

The differences in this regard are as great, if not greater than those just observed. Half as many Jews as Protestants or Irish say their best strides were made by moving up within an agency. In reverse, many more Jews (almost half) say such strides were best made by their forming their own agency; also more say their success came via movement from one agency to another. See Table 42.

TABLE 42
HOW TOP EXECUTIVES' MAJOR STRIDES WERE MADE

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Prot.</u>	<u>Irish</u>	<u>Jewish</u>
Moving Up Within Agency	62%	83%	78%	41%
Moving From One Agency To Another	8	7	0	14
Starting Own Agency	<u>30</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>45</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
Total Executives Answering	14	30	9	29
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
Irish vs. Prot.	2	1.43	N.S.	
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	11.47	.01	0.44

Controlling for size of agency makes the distinctions even greater. Most outstanding is the finding that over half of the Jews (54%) in these agencies say that starting their own agencies provided the best mobility. See Table 43.

TABLE 43
HOW TOP EXECUTIVES' MAJOR STRIDES WERE MADE
BY SIZE OF AGENCY CURRENTLY IN

	<u>Lg. Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Md/Small Agencies</u> <u>Prot.</u>	<u>Jewish</u>	
Moving Up Within Agency	88%	79%	29%	
Moving From One Agency to Another	6	7	17	
Starting Own Agency	<u>6</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>54</u>	
<u>Total</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	
Total Executives Answering	16	14	24	
<u>Groups Compared</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>X²</u>	<u>Sig. L</u>	<u>Cramer Phi</u>
<u>Md/Small Agencies</u>				
Jewish vs. Prot.	2	8.73	.02	0.48

SUMMARY OF MATERIAL ON INTERAGENCY SWITCHING AND MOBILITY
ASSESSMENTS

To summarize, we have indicated:

- Interagency switching was not significantly different
for Jews versus Protestants, though more Jews than

Protestants who started in large agencies indicated multiple agency associations.

- To a very large degree Jews became top executives by starting their own agencies.
- Among the balance, more Jews achieved their present status by rising within an agency than by switching from one to another; nevertheless, fewer of them than of Protestants or Irish rose to their present level by upward movement within an agency and more rose by switching from one agency to another. This is borne out both by executive assessments as to how their best strides were made, and by observations regarding the positions they held prior to the present ones.

Concluding Comments on Top Executives

As in the case of the functional executives, intermittently we have reviewed the major findings that emerged from various sections. Some overall generalizations are now in order:

- The entry paths of the Jews and Protestants now occupying top executive roles who came in during the more recent period are not distinctive either

in terms of the kinds of positions in which they entered, the size of agency in which they entered or the prior occupational experiences they had. Among those who entered earlier, differences have, however, been observed in every single one of these respects.

- Time of entry also influences the differences observed in the paths after entry. Later Protestant and Jewish entrants show few differences; earlier ones show substantial differences in areas of engagement during their careers, major areas of emphasis and routes by which they reached their present position.
- To achieve their present levels, Jewish top executives clearly had more mobility impediments than Protestant top executives. This was reflected in greater difficulties moving into large agencies from medium and small ones, particularly among those who travelled an Account Management path; lesser opportunities within large agencies even if they got into them; greater difficulties moving up within the same agency. The high proportion of Jews who came up via the Creative route, the substantial number who started

their own agencies, the number both who began in ~~medium~~ or small agencies and moved into them even after being in a large agency, can be viewed as responses to these impediments.

- With respect to the Irish, individual points of difference have been noted; generalizations will, however, be avoided in view of the numbers involved.

PART IV

JEWISH EXPERIENCES AND THEIR
CONSEQUENCES

CHAPTER 10

EXPERIENCES OF JEWISH ELITES DURING THEIR RISE

It is evident from the previous chapters that many of those members of the Jewish group who have reached the top echelons of the advertising business had to do so by paths different from those followed by their non-Jewish counterparts. In many cases, their characteristics and backgrounds were distinctly different from those of the non-Jews; moreover, they entered the business at a time when the acceptance of Jews was far from what it is today.

We turn now to the group of Jewish respondents who were personally interviewed to see what their own individual experiences were. We shall examine these experiences in three areas. First, we shall look at them in terms of their career progress, dealing with the difficulties they had entering the field and then later, achieving upward mobility. Second, we shall concern ourselves with the nature and degree of their exposure to anti-Semitism. Third, we shall explore

the extent and kind of interpersonal relations they report having had with clients and colleagues.

Career Mobility

ENTRY

Some Jewish people certainly entered the advertising business early by passing as non-Jews. With one exception, however, the Jewish identity of those interviewed here was known, either because of the sound of their names, their distinctly Jewish appearance or mannerisms, or because the persons who hired them knew them well. Did they have any problems?

In looking at the quantitative data, it is apparent that one key to whether or not Jews had problems entering the field might be the kind of job they sought to obtain - whether it was in a general area such as Account Management or in a specialized field and if so, in what specialized field. The positions in which those interviewed started is then very important.

First, it should be reiterated that though four Jews are now top executives, fourteen of the fifteen started in a specialized area. Only one did not and he entered as a result of a personal contact. Second, it is clear that those

who started in Research (three of the respondents) or in Media (one respondent) had the least difficulty, all four of these persons starting in a large agency, apparently without any problem. In all four instances Jewish members had, however, preceded them in those agencies; in fact, in three of the four cases, they were hired by someone who was Jewish.

Coming in via the Creative area obviously posed more of a problem. It turns out that not one of the ten individuals who started in the Creative area started in a large agency, though half of them are in a large agency now. Still another difference emerges. Eight of these ten whose first job was in the Creative area began in a Jewish agency. Here are their stories of entry:

#1 Q: Let me ask you, was this a Jewish owned company (referring to the first agency in which respondent worked)?

A: It certainly was, yes. The ownership was Jewish and the Creative department. . . the guy I worked with was Italian. The bookkeeper was Jewish, naturally, and the Media buyer was WASP'ish. . . no, she pawned herself off as a WASP actually. I think maybe she was Jewish. . . I think most of the people were Jewish.

#2 Q: At the time of your entry into advertising, how difficult was it for a Jewish person to get a job in the field?

A: It was a Jewish agency. Someone had spoken to _____ about me and after he met me and read my writing, he invited me to be part of his company.

#3 Q: At the time of your entry into the business, how difficult was it for a Jewish person to get a job?

A: The little retail agency that I first was with was a Jewish agency so there was no problem.

#4 Q: Did you have any problems getting a job because you were Jewish?

A: I can't really say I did. I did eliminate agencies that were known to be anti-Semitic in my search for a job in the name of economy.

Q: Did the person who hired you at _____ know you were Jewish?

A: I should hope so. It was a very Jewish agency at that time.

#5 Q: Again, when you first entered the advertising business, did you have any difficulty getting a job, because you were Jewish? Did the people who hired you know you were Jewish?

A: The people who hired me were Jewish.

In the case of the two individuals who did not enter via a Jewish agency, one definitely denied having any difficulty:

Q: At the time of your entry into advertising, how difficult was it for a Jewish person to get a job in the field?

A: No more difficult than for anybody.

The other, though finally entering via a Christian agency, admits to having had problems and attributes them to his ethnic background.

Q: Do you think you had a difficult time getting into advertising because you were Jewish?

A: I would have to be honest. Yes, I do believe that it was a good deal harder for Jewish people, particularly, to get into the advertising business. I'd be dishonest if I didn't feel this particular conspiracy because I know other men from school who, quite honestly, had reasonably easy times getting into the industry. They were not considered to be very bright, or very exceptional, or very talented. They came from established families; they seemed to conform to what was then the image for the advertising business.

In review, the members from the Research and Media areas who were interviewed indicated little difficulty entering the field and were able to start directly with non-Jewish agencies; in contrast, those in the Creative area, even if they didn't directly assert that they had difficulty, had to enter small agencies and in the preponderance of cases, Jewish agencies.

SUBSEQUENT MOBILITY

Once in the business, most of those in the sample report encountering virtually no impediments to their progress as a result of their being Jewish. In a couple of cases,

admittedly, virtually their entire career was in a Jewish agency; however, the bulk of those interviewed moved into non-Jewish agencies and only a few impediments were indicated. Here are some respondents' comments to this effect. The first and second comments are from Researchers:

#1 Q: How long did you stay in ~~that~~ position (referring to his first position in a non-Jewish agency)?

A: I was at _____ for about six years. I was promoted three times before I left. I became eventually the Manager of their Marketing Research Department.

Q: To what extent has being Jewish affected your career in recent years?

A: In no way that I know of. I don't think I would have been hired here if there was a problem. I came here in a very high position; I hold a high position.

#2 Q: Thinking back on your first years in advertising, would you say that being Jewish was a problem or handicap?

A: No.

Q: Would you say that being Jewish is a problem or handicap for you in any way now?

A: No.

And here are several comments from Creatives:

#1 Q: Do you think you might have progressed faster in the early days if you hadn't been Jewish?

A: No, I thought there was a Jewish revolution (non-WASP actually) Creatively even at _____ and _____. There were little pockets that were starting to happen.

Q: Do you think that in any way being Jewish at _____ (place midway in career) was a problem or handicap?

A: None whatsoever.

#2 Q: Do you think you would have progressed faster in the early days if you had not been Jewish?

A: No, I can't see that that could have happened. I didn't lose much time.

Q: Did personnel at _____ know you were Jewish?

A: Yes...I don't think anything like that held me back. I rose to copychief and Senior Vice President.

#3 Q: Do you think you might have progressed faster in the early days if you hadn't been Jewish?

A: No, absolutely not.

Q: Did you find that being Jewish was a handicap in those years before you came to _____?

A: None.

Q: None at all?

A: Never.

Q: Do you think being Jewish has affected your career in recent years?

A: It hasn't affected it at all.

Only a couple indicated difficulty. One Creative man recounted the following story:

Q: In your early years in advertising, did you experience any kind of prejudice or discrimination?

A: Oh sure. At the point I wanted to leave _____, I looked over the list and got a reference to _____. I was told I should look up a certain gentleman there; I did so. He was an account man. I said to him I was interested in a job as a writer. 'Fine,' he said, 'I'll introduce you to this woman who is the Creative Director on the Jewish accounts here.' I said, 'I beg your pardon.' He said '_____'s a funny kind of an agency. There are certain accounts that Jews work on. You'd probably have a better chance there.' So I met the woman and there were no jobs available. It had to be about '58 - '59. I remember going up to _____ and going down those long halls. I had an interview with some personnel chap there. The guy said: 'I don't think you'll be happy here.' And I said, 'Why won't I be happy here.' 'Well,' he said, 'I don't know. I just have a feeling that you probably would be better off in a somewhat smaller shop.' I felt then and still feel what he was saying was a signal _____ was not eagerly looking around the world bright young Jewish writers.

But this was early in this man's career. By midway in his career he says being Jewish was no longer hampering him.

The same is true for this Researcher, who while indicating possible hindrances earlier, reported no handicaps later on.

Q: Would being Jewish have made a difference in where you went at _____?

A: Well probably. I remember _____ (the President of that agency) calling and saying, 'There's no question about it, you're the superior man in this area, but there is something else we need.'

Q: Do you feel being Jewish has been a problem or handicap at all here?

A: No, I haven't.

Of course, these are the men who made it in the business. To what extent being Jewish was an obstacle to those who didn't make it, cannot be ascertained from these data. Moreover, as is the case with the Jewish advertising leadership generally, we are dealing here not only with persons who rose through specialized routes, but primarily with those still in specialized posts. Among those in such positions, there is clearly a division of opinion as to whether being Jewish would impede them from moving out into broader executive roles. Some assert with certainty that their Jewish background would not limit them. Here is a case in point:

Q: Do you think you could ever be president of _____?

A: There are two elements here. If you're talking about being Jewish . . .

Q: Yes, I'm talking about the fact that you are Jewish.

A: Well, that's the point. I think I could be president if I wanted to. As I said before, I haven't run into a Jewish problem. I don't think I have a chance of being president for several reasons: I don't want to be, it's not the kind of thing I like; if I did want to be and wasn't, it would be my failure not the fact that I'm Jewish.

But here are illustrations of less certainty:

#1 Q: Right this minute, do you think being Jewish is a handicap to you?

A: I really don't know. It may be and it may not be. If I were to remain in my present level forever, it wouldn't be any problem. However, if I were to be considered for a promotion, it might be a handicap.

#2 Q: Are you on the Board of Directors here?

A: No. But that I can understand because they are a little reluctant to put someone who has not been here a little longer on the Board. There is another guy here who is the head of Creative Operations, also Jewish.

Q: Is he on the Board of Directors?

A: No. He's been here a long time. The interesting thing is that my wife asked me the other day whether or not I thought his Jewishness had anything to do with it. I told her I didn't know.

And one of definite ambiguity:

#3 Q: When have you been most conscious of your Jewish background? Have there been incidents when you felt uncomfortable?

A: I'm one of the types of people who's not overly sensitive. . . This agency has a reputation of being a crook. But that's rapidly changing. There are people, though, who will tell you that it will be a cold day in July before a Jew becomes chief executive officer. I don't fret over this.

Q: Do you think it's true?

A: I think the chances of it being true are greater than it not being true.

Q: Do you think you could become president of _____?

A: Well, I always like to think that. I have a feeling some of the old timers would turn around in their graves at the thought of it. But the world is changing.

With the small numbers of interviews with which we are dealing no statement can be made of the extent of the doubts that exist; all that can be said is that they do, in some cases the respondents acknowledging the doubts while wishing they could deny them.

Even so, certainly most respondents believe the advertising business has been an extremely good vehicle for the Jews generally and for themselves particularly. This is evident in the remarks below, though few would concede that, considering their talents and drive, they would not have succeeded in other industries as well.

The first remarks are from a Creative director:

#1 Q: How would you compare the success you've had in advertising with what you might have had in other businesses?

A: First, as a generalization looking back I would say that there are precious few industries where I could have made out as well in personal fulfillment or financial fulfillment as I have in this industry. The exceptions are obvious ones, the ones where Jews have always had a dominant position. Motion pictures, textiles, whatever. In looking at industry as a whole, I can't think of many where I could have done year by year as well as I have in this business . . . It's a happy field to be in for a guy who has my predilections and skills. I can't think of many that would have been a better choice.

The second are from a Researcher:

#2 Q: How do you think you fared in the advertising business as compared with how you might have fared in another business?

A: That's a hard one . . . Had I provided--put the same amount of effort and energy--into my own corporate activities, I would be running my own major corporation . . . I think the advertising business provided a vehicle for me. I think it was rather a good vehicle for Jews in general to advance financially or technically where in the end, talent and skill is the thing that pays off.

In sum, the material at hand suggests that among our respondents, once in the field, they progressed rapidly with few encountering impediments which they attribute to their Jewishness. While some admit to lingering doubts as to

whether prejudice could impede them from moving out of their specialties into broader areas, the advertising business is generally regarded by these men as having been very rewarding.

We turn now to the area of interpersonal relations.

Exposure to Anti-Semitism

As Jews in an environment that was predominantly non-Jewish, particularly in its early days, it is to be expected that in due course members might have run into some anti-Semitism. What the nature of this anti-Semitism was, how they dealt with it, how extensive it was, are the issues we shall now address.

KINDS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

First it is apparent that the anti-Semitism to which respondents were exposed was generally not overt, nor personally directed at them.

Here is how one man put it:

"We live in much too sophisticated a world for people to make out-and-out comments."

Here are the comments of another:

Q: During your mid-years, do you recall any prejudice or anti-Semitic remarks?

A: One or two individuals at _____. Top management tolerated Jews, felt that they were necessary

because they had certain kinds of talent. I always had that feeling about them and it was corroborated by others.

Q: Did you ever have any confrontations with them?

A: No, not at all. It's only in movies . . . Most people you deal with feel that it's quite out to display any anti-Semitism. There is an under-current. . .

And those of still a third, in two exchanges:

Q: Did you ever have any particular personal experiences with prejudice?

A: I guess I did in a latent sense; there weren't many Jews around. There were very few in the account management area. One of the classic stories told concerns _____ who was the founder of _____. I guess around 1952-1953 at a cocktail party, one of his clients said, 'How come you don't have any Jews around here?' Mr. _____ answered, 'Well, we have _____. ' This was his way of saying, my God, we have Catholics here.

Q: Were you ever subject to any overt remarks or comments?

A: No.

Q: What about the subtle things that happened?

A: Oh, there are certain things. You obviously are not invited to certain parties, certain clubs. I'd say the subtle things are more apparent.

And of a fourth:

"I guess I've suffered the least personal open anti-Semitism so I don't have a really strong consciousness . . . Yeah, it's usually a passing remark on the part of some client. It's not addressed to me,

nothing personal. We had a legal problem at one time and a client said at a meeting, 'We really need a smart Jew lawyer just to get us out of this.'"

What anti-Semitism the respondents were exposed to, took various forms. In some instances it is obvious that Jewish members were exposed to ethnic jokes which they regarded as indicative of the fact that the relater had anti-Semitic tendencies, to wit:

"I guess I would go to meetings with certain clients where I knew I was the only Jew and I would hear certain jokes sometimes and I would hear accents-- Jewish and Italian jokes--and I would laugh along but I always felt that if I wasn't there maybe. . . I guess I always feel that I am possibly in the minority whenever I am at certain meetings with clients. It is just a fleeting thought, I don't worry about it."

In other instances, Jewish members were exposed to bigotry against other groups which they interpreted as symptomatic of anti-Semitism. Illustrating this are comments from two respondents:

#1 ". . . And I did a woodcut of the palmistry hand and I etched it in black on a white cover with all the marks, life lines and this and that and all the symbolism that goes into palmistry. And I sent it over to this particular firm and we nearly got . . . they nearly threw us out and said what are you wise guys or something, putting a black hand on a white cover . . . you know I was not even aware, conscious that it had any black and white connotations but they right away saw that as a big joke and I was getting even with them or something. And that was a very sensitive area so I figured

if they were anti-Black, they were going to be anti-Jewish and everything else except what they are."

....

"I've heard 'Catholic bastard' which would indicate to me that when I wasn't around it might turn into 'Jew bastard.'"

In some instances, the anti-Semitism was, however, definitely more blatant. Again we cite two cases in point:

- #1 "We had one client at _____ and it so happened that on this account, the copywriter, the Art Director and the account executive were Jewish. They fired the Agency and we got hurt indirectly from one of the non-Jewish account executives. He used to report back to us this former client's anti-Semitic remarks each time he'd fly to _____ and he told us that was the reason they left us and went to _____."
- #2 "There are some clients that I literally cannot go near because they hate Jews. As long as they don't deal with me but with our people, they are content. We had one exposure to them when we _____. One of our people who is Jewish who was at this affair came back pulverized. They said, 'You're a Jew. We don't like Jews, but you're not so bad. At least your wife isn't Jewish.' They were very openly anti-Semitic."

And here is another case, though in this instance it is evident that the respondent was vindicated:

Q: Did you ever feel that you have to be careful in hiring Jewish people?

A: Just once at another agency. After I was hired, an old owner (a very bigoted man) kept objecting to some Creative Directors I had hired and kept finding faults with them. One day somebody told me that the reason he was finding fault with them was because he felt the department had enough of a Jewish slant. That caused a showdown and he retired at the request of management who sided with me. It never occurred to me that I hired them because they were Jewish; I think that I hired them because I thought they were the best at that particular time. I don't hire people on the basis of religion.

To this point, we have then indicated that a number of the members of the Jewish elite to whom we spoke recalled some exposure to anti-Semitism during the course of their career. This took various forms including hearsay, ethnic slurs, ethnic jokes interpreted as anti-Semitic, bigoted remarks directed at other groups which suggested that anti-Semitism was lurking in the background, as well as outwardly anti-Semitic remarks and actions. In general, though, the form was subtle rather than overt, and other-directed or other-experienced rather than directed to the individuals involved, or directly experienced by them.

RESPONSE TO ANTI-SEMITISM

Most respondents when exposed to anti-Semitism, whether in the form of humor, some subtlety or more blatantly, were obviously bothered by it. The responses to such exposure varied:

In one instance, the respondent indicated he would make some overt retort:

Q: What were your reactions to this kind of thing?

A: Naturally I would get red faced and depending upon the situation, I usually came back with a sarcastic remark. My reaction is usually 'What is on my mind is on my tongue,' a strength and a weakness.

More often, though, respondents indicated they would grin and bear it. In some instances this apparently resulted in a certain amount of guilt, with rationalizations made to accommodate such guilt. Such rationalizations included the following: they really couldn't change the person; after all, they are in business to make money; the client provides them with business that enables them to employ many people, and so on. Here are a couple of responses to illustrate the above:

#1 Q: What do you do when that happens (referring to exposure to anti-Semitic remarks)?

A: I don't do much. It registers on me and I just accept it. I don't make an issue of it and I don't get upset.

Q: Why not?

A: I don't know, I just . . . I guess I don't like the idea of the unpleasantness of it. I think many times I would put a person who I like in an

embarrassing position. I don't believe that I personally could teach him or reteach him ~~or~~ change his mind. Maybe it's all wrong. There may have been times when I have done it . . . when I didn't like the person. I may have answered or called attention to the slur. I can't remember. I would say that I have a tendency to just ignore it. Maybe that's wrong.

#2 Q: Did you do anything (referring to anti-Semitic comments he heard)?

A: I probably took the easy way and smiled. I guess I went along with it. I never fought it or registered it or made a case of it. Inwardly though it bothered me.

And later:

Q: What is your reaction (referring to a client who is anti-Semitic)?

A: Inwardly I should fire them. But to be very honest we're in this business to make money. So, you become a whore by keeping them as an account. You really shouldn't . . . if you have any real moral standards. I hate people like that. But here I am living off their money. I feel like a whore when I think about it that way. It's terrible. But I look at it from a practical sense of running a business and supporting people; I can rationalize it very easily.

In other instances when respondents came up against anti-Semitism, they seemingly chose almost to repress the fact; after many good experiences, it is as though they didn't want to believe that anti-Semitism still existed, they didn't want the egalitarian dream shattered. Note,

for example, these cases:

#1 Q: What was your reaction to it?

A: Disappointment because I really felt that was a thing of the past.

#2 Q: Would you say the contacts were friendly?

A: Yes, openly friendly. Most of the people I have worked with are genuinely NOT anti-Semitic. There are people who tell me if you scratch a 'goy' you will find an anti-Semite. I would like not to believe that; however, I have been disillusioned many times, maybe lately. So maybe I'm starting to open my mind . . . maybe they have something there . . . although I hate to want to believe it; I don't want to believe it.

On still other occasions, respondents obviously dealt with their discomfort by acknowledging the possibility that they may be overly sensitive, that what they conceived of as anti-Semitism may not indeed have been. See the following comments:

#1 Q: Do you remember in the early years experiencing any discrimination or prejudice?

A: Slight--real and imagined. Perhaps a consciousness that this person didn't like Jews and that person did. Anti-Semitism is a very difficult thing to pin down. Anti-Semitism is not overt these days. You can only really surmise and you tend to distrust your own sense of paranoia. I can't point my finger at things although I will say I have felt at times; I can't say whether it's real or imagined.

#2 Q: When do you think the changes occurred (referring to the number of Jews in the business today as opposed to earlier)?

A: . . . Just the other day I went down to visit a client in _____. He was driving me around town and showing me where all the Jews lived with a great amount of pride. It really burnt me. He thought that I would be vitally interested in the facts that the Jews lived there; I really wasn't. Underlying in his conversation was Jews he'd known, Jews he'd helped make, Jews who helped make him. His associates swear that he is quite liberal; that he is not anti-Semitic. The question is . . . should I be so sensitive.

Still another response was the withdrawal or avoidance of situations where they had reason to believe, or knowledge that anti-Semitism existed. The following quotes illustrate this:

#1 Q: Would you say that there are clients today whom you couldn't deal with because you are Jewish?

A: Oh, I can think of one offhand. I see the man . . . We have enough people here so I just stay away from that client. I did make the mistake of hiring a man once to work on that account; it was a disaster, he was Jewish.

#2 Q: What is your reaction (referring to a client who made anti-Semitic remarks)?

A: This client (says the owner of the agency) doesn't really know I exist. In the creative area, the closest we've got is to having an Italian . . . In the other areas, all WASPs work on the account. This client is not too happy about the Italian.

He is a good Creative guy and they only see him two or three times a year. Then again, they think he's strange because he is a Creative guy anyway, so they accept the fact that he is Italian. You can't show up with a guy who has a beard. This client is anti- a lot of things, but Jews happen to be on top of the list.

By withdrawing, the respondents, of course, not only avoided potentially unpleasant situations but succumbed to the extant prejudices for the sake of doing business. In this connection, the agency owner above was not the only owner in the sample to confess that he or his company deliberately hires or assigns non-Jews to certain accounts:

Q: Do you ever feel uncomfortable about hiring Jewish account people for certain accounts.

A: I would say yes. Rarely, but yes at times. I'd rather not give specifics. If it's going to be a day-to-day working relationship, it might be the wrong guy. Not just that he is Jewish . . . but if they aren't going to be sympatico.

Even though shortly thereafter, he asserted:

"I think you take a guy who's bright, good at his job, and the instant reaction might be 'Oh, a Jewish account executive.' But if the guy knows what the hell he is doing, ten minutes later they won't know he is Jewish any more. They'll be much more into his head, into his ability, working with him, so it's a many-faceted thing."

In review, we have indicated that in most instances rather than confronting the situation, those individuals

who met anti-Semitism, did so with silence, though some anti-Semitic remarks were met with retorts and some individuals certainly combatted the situation, as, for example, the man who was accused of hiring too many Jews. Further we noted that some chose to avoid situations in which they expected to be exposed to anti-Semitism, while some tended to reassess the situation, attributing their reactions to their own sensitivity. For some, such exposure has represented a disillusionment, the shattering of a dream.

So much for the nature of the anti-Semitism to which the respondents were exposed and their response to it. How much anti-Semitism were they exposed to?

EXTENT OF THE EXPOSURE TO ANTI-SEMITISM

How much exposure there was to anti-Semitism is a question that can not be answered with any accuracy with the limited number of interviews we are dealing with. At the same time it is unquestionably the case that most interviews indicated such exposure was isolated, though there is one case to the contrary:

Q: Do you remember ever feeling uncomfortable with clients who were not Jewish?

A: All through the years I have heard wisecracks from

clients about Jews and being Jewish . . . kidding about it.

Q: What were your reactions to that when you first started dealing with clients?

A: I used to hate them. I used to get disturbed and upset by their comments. 'That Jewish guy,' 'Why don't you put one of your Jewish writers on that,' 'For a Jew he is a pretty smart-looking guy' . . . these were the kind of comments I'm talking about.

In fact, not only were most reports of anti-Semitism isolated, some even denied they ever encountered any anti-Semitism. By way of illustration, here are some responses culled from the individual interviews, indicating the favorable experience reported, despite persistent questioning to uncover any difficulties or problems:

#1 Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background then (referring to respondent's early years in advertising) when you were performing your job? Did you feel uncomfortable?

A: Never.

Q: Did you have any difficulty with them?

A: Never, never.

Q: Would you say that your contacts with non-Jewish agency personnel and clients were as friendly as with Jewish people?

A: Sure.

Q: There was no difference?

A: None.

Q: You never really experienced any kind of discrimination or prejudice at all (referring to middle years)?

A: None.

Q: Do you think (referring to now) there are clients that might not choose to work with you or your agency because you're on the Board of Directors and because you are Jewish?

A: No.

Q: Do you think that's a problem at all?

A: No, I do not. Decidedly do not.

#2 Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background when you were performing your job in the early years of your career (in a non-Jewish large agency)?

A: I never had a problem in my early years. The only time I felt any anti-Semitism was when _____ (his boss, also Jewish) told me somebody made a very strong anti-Semitic comment at a meeting in which he was present. A very powerful executive chastised this guy right in front of everybody for making the remark . . . The guy was out of the company a few months later.

Q: Again, did you experience any discrimination or prejudice in this agency (a Jewish agency at which respondent worked later on)?

A: No way. The fact of the matter is that I was ready to believe that I almost didn't get hired because I was Jewish . . . they felt they ought to broaden the base. The fact that the agency was Jewish did not stand in the way of its growth. I would almost be inclined to think to some degree it became at

one point an advantage. There were companies people would have said were anti-Semitic . . . we got their business . . . There was no difference in my contact with Jews vs. non-Jews at ____.

Q: Do you ever feel (referring to now) uncomfortable around non-Jewish clients or do you think they ever feel uncomfortable around you?

A: I don't know how they feel. I never feel uncomfortable.

#3 Q: After people found out that you were Jewish, I am sure some people at ____ (first agency at which respondent worked which was Jewish owned but which thought he was non-Jewish when hired) did know, did you experience any problem at all?

A: No, not at all.

Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background when you were performing your job in the early years?

A. Not at all.

Q: Do you think this is because your name is ____ and because you don't look Jewish?

A: I don't think so because I worked with guys named Schwartz and Cohen and they didn't seem to have any more difficulty than I did.

Q: How much contact did you have with the non-Jews in the agency?

A: As much as I had with Jews.

Q: Did you find the contacts were friendly with non-Jews?

A: Absolutely no difference.

Q: Did you find your experiences there (referring to another agency not Jewish owned) the same or different from those at (first agency) in terms of your being Jewish?

A: There were fewer Jews there. From my experience, I didn't find it any different.

Q: What do you feel was the reaction of non-Jewish clients to you as a Jew?

A: No, I don't have any feelings about it. I didn't think they were acting different to me than to anyone else.

Whether those who denied any exposure to anti-Semitism were totally frank is, of course, a legitimate question. To wit, one respondent in answer to the final question, "Have you anything else to say," replied: "No, you didn't find out anything though." Most respondents, however, gave every indication that they were being honest and short of evidence to the contrary, it appears reasonable to accept their statements regarding such exposure at face value.

Here it also seems appropriate to recognize again that, for the most part, the Jews in the sample believe they and the Jews at large in the business have gained acceptance with time; they believe discrimination and prejudice have decreased as a result of the advertising the Jews have produced, the talent they offered and the discovery by non-Jews

that Jews don't have horns. Note the following illustrative comments:

#1 Q: Do you think the non-Jewish clients feel uncomfortable with you?

A: No, I don't think they are uncomfortable. There is more dialogue now between Jews and non-Jews. I don't want to leave the impression that things have not changed (after acknowledging some problems still exist). They have changed for the better I believe. There are still people who are very anti-Semitic but I believe things have gotten better.

Q: What accounts for that?

A: Again, I think it is a very pragmatic reason. I think that Jews are producers and if it can make them more profitable, what the hell. People have found out that doing business with Jews--Jews are the same as other people. They do not have horns. I do think you find Jews in higher places today than you ever did before. It's different than it used to be.

#2 Q: Would you say you were more or less conscious of your Jewish background midway in your career than you were earlier?

A: I guess I was less conscious of my Jewishness midway in my career than I was earlier. Midway in my career it was no longer a factor in hampering me. When you got the title all of a sudden the world was a new world. By that point the nature of the business had changed; Bernbach had had his impact. Being Jewish was no longer a negative thing.

#3 Q: You had no problems there?

A: I don't think that prejudice has been a factor in holding back my early career. I have friends who have been in the big agencies from the time they came out of WW II . . . mostly in the Creative area . . . and I don't think there was ever a problem. I think the **problem** dissipated during the second World War when they decided that these people didn't have horns, they had heads, they could write, they could draw, they could be creative.

In review, the Jewish respondents in a non-Jewish environment, as anticipated, certainly ran into some anti-Semitism along the way. By and large, however, such anti-Semitism was not seen as prevalent and in some cases there is even a denial that it existed at all.

Interpersonal Social Relations with Clients and Colleagues

To this point, our attention has essentially been focussed on the career aspects of the respondents' experiences. In this final section of this chapter we turn to the area of social relationships, to explore, within the limits of the small sample involved, the extent to which there is evidence that their business experiences have been translated into friendships between Jews and non-Jews.

Here the picture is mixed; in some cases it is evident that many social relationships have developed with non-Jews as a consequence of the business experience; in other cases,

this is less true. Starting with those that have developed friendships with non-Jews, here are a number of such cases: the first, a Creative man; the second one in Media; the third and fourth, heads of agencies.

Here is the first:

Q: Did you socialize with people from work after hours (referring to the time when respondent was in his previous position)?

A: Absolutely.

Q: Both Jews and non-Jews?

A: Absolutely.

Q: Do you currently have close friends from the agency business?

A: Many.

Q: Are they Jewish, non-Jewish?

A: Both.

Q: Do you feel there are any barriers in your friendships with non-Jews that don't exist with your Jewish friends?

A: No.

And the second:

Q: Do you currently have any close friends from the agency business?

A: Yes.

Q: Are they Jewish or non-Jewish or both?

A: Both.

Q: Are there barriers in your friendships with non-Jews that are not present with Jews?

A: No, I don't think so. Most people that you're friendly and close with, the religious difference doesn't interfere.

And still a third and perhaps even more impressive one:

Q: Would you say your contacts with Jewish people in the business were the same as what you had with non-Jews?

A: Absolutely. Currently, my closest friends are non-Jewish . . . head of _____, head of _____. More unlikely good friends you have never seen in your life. These things never get in the way; we just love to be with each other and talk with each other.

Q: Would you say that your friends from advertising were Jewish more than Gentile? Do you gravitate more to Jews?

A: No, not at all.

And here is a fourth, though in this instance the respondent admits his friendships with the non-Jews are more guarded:

Q: Do you have any close friends from the agency business?

A: Sure, lots.

Q: Are they mostly Jewish?

A: My friends in the agency business are a real melting pot . . . all kinds.

Q: Would you say there are any barriers with non-Jews that aren't present with Jews?

A: To some extent in some areas . . . you're a little bit more guarded in the things you might discuss. I will argue more vociferously about religion with another Jew than I will with a non-Jew. I feel more comfortable being an agnostic with a Jewish person than with a non-Jewish person. I have more problems with religious Catholics than with Protestants. I turn off on orthodoxy of any kind. I do not understand Chasidic Jews . . .

Now turning to the cases where such social relationships have been less extensive, several different explanations emerge. In some instances the lack of such social relationships are attributed mainly to the fact that the persons with whom they have come in contact have been Jews. Here are two such instances.

#1 Q: Do you have any close friends from the agency business these days?

A: Yes.

Q: Are they Jewish, non-Jewish?

A: Mostly Jewish. They're mostly from Research.

Q: Would you say there are any barriers with non-Jews that aren't present with Jews? I'm talking about friends . . . in your relating to people who are Jewish vs. those who are not?

A: No, I don't feel different but now that you mention it most of my better male friends are Jewish, except I had a lot of friends at _____ who weren't Jewish; we ran around a lot. The guys that I met in Research were Jewish. There is no conscious effort to stay only within my religion.

#2 Q: Do you have any close friends from the agency business?

A: Sure.

Q: Are they mostly Jews, non-Jews?

A: I would say most of my friends are Jewish. Most of my friends from the agency business who I socialize with are Jewish. A good part of it may be because of my coming up in the business through Research and there were more Jews in these departments where I worked. Secondly, I would imagine that the rapport one has with Jews is what makes them your friends. It's also similar values. A very good friend of mine in the business is _____ (a member of another minority group). I'm not too friendly with any of the people here. You know what happens, you make your friends when you are younger. I have a tremendous number of acquaintances in the business; I just don't get involved socially with most of the people. That has a lot to do with me. I would say you can't really generalize. I'm not really a very friendly person socially. I would rather be alone.

Because both men whose comments are cited above are from the Research area, where there are a preponderance of Jews, their explanation that this is essentially due to chance is somewhat credible. However, in the second instance the respondent certainly indicated that factors beyond mere

accessibility may have played a part. Among the explanations offered by the latter gentleman is clearly the greater compatibility he finds with other Jews. This is an explanation other Jews offered as well. Here are the remarks of a Creative man to this effect:

Q: What about your friends from the agency business, are they mostly Jewish or non-Jewish?

A: I meant from the agency business when I talked about my friends before. I would have to say the people I like to be with are Jewish.

Q: Are there barriers in your friendships with non-Jews? What causes that?

A: There really aren't barriers. Coming from different backgrounds--their attitudes, reactions, statements about their children.

And here are some from another Creative head, who, though, obviously has experienced compatibility with non-Jews as well:

Q: Do you currently have any friends from the agency business?

A: Yes, sure.

Q: Are they Jewish, non-Jewish, both?

A: They are mostly Jewish.

Q: Would you say there are barriers in your friendships with non-Jews?

A: No, I have a non-Jewish wife as a matter of fact. I'm looser with my Jewish friends in a certain way. I can use words like "mushpuchah" and stuff like that and know that they'll know what you mean. On the other hand, there are associations that I have with non-Jews, either from the agency business or from college that go back a long time; there are certain ways of feeling comfortable with them that I wouldn't have with Jews I know today.

What is expressed as a personal preference may, of course, be too simplistic an explanation, just as is the explanation that their friends in the business are either exclusively or mainly Jewish because of chance circumstances. In some instances, the individuals involved are obviously uncertain that they would be accepted by non-Jews. Here is one example:

Q: Do you feel uncomfortable with your non-Jewish clients?

A: Not at all. Not one bit. I deal with all of them. I am really amazed.

Q: What about your social contacts with your clients?

A: We do very little socializing with our clients. Sometimes we feel we should do more for business reasons. (partner) and I have found ourselves saying to (non-Jewish member of firm) "Hey, there's better compatibility with you and those guys at _____. Why don't you take them out to dinner. _____ happens to be a superb businessman. His background is totally different from ours. He's Irish Catholic and grew up outside of _____. My partner and I both grew up in middle class Jewish neighborhoods with Jewish families.

Q: So you think there would be more socializing between you and your clients if your clients weren't so WASPish or you weren't so middle-class Jewish?

A: Sometimes I would say yes. I'm not really sure of the answer. Most of our clients are out of town and it's hard to socialize with these clients.

Q: What about clients in town?

A: We are very busy working hard, the old way of doing things. We do very little socializing. Sometimes I feel we should do more socializing.

Q: Do you think your clients would appreciate your making social advances?

A: Some would. We've been told by a number of them that they would like that.

Q: Do you think your non-Jewish clients are in any way uncomfortable with you because you are Jewish?

A: I don't think so.

Q: Do they take you to their country club or ask you to join?

A: Good question. On a social level they may feel uncomfortable or we may feel uncomfortable. Maybe that's why we don't socialize together.

In still other situations, non-Jewish colleagues apparently have not encouraged personal social relationships with Jewish members. Note the following interchange in which it is obvious that the respondent, while having cordial relationships in business, has not been invited into the social arena:

Q: I started to ask you about social personal relationships?

A: More so with the Jewish people than the non-Jewish people? There is no question but that there is an incredibly warm relationship with the people I deal with, the senior people.

Q: In a business sense? But not in a social sense?

A: Well, I don't encourage it and nor do they encourage it. They may not have social relationships amongst themselves. There is a minimum of social relationships for me in that sense. But on the contrary, it is perfectly clear to me that the senior people are very warm in their relationship to me by comments, by concern if I don't look well or if I'm depressed for some reason. There is a very warm relationship. It's as close as business people or associates can be without becoming friends and yet, in a way, even though we don't socialize in a regular way, in a sense, I think we are dear friends. My wife knows them all and I know all their wives and we come together on state occasions.

Finally, it is obvious that for some the country club still remains a stumbling block. This was evident in the example cited just before last. It is still more vividly depicted in the following remarks, even though the gentleman involved obviously has close friends from the agency business who are non-Jewish.

Q: Do you currently have any close friends from the agency business?

A: Yes.

Q: Are they Jewish, non-Jewish, both?

A: Both.

Q: Do you think there are any barriers in your friendships with non-Jews that do not exist with your Jewish friends?

A: There is still the barrier of the country club. As a matter of fact, I have never been invited to join a country club. I've applied at _____ and I have not been accepted. I understand they have a quota on Jews there.

Q: Why would you want to go to a place like that?

A: I think that was prankish. I wanted to see if I could get in. I really detest country clubs. I feel the snobbishness from some of the guys who belong to that country club.

Q: Do any of your friends belong to that country club?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you have any Jewish friends who belong there?

A: No.

Q: If they would accept you tomorrow, would you join?

A: No.

Q: How long ago did you apply?

A: About two years ago. I did it at the time consciously because I wanted to play golf and it's right in my neighborhood. My son is a golfer. Subconsciously I wanted to see if I could get into the thing. I do understand they have three or four Jews out of about 5,000 members! I do have friends who belong to swanky country clubs in Connecticut. It surprises me that I have never been invited to

join their club or even been there. I do feel a certain stigma.

Remembering again the dangers of projecting from such a small sample, we cannot make any conclusive statement regarding the extent to which Jewish members of the elite have developed friendships with non-Jews during the course of their business experience. It is apparent that many have and that others who may not have, may not have done so as a result of their own insecurities, choice, or even chance factors. On the other hand, it would be naive not to recognize that when they have not, they may not have been encouraged to, and that the country club, for some, remains a limiting factor.

Summary

This chapter has focussed on the experiences of a sample of Jewish members in the top leadership of the advertising agency business, starting with their entry into the business and extending to their later experiences in achieving career mobility. We have further affirmed that these experiences were conditioned by the area of entry, highlighting particularly the significance of the Jewish agency as the starting point for those in the Creative area.

We have pointed out that while some Jews perceive ceilings in their opportunities to move out of specialized areas, in total they regard the advancement they have made as not only satisfactory but highly rewarding, personally and financially.

As expected we have shown that a number of Jewish executives experienced some anti-Semitism during the course of their careers. Such anti-Semitism took many forms but in general was subtle and rarely personally directed. When it occurred, the experience disturbed the respondents, nevertheless the fact of anti-Semitism was, for the most part, considered inconsequential in the light of their total experience.

Further, we have indicated that some social assimilation has followed from business relationships, pointing out that when there was no social assimilation, lack of self motivation just as well as other-directed attitudes may have been involved.

Finally, it should be emphasized that these reports represent a recollection of past events subject to present day interpretation in the light of intervening events. It should also be noted that some respondents, in spite of assurances of

confidentiality, may have consciously edited or suppressed some of their experiences for public relations reasons.

For the most part, however, we are confident that the recollections have not been distorted and have added considerably to our understanding of what has happened as Jews moved through their careers.

CHAPTER 11

IMPACT OF JEWISH PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCES ON
THEIR SECURITY AND JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

Earlier we reported on Jewish perceptions of the changes that have occurred over time in the acceptance of Jews within the agency business. In the preceding chapter we described the experiences of representative Jews who have achieved success in the industry. We discussed their experiences at entry and then went on to talk about their progress later in their careers, their exposure to anti-Semitism and the degree to which they developed friendships with non-Jewish colleagues and clients.

We shall now examine the consequences of these experiences and perceptions, seeking to explore their impact both on their sense of security as they performed their jobs and on their feelings of Jewish identification. It is recognized that we are dealing here with very involved issues and our material is based on limited numbers of interviews; we do not claim to be able to provide definitive answers with

respect to these issues. Rather we intend only to identify some of the patterns suggested in the interviews we conducted with Jewish members of the leadership.

Impact on Jews' Sense of Security

Some of the Jewish members of the advertising leadership we interviewed disavowed any consciousness of their ethnicity in the performance of their jobs, nor did they indicate any discomfort or insecurity because of it during their career development. Here, for example, are the comments of one man, a Researcher:

#1 Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background when you were performing your job in the early years?

A: Not at all.

Q: Did you find your experiences at _____ (2nd agency at which respondent worked) pretty much the same or different from _____ (1st agency) in terms of your being Jewish?

A: There were fewer Jews there. From my experience, I didn't find it any different.

Q: Did they know you were Jewish there?

A: Yes.

Q: Would you say you were more or less conscious of being Jewish midway in your career than you were earlier?

A: Neither. I was pretty much on the same level all the way through which is not being terribly conscious of it.

Q: Would you say your consciousness of being Jewish is now any greater or lesser in business than it was earlier?

A: No, I don't think it is any different. I am not conscious of it. In other words, I don't walk around saying: Well, I'm the Jew walking into the Board of Directors meeting. I don't even think about it.

Q: Let's say when you get into the Board of Directors meeting, how many people are Jewish on the Board?

A: I don't know. I know _____ and I are.

Q: You don't feel anything at all about being the only two Jews on the Board of Directors?

A: Well, other than in a conversation such as your bringing it up or people bringing it up... that's the only context that I've talked about it. But in the context of my walking in, I don't feel any different. The only way I feel different has to do with my own individual attitudes towards the task that we face and has nothing to do with my being Jewish.

Here are those of a Media man, with an explanation for his lack of consciousness:

Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background when you were performing the job in your early business career?

A: In terms of _____ you mean that I was Jewish and some of the other people were not?

Q: In any way, in any way at all.

A: Yeah, well that didn't bother me too much, because while I was brought up and certainly in terms of background, it was a Jewish background and Jewish neighborhood and so on--going to college, in the

service, by the time I got my first full-time job I was already accustomed to living with non-Jewish people and to existing and working with non-Jewish people--that didn't bother me very much.

Q: Would you say that you were more or less conscious of being a Jew midway in your career than you would have been earlier?

A: No.

Q: Is your consciousness now in business greater or lesser than it was in your earlier years?

A: Same.

Q: Is there any difference in the kind of consciousness you feel as a Jew in advertising today from what you felt earlier?

A: No.

Others, however, readily acknowledged that they suffered some insecurity as a result of being Jewish, and that their consciousness of being Jewish in the performance of their jobs has changed during the course of their career.

The dominant pattern that emerges is one from less security to greater security, from greater to lesser consciousness of their Jewishness.

This pattern is the result of a number of factors by no means independent of each other. First and perhaps the most obvious reason for it is that as the number of Jews in the business increased, Jewish members became more secure.

Note the following quotations from one individual's interview:

Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background when you first entered the business?

A: I have always been conscious of it.

Q: Was being Jewish a handicap to you in any way in those years (referring to the mid-years of career)?

A: No, it became less of a problem as more Jews came in. The industry started to open up in 1963-64.

Q: You were responsible for hiring people. Did you feel at all that you had to be careful about hiring Jews?

A: I guess at the beginning I had to be very sensitive. I wanted to be sure I wasn't stacking the deck or making it appear that I was overtly going out to hire Jews. I became less sensitive later.

Here are these from another, obviously from a man in the Creative area:

Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background when you were performing your job early in your career?

A: I may have been subconsciously aware of it, not openly. My timing was good. My biggest progress was made during the Golden Age of Creativity, the creative revolution. People would take me anywhere. They didn't care at the time about Jewish, Italian.

Q: Can you give me any examples of types of situations where you felt conscious of being Jewish in your early days?

A: I guess I would go to meetings with certain clients where I knew I was the only Jew and I would hear certain jokes sometimes and I would hear accents...

Q: Would you say that you were more or less conscious of being a Jew midway in your career than you had been earlier?

A: Midway I was not.

A second reason for these Jews becoming more secure was the personal success they encountered. As the old adage goes, "There's nothing as successful as success." Here is one Researcher talking:

Q: So you went to _____ (first agency worked at). At that point, did you feel that it was difficult for a Jew to get a job in the field?

A: Going to _____ (a company outside of the agency field) was no problem. _____ was a friend of mine and Jewish. However, I was very hesitant about going to _____ (the agency). So far as I could determine, as a matter of fact, I was not aware that anyone in the Department at the time was Jewish. I knew that _____ had been there before and he had moved to _____ but still it was a whole atmosphere of uncertainty of what this advertising business was about.

Q: What about when you came here?

A: I remember _____, who lived where I lived. I asked him about this place and he said: 'How could you think of there?' I asked why and he said if you could think of a Gentile organization, it's this. He said, 'You'll be the only one there. It won't

work.' I decided based upon my experience at _____ (the first agency), that that was no longer an issue. I knew there was a certain risk; it was essentially a non-Jewish organization. But I decided that just on personal judgment of the people I was meeting that in this case this would not enter into it... a judgment of the ethical qualities of the people I was going to deal with. That's been a very sound decision... Interestingly my reservations were when I first entered the business back at _____ in 1958. The experience at _____ was sufficiently positive, even though there were background elements there which said to me, you put that out of your mind because it is not important enough if you are doing what is important. And I really put it out of my mind.

And here is another man speaking, a top agency executive, whose remarks show even more explicitly the relationship between success and security. Notice, though, that the feelings of insecurity become more pronounced as he increased his dealings and associations with non-Jewish clients, a point about which more will be said later:

Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background when you were performing your job in the early years?

A: Not superconscious. A lot of people in those days changed their names and it never entered my mind to change mine.

Q: Would you say you were more or less conscious of being Jewish midway in your career?

A: No ... I guess so. Actually as I progressed in my career I had more and more dealings with clients. As you deal with clients more, you are more conscious of your Jewish background, of their accepting you.

Q: Is there any difference in the kind of consciousness you feel today as a Jew from what you felt earlier in your career?

A: It's hard to answer that. There is no difference but for totally different reasons. Earlier I think I felt very secure because I was stupid and naive. I feel very secure now because I'm successful, although now I'm more conscious of the problem that could have been.

Still another and perhaps the most critical factor for Jews with creative backgrounds becoming more secure was Bill Bernbach. In earlier sections we discussed the importance attributed to him in facilitating the entry and progress of Jews. Here we shall see that by his achievements, he became a symbol to many Creative men, giving them self-respect and pride. Note the following comments from one Creative Director:

Q: What do you think changed it (asked after a discussion in which respondent recounted the early difficulties of Jews in the business)?

A: Bill Bernbach. Maybe in a way it's simple-minded to attribute it all to him. Bill Bernbach started with Jewish clients. All of a sudden, Bill Bernbach had great success. His agency got bigger; it got bigger by guys that Bernbach brought in. They were a bunch of Jewish writers and a bunch of Italian art directors. The same inhibitions in the industry held true for Italians, Greeks as well as Jews. So, all of a sudden Bill Bernbach became popular when he began hiring all these minority groups. It was incredible. As much as any one person can, he transformed the industry.

Q: So you think Bernbach revolutionized the industry?

A: Oh, Bernbach changed the lives of so many people. He changed the nature of the industry. He made it possible to have your self-respect and be in this business. Bernbach's success made a lot of other agencies take notice. All of a sudden a whole new phenomenon came in. I remember that there were catch words going around, standing gags, like 'you had to talk British and think Yiddish.'

Q: Would you say you were more or less conscious of your Jewish background midway in your career than you were earlier?

A: I guess I was less conscious of my Jewishness midway in my career than I was earlier. Midway in my career it was no longer a factor in hampering me. When you got the title all of a sudden the world was a new world. By that point the nature of the business had changed; Bernbach had had his impact. Being Jewish was no longer a negative thing.

And here are the remarks of another Creative man. They less overtly assert Bernbach's influence on the respondent. However they clearly indicate the respondent's pride in what he saw as Bernbach's effect, in the tone he brought to advertising, a tone which the respondent distinguishes from that which had prevailed in the advertising produced by Protestants.

Q: Tell me about it.

A: Well, I'll say that Bernbach did it; he's changed the tone of advertising. Words that were human.. more human..as he said, subway talk or talking

from the stomach, rather than what I said before, this non-emotional advertising. He got to people by hitting them in the stomach instead of in the brain... I don't think the Protestant people did that. I think they were very staid and conservative and never let anybody know what they were feeling.

Bernbach's contribution in helping Creative Jews feel more secure, became even more significant as other Jews achieved success, also by creating advertising thought to have a different tone. Here is how one Creative man put it:

Q: What effect do you think the increase in the number of Jews in advertising has had on the business?

A: It's made it a new business. Without being too parochial about it, let's look at the business pre-Jewish influx. It was a white world, formula written, pretty dull and pretty respectable. I think the change meant investing in the business a reality of the world today with a degree of humor and charm, with a new attitude toward the people we are writing the advertising to.. The advertising world is infinitely richer than it was.. My point is, I think, the writing has changed and I think an enormous amount of these changes can be attributed to the Jewish influx--very bright, insightful Jewish guys. Who are the people who really influenced our contemporary advertising age? Again we get back to Bernbach, Julian Koenig, Phil Robinson, Dave Reider--all Jewish names in this Creative revolution, 90% of them are Jewish.

Q: Clearly there are more Jews in advertising now than there were 25-30 years ago. When do you think the changes occurred? When did the industry open up?

A: I would say the industry began to open up in the early '50's and progressed rapidly until the early

'60's when the walls came tumbling down. I think Bill Bernbach had a great deal to do with it. I think also people were looking for better creative talent, creative talent that would have a different perception and a different way of writing than the old formula kind of thing. Jews were considered to be more creative: I don't know if that was so. Simply though they had a different way of writing and a different perception--because they were different people. "Get me somebody who writes like that" was the cry. Well, it so happened that somebody who writes like that happened to be Jewish. There was a big explosion of Jewish creativity. Just as in 1970 there was an explosion of Italian creativity.... Jerry Della Femina for example.

Note that the last respondent indicates he is uncertain that the advertising produced by Jews was better; rather he says it was different, different because Jews are different people. This theme ran through many of the interviews, the respondents pointing out that it was not that the Jews had any special brilliance but that they had different experiences and backgrounds, different in several ways.

Different because they were poorer, as the head of an agency remarked:

Q: What effect do you think the increase of Jews in advertising has had on the business, in the type of advertising that is produced?

A: ...I think that Jewish writers that I have known in this business are a bit more sensitive in knowing how to talk to people and understanding people.

Q: Why do you think that's true?

A: I think it's true because they were once poor and they understand what goes through a person's mind when they make a decision to buy something. They are sensitive to their feelings so they don't feel that they have to yell at them to persuade them. I have that feeling; I don't know if that's true. I think the poor guy who went to college has a better way of relating to the mass of people than the guy who has been trained "fancily."

And as a Creative Director also remarked:

Q: How do you think the business has changed in the kind of advertising it has produced?

A: More interesting advertising... more inventive advertising. More down-to-earth advertising, more advertising that is more directly geared to the needs of the audience. Oh, you'll find, and I I'm not saying this is an original thought at all, you find that a great number of people will tell you that advertising is better today through the influence of the Jewish copywriter because with that heavy influx ten years ago, the creative production of the agencies became much closer attuned to the people as opposed to advertising that was created 20 years ago by Yale, Harvard, Princeton people who never walked in the streets. In New York they found out what people really want. And you know there are guys, Jerry Della Femina is one, who would tell you the reason he is successful is that he was a hungry kid and he had to knock himself out in Brooklyn and scrounge and scrap and talk with people and be with people, so the people that he had to sell to, he knew them. So he knew what to say to them as opposed to the guy that came into the advertising agency having graduated from Yale and never having been anywhere but the fraternity house, and who doesn't know how to talk to people that he has to sell to. Now I don't know how much of that is truth, how much of it is untruth, and how much of it is partly truth. But it is there somewhere.

Q: It's what you feel?

A: It's what you feel.

Different because of their cultural background, to

quote another top executive:

Q: How do you think it (Jews coming into the business) changed the nature of advertising generally?

A: I think the tone in talking to people has changed completely. Advertising talk used to be pompous and stiff. Good advertising today talks to people in very human terms. There is humanity that came into the business. I really don't mean that just Jews could have done this; it happened to be Jewish because we were the ethnic group next in line to break through. It could have been Italians, or Puerto Ricans; it could have happened that way, too. It's warmth that certain cultural groups have; it's background. There's a certain kind of heart in a Latin-Mediterranean area that the Nordics tend to lack.

It should be understood that the issue is not how different the advertising produced by Jews actually was and certainly not whether it was superior or inferior. Some respondents even acknowledged that if the advertising is overly ethnic, it may turn people off. What is relevant to the sense of security of Jews over time is the belief of many of them that they were sought after because they were different and had different backgrounds. Their Jewishness instead of being a disadvantage in their eyes became an advantage.

This is further supported by the remarks of another Creative head. Equally important, these remarks also indicate the significance of external factors, most especially the state of Israel, in increasing the pride and security of the Jewish members:

Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background when you were performing your job in the early years?

A: One is always conscious of your Jewish background if you are honest about it. We've all tried to evade our Jewish background at times...to assimilate, to borrow the clothing of the WASP community, frequent visits to Brook Brothers and what have you.

Q: Do you feel you went through this kind of thing?

A: Yes, I definitely did. I definitely went through an assimilationist period. It was really a relatively short period of time. I think the strength of Israel had a lot to do with the ways Jews feel about themselves in America today. I think it was coincident with the rise of the Jewish novel--the consciousness of where Jews have contributed culturally. Also, I think Doyle Dane Bernbach was an agency that taught us to do that; their ads were written with a Jewish wit, Jewish perception and a Jewish sense of empathy which is difficult to define and yet we feel it. This made us use our Jewishness to a good advantage.

Finally it should be mentioned that some Jews not only feel the Jews had an impact on the advertising itself but that they also affected the way agencies operate: they moved the Creative man out of the back room, democratized

agency operations, gave Creatives more importance, even made it possible for an agency to make it on creativity alone. Here are several sets of remarks to this effect; the first two are from men who are currently top executives, the latter two from Creative heads:

#1 Q: Do you think that the increase in the number of Jews has affected the structure of the business in any way, the way that the business actually operates?

A: Well, yeah. It used to be that it was only the account executives that had dealings with the client. And as the clients and non-Jewish clients began to have more respect for the Creative people who were doing great work, the clients wanted to deal with the Creative people more. Some clients say I don't even want to talk to the account guy; I want to talk to the Creative guy. Therefore, since so many Creative people are Jewish, the clients are dealing with many more Jews than they ever have before. So the structure has changed. In this agency we say a client is buying a triangle which consists of an Art director, a copywriter and an Account Executive.

#2 Q: Do you think the influx of Jews in advertising has affected the structure of the business in any way?

A: The business itself has changed. It used to be a dictatorial business where the account man said this is what I want and this is how we will do it. Today there is more equal representation in all parts of the agency in solving a client's problem. It might be because of the brains of the Creative people. The Creative people these days being mostly Jewish--by inference you can say the influx of Jews has created more democracy in an agency.

#3 Q: Do you think the increase of Jews in advertising has affected the structure of the business, the way the agency operates?

A: Yeah. The agency world today is very different. The business as a whole is not quite as desperately straight-jacketed as it was--there is more flexibility and versatility. There are other things that influenced these changes aside from the Jewishness. But I think the Jewish aversion to "crap", if you will, has had a real impact.

#4 Q: Do you think the number of Jews in the business has affected the structure of the industry?

A: The rise of Doyle Dane Bernbach spawned many agencies ultimately that made it on their creativity. Before that no agency had done that. It's still happening today. The Jewish revolution started the emphasis on creativity.

It is impossible to say to what degree the Jews were responsible for the changes that occurred in agency operations and organizations. The changes described above did, however, occur and were concomitant with the "creative revolution" and the influx of Jews. The additional organizational power Jews or others in the Creative area achieved as a result, undoubtedly increased their sense of security.

In review, a number of factors added to the security of Jewish members who rose to the top echelons in the industry. One was the increased number of Jews in the business. Another was their own personal success. Bill Bernbach was a

third and perhaps the most important. The advertising created by him and other Jewish stars associated with him added to the pride and self respect of the Jewish members. This was especially the case because the distinctiveness of that advertising was attributed to the Jewish heritage of Bernbach and these other stars. In the Creative area, additional security was also a consequence of the new power within agencies achieved by creatives in the course of the Creative Revolution.

Here we have only peripherally remarked about the influence of external factors, noting only the mention of Israel by one respondent. However, in the chapter dealing with the acceptance of Jews in the industry, there were also comments relating to Israel; further we indicated that certain respondents attributed the increased acceptance of Jews in the industry to a general decline in prejudice and a more auspicious attitude toward Jews. These external factors no doubt also had an influence on the security of the Jewish members.

It will be recalled, though, that we said the dominant pattern was one of lesser to greater security, not that this was the exclusive pattern..

In several cases the respondent's stories suggested their sense of security increased up to a point, but that they then became more conscious of their Jewishness. Here is one case, obviously a Creative man speaking:

Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background when you were performing your job early in your career?

A: I may have been subconsciously aware of it, not openly.

Q: Would you say that you were more or less conscious of being a Jew midway in your career than you had been earlier?

A: Midway I was not. If anything, I am more so now. Because I am getting higher; I am closer to the top... It is now greater because of my elevated position. Now, I'm not just a little writer. I'm responsible for all the work and I see more of the clients than I ever did before.

And here's another, this time the head of an agency talking:

Q: How conscious were you of your Jewish background during your career?

A: Very conscious. I think in my early career, it probably made me more aggressive; I figured if I wanted to get somewhere, I had to work harder than the next guy. I was determined to be better than the next guy. Today it's more of an ego satisfaction...a reprisal in a way. It's the satisfaction of having made it in the non-Jewish world. I feel good about that. Showing these guys that a Jew had made it has helped my ego and makes me feel I've done something for Jews.

Q: Do you think there is a difference in the kind of consciousness as a Jew you feel today as opposed to your early days?

A: I am more out of touch with the anti-Semitism internally than I was years ago. I am more sensitive to it in a business situation; I think I have to be careful. I am more sensitive to my Judaism with my peers in other agencies. I'm dealing with people who I once thought I would never be able to deal with. I am then personally more sensitive to it than I was when I was writing, when I had something to put down on a piece of paper, rather than me expressing myself. Outside of the business, personally, I am not as aware of my Judaism as when I was making less money.

And here are the remarks of a third, which in the context of the interview, clearly indicate the concerns of this man, now that he is head of an agency.

Q: Do you think that being Jewish is a problem or handicap at all in your career?

A: I think so. It probably has been. But I think it is so subtle. Generally, it's a gentleman's agreement kind of thing which never surfaces. Sometimes we say these guys do not like Jews and we shouldn't do business with them. It may be true and may not be true; it could be our reverse prejudice. Prejudice which holds us back from being as aggressive as we may ordinarily be because we're afraid they are going to say "pushy Jew." And we don't want that image.

The substance of these comments is that as some move out of sheltered, specialized roles involving major client contact

and new kinds of interpersonal relations, they experience a new source of strain. It may be well to point out that non-Jews as well as Jews may experience new strain at that juncture. Also, it should be noted that the Jews attribute this strain to their own sensitivities rather than to the experiences they have had. Yet it must be recognized that in these broader roles, status contradictions are likely to emerge, producing, as Hughes said, dilemmas and tension.

This concludes our discussion of the impact of the experiences and perceptions of Jews on their sense of security. We now turn to the effect these had on their feelings of Jewish identification.

Impact on Jewish Identification

In discussing the objectives of this study, we pointed out that others, for example, Sklare have indicated that in the course of achieving success, members of minority groups are apt to compromise their ethnic identities and loyalties. We shall now examine the data relevant to this thesis.

To properly assess what effect any career experiences might have had on had on ethnic loyalties and identity obviously involves determining what these loyalties and feelings of identification were to start with. We sought to

do so by asking the respondents to recall these at the time they entered the agency business. It should be emphasized, though, that we are dealing here not only with problems of memory but with the respondents interpretations and reinterpretations. How they tell us they felt may not be how they really felt. Moreover, and perhaps even more limiting, is that there is no way to assess how their ethnic loyalties or identity may have changed had they been in a different occupational environment.

To begin with, the findings indicate that none of the Jewish members of the advertising leadership we interviewed now has any strong identification with formalized, traditional Judaism. Some said very explicitly they reject religion in this sense, only five out of the fifteen reported they ever attend temple, and only four claimed to be even moderately religious. We also note that seven out of the fourteen members who are married are married to non-Jewish women, though in three cases, the women have converted to Judaism.

It is clear however that in most cases, the respondents had no strong identity with Judaism when they entered the agency business.

By and large these gentlemen did not come from especially

religious homes. Note the descriptions on the part of eight of the respondents of the degree to which their parents were religious:

#1 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: Moderate. My father was a temple president a couple of times.

Q: Where did you grow up?

A: In _____. My family has always been anti-institution of any kind notwithstanding that my father ended up being president of the temple a few times and being Jewish representative on Interfaith Council in the town. He always had a resentment of institutionalization on any kind in thought or attitudes which certainly has left its mark on me.

#2 Q: When you were a child, were you very religious then?

A: No. Early in my childhood we had a kosher home but then that was discarded. The religious attendance was discarded very early too. So that for all purposes we were cultural Jews rather than religious Jews.

#3 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: Not particularly.

Q: Did they attend temple?

A: Occasionally.

Q: Did they keep a kosher home?

A: No.

#4 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: Not really.

Q: Did they attend temple?

A: Only on the holidays.

Q: Did they keep a kosher home?

A: No.

#5 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: Not religious at all.

Q: Did they attend temple?

A: No.

Q: On holidays?

A: Yes.

Q: Did they keep a kosher home?

A: No.

#6 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: Not terribly.

Q: Did they go to temple?

A: No.

Q: Did they keep a kosher home?

A: My mother did originally but not for long. Not beyond the time I was about five.

#7 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: Moderately.

Q: Did they attend temple?

A: A couple of times a year.

Q: Did they observe the holidays?

A: Yes.

Q: What about keeping a kosher home?

A: No.

#8 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: Somewhat.

Q: Did they attend temple?

A: Not regularly, no.

Q: How often did they attend temple?

A: The high holy days and even then not on a regular basis.

Q: Did they observe the holidays?

A: Yeah.

Q: Did they keep a kosher home?

A: No, not entirely.

A number were brought up in homes described as religious but they themselves obviously were not religious at the time they entered the agency business.

#1 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: On today's basis, I think they would be considered fairly religious. They did observe all the usual customs, though I don't think I would consider them very religious.

Q: Did your mother keep a kosher home?

A: Yes.

Q: Thinking back to your entering the advertising business, how religious were you at that time?

A: No, I did not observe the holidays. I, like most Jewish people, do not attend temple with any regularity. In fact, I haven't attended services in many years.

#2 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: They were the normal religious parents. They went to services at the end of the year.

Q: Did they keep a kosher home?

A: Yes.

Q: Thinking about the time you entered the advertising business, how religious were you at that time?

A: I was never very religious.

#3 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: They were fairly religious. They were religious in a conservative sense.

Q: Did they attend temple?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you have a kosher home when you were a child?

A: Up until I was about 10 - 12 years old. They did this mostly for my grandparents and they stopped when my grandparents died.

Q: How religious were you at the time you entered the advertising business?

A: Zilch.

#4 Q: You've already said your family was orthodox and they went to temple. Did you go to temple with them?

A: Yes.

Q: Did they observe the holidays?

A: Yes.

Q: You came from a kosher home?

A: Yes.

Q: At the time you entered the advertising business, how religious were you?

A: I was already turned off by then.

Q: You didn't attend temple at that time?

A: No.

Q: What about observing the holidays?

A: No. I used to go fishing on Yom Kippur. It's a great day to go fishing. Maybe I should be more religious because my boat hit a rock on Yom Kippur.

#5 Q: What kind of background training did you have?

A: Well, to tell you, I was forced at an early age to go to Yeshiva... I had a Prussian grandfather who was a real animal. You know, real dictatorial, under the guise of religion, very pious man. He stole all kinds of money so he could build a wing on the shull. He called himself Prussian. I think he was German and he kept a cat-of-nine-tails in the closet and beat his kids with it; he was really a miserable guy. I guess I saw the contradiction in being a religious person and such a shithead on the outside, so I rejected religion at a very early age.

Only two respondents out of the fifteen said they were from religious homes and that they adhered to religion in a formal sense when they started their careers. Of these, only one though, reports that his religious observances have declined since that time:

#1 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: My mother was orthodox, my father was not.

Q: How did that work out?

A: We kept a kosher home.

Q: Did your mother attend temple and your father not?

A: That's right.

Q: How did that affect you?

A: I attended temple.

Q: Thinking back to the time you entered the ad business, how religious were you then?

A: Yes, I went to temple. I now belong to a reform temple.

#2 Q: How religious were your parents?

A: They were somewhat.

Q: Did your parents attend temple?

A: Yes.

Q: Did they observe the holidays?

A: Yes.

Q: Did they have a kosher home?

A: Yes we did.

Q: Thinking back to the time you entered the advertising business, how religious were you at that time?

A: I was more religious than I am today. That is, I practiced more than I do today.

Q: Did you attend temple?

A: Yes and I still do.

Moreover, the material at hand indicates that the vast majority of the respondents have not entirely walked away from their Jewish backgrounds.

- . the majority observe the major holidays
- . the majority have given their sons religious training and arranged for the traditional Bar Mitzvah

- . many observe some Jewish cultural traditions
- . many have deliberately sought to instill a pride in being Jewish in their children

Let's look at some of the material:

#1 Q: Did you receive religious education? Were you Bar Mitzvahed?

A: I was Bar Mitzvahed. But it is what I consider to be the most limited sense in which Bar Mitzvahs were typically practiced in that way. For example, _____(son) got far better training and _____(daughter) got far better training in Judaism than I did.

Q: So the level of your religion now is almost like what your parents' level might have been?

A: Actually, this is where that _____(town lived in formerly) experience was so exciting. My level of Judaism, my understanding, my involvement was vastly greater than theirs ever was. Theirs was strictly cultural; mine became much more a religious experience.

Q: Are you still a member of the temple?

A: No, not since we left the area. We've given it up.

Q: I wonder why after that?

A: Well, because it was a very special experience unlikely to be repeated. I made approaches to some temples here in the city and decided they were the same old thing I ran away from years ago.

Q: Do you observe the holidays?

A: In a minimal sense. I do take Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur off as a matter of form. I would consider

it an insult to my background so far as my associates are concerned if I didn't take that time off. For example, I was in _____ over Rosh Hashana and they scheduled a meeting with clients on Rosh Hashana and I telexed to tell them I would rather not meet them.

#2 Q: Do you attend temple now?

A: Yes, on the religious holidays.

Q: Which holidays do you take off?

A: Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur.

Q: Do you go to temple on those days?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you have children?

A: Yes.

Q: Did they get Bar Mitzvahed?

A: The boys did.

#3 Q: When you got married, did you attend temple or anything like that?

A: My wife was not Jewish when we were married. She has become Jewish. I think I have attended temple more regularly since I got married than I did before.

Q: Why do you think that is?

A: For a number of reasons. I made a Jewish girl out of a non-Jewish girl. I had to give her a reason for being Jewish. She converted.

Q: What were your feelings about her converting?

A: I would not have married her if she had not. I had seen in my childhood enough instances of children who had come into the world not knowing who they were and I didn't want that to happen to children of mine. I wanted them to know they were Jewish and have pride in it. I did not want them to feel torn.

Q: Do you have children?

A: Yes.

Q: Are they receiving any religious education?

A: He will receive a Jewish education.

Q: What if he doesn't want one?

A: I think there are certain things that a parent has to start a child off at. A child may reject it at some future date. As a parent I reserve the right to inflict upon my children certain beliefs until the day they are sufficiently bright or competent to choose otherwise. I will start him at about five or six with religious training. For a five year old to say I don't want to be Jewish and for me to take that at face value, I'd have to be a ninkimpoop. If at 17, he turns to me and says he has sipped deeply at my well and it has left him disaffected, then he has a right to do what he wants.

#4 Q: When you entered the advertising business, did you attend temple?

A: I was not married; I had attended temple occasionally but not regularly. After I was married, my wife was more interested in religion than I.

Q: Do you attend temple now?

A: Yes, I always observe the holidays. This year though there was a very important meeting on Rosh Hashana.

I didn't want to go but I felt I had to go; it was a crucial meeting.

Q: Do you have any boys?

A: One.

Q: Did he receive any religious training?

A: He was Bar Mitzvahed, yes. Out of his own desire. My two daughters are not very interested in religion, yet they identify with Judaism.

Q: Do you participate in religious organizations?

A: Yes in _____ and I've done work for _____.

#5 Q: What about your children? Have they had religious education?

A: I have three boys. They all went to Sholem Aleichem School because I wanted them to get the background and culture. And if someone called them a dirty Jew bastard, I wanted them to realize it was his problem not theirs. I wanted them to be proud of their heritage. I did not want to give them a religious education.

In some cases, it is evident that the Jewish identification is primarily one with Israel, as these two:

#1 Q: When you entered the agency business were you living at home or were you married?

A: I was married.

Q: Did you attend temple on the holidays? Do you observe them now?

A: No, I don't observe them now. I think then I might have because my father was buying me a ticket and he

said if I didn't show up he would put chicken fat on the mirrors or something, so I went... at seventeen I said forget it. I just don't like it. I don't enjoy it... I really rebelled against it because my training of Judaism was, as I said, done in fear rather than explaining it in some kind of way that would make sense, because there is sense to it. There is sense in all religions, I guess. But I think a lot of it is nonsense.

Q: You don't observe the holidays at all? What about Yom Kippur?

A: Christmas I have a tree.

Q: Do you have children?

A: Yes, a little girl.

Q: You have no sons?

A: No. Which took me out of a difficult position.
(laughs)

Q: Do you belong to any Jewish organizations or anything?

A: I would like to do a comedy on that but I won't. No, I don't belong to any religious organizations.

Q: Did you ever wish you weren't Jewish?

A: No. Oh, did I ever in my whole life wish I wasn't Jewish? Well, I probably did. Why did I say no? I probably did. I am sure that Catholics wish they weren't Catholics and WASPs wish they weren't WASPs. I guess when I had to drive my blind dictatorial grandfather to the barber to get his head shaved, I wished I wasn't Jewish (laughs). But, you know, when I was having cocoa with my grandmother, I liked being Jewish--or with my grandfather,

my other grandfather. He was much more of a person. I'm going to tell you one thing about Israel. You know, when I went to Israel, I had to do work there, you know I felt comfortable there. I loved those people. I liked the Israelis, but I liked the young people and they weren't religious at all.

#2 Q: Is there any difference in your Jewishness--religious feelings--now as compared with when you entered the business?

A: Well, I think from the Six Day War on there has been a transformation in the Jewish psyche in this country. And all to the good. Strong Jewish identification has gone up. Let me qualify it--not in a religious sense but rather in a cultural identification sense. I have a kind of agnostic--typical alienated modern Jew indifference to most of the theological content of Judaism but with a great sense of pride in the cultural distinctiveness of the Jewish nation. I find myself much more culturally Jewish.

In yet other respondents, Jewish identification resides not solely in a psychological sense of pride because of the advent of Israel, but additionally in an abiding sense of Jewish consciousness irrespective of Jewish religiosity. Furthermore, an altruistic attitude toward other Jews concerning the preservation of basic Jewish cultural traditions is manifest, as evidenced in the following:

Q: Thinking back to your entering the advertising business, how religious were you at that time?

A: No, I did not observe the holidays. I, like most Jewish people, do not attend temple with any regularity. In fact, I haven't attended services in many years. I do observe Passover; I have a Passover dinner. I do take off on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur not because I go to temple but because I want

to set the tone so that everyone else can feel free to do it. I have a Jewish consciousness, not a religious consciousness. I think in my own way I support the state of Israel; I believe in it. It gives me a sense of pride and idealism. My closest friend is an Israeli. I have been thinking of moving to Israel. Once I have my financial situation the way I want it, I might.

Q: What would you do there?

A: I don't know. The thought has occurred to me. I am married to a non-Jew, yet my children are raised as Jews.

Q: Did your wife convert?

A: No, I don't believe in it.

Q: Do you participate in any Jewish organizations?

A: If you mean participating in meetings, the answer is no. If you mean making contributions, the answer is yes. During the war itself, I was one of the first to make what I thought was a reasonable contribution. I give to the UJA but I don't feel about the UJA the way I feel about Israel directly.

Among the fifteen cases studied, in only one was there truly no evidence of any real identification with Judaism. That case is illustrated by the following remarks and is definitely the exception:

Q: What about now? Do you attend a temple now?

A: No.

Q: Observe the holidays?

A: No.

Q: Is your wife Jewish? Are you married now?

A: No, she's not Jewish.

Q: Do you have any children?

A: Yes.

Q: Did they have any religious education of any sort?

A: No, but they are the children of my first wife.

Q: Oh, I see. Was your first wife Jewish?

A: Yes.

Q: Did the children of your first wife have any religious education?

A: None.

Q: Did you ever think about them having a Bar Mitzvah?

A: No. They are not Jewish now, none of them. One became Catholic. One married a man from Iran. And one, I don't know what the hell he is. He's nothing as far as I can tell.

Q: Do you participate in any Jewish organization of any sort?

A: No.

Q: Would you say that your close friends are Jewish, non-Jewish or both?

A: My closest friends are non- or both.

Q: Your really closest friend?

A: My closest friend is non-.

In review we have indicated that the individuals involved had minimal identification with Judaism when they entered the agency business. Their basic thrust was an assimilationist one, perpetuated during their careers. At the same time, it is evident that they have not disassociated themselves entirely with Judaism, in many cases have provided their children with a Jewish education, have pride in their Jewish heritage, observe the traditions, work for Jewish causes and are concerned about Israel. We conclude that their levels of identification are now as great as when they started their careers, and perhaps even greater.

Summary

In this chapter, we have sought to capsule the consequences of the experiences of those Jewish members who were successful in reaching the top echelons in the industry in terms of their security as Jews in performing their jobs, and in terms of their ethnic identification. We have dealt with complex issues here and intend no definitive generalizations.

Our material has suggested that for the most part the career experiences of these top echelon Jews have resulted in increased security. The reasons include the security that comes with increased numbers, their own individual success,

the success of other Jewish members and their belief that Jews in the business have been an asset to it. Israel and the greater acceptance of Jews generally have also played a role. Nevertheless we observed that as Jews move out of specialized roles, new strains appear, reflecting concerns about their acceptance in these broader roles where interpersonal relations assume greater importance and technical competence or skills, become less significant.

Further we found that those who achieved success had minimal feelings of Jewish identification when they entered the business, essentially following an assimilationist model. We indicated that such feelings of identity are now at least as great as they were at entry. Ethnic loyalties were then not eroded; there was little to erode. If anything, a reaffirmation of identity is suggested. We infer that such a reaffirmation may be a function of the pride in Jewish accomplishments within the industry and of the greater security they developed as a result of these accomplishments. We also recognize that external factors, specifically Israel, has affected levels of Jewish identity. Finally, we hypothesize that for

some a re-emergence of feelings of identification may reflect a recognition that, despite their success, there may be limits both to their career mobility and to their full acceptance in a social sense.

PART V

CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER 12

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONSFOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study has sought to provide the reader with an understanding of the ethnic penetration into the top managerial positions in advertising agencies. It indicated the changes that have occurred in this penetration over the last several decades and suggested how these changes came about. It described the current ethnic patterns in these top echelons and the factors that account for these patterns. Finally, it reviewed the experiences and adaptation of ethnic members who were 'actors' during the period of change. The material on which the study was based was derived from three sources: a historical study of the religious composition of those occupying high positions in the top 20 New York agencies; a mail survey among selected persons currently in agencies in the New York area billing \$10 million or more; and depth interviews with a sub-sample of Jewish executives now in key roles within these agencies. In all three aspects of the

research the focus was on those who reached the top echelons; the study was not intended to, nor can it shed any light on the obstacles or experiences encountered by those who failed in their attempt to reach these echelons.

The first part of this chapter will provide a summary of the major findings of the study and the conclusions drawn from them; we shall then turn to their implications for future research.

Summary and Conclusions

ETHNIC REPRESENTATION

During the past three decades, the ethnic composition of those occupying top managerial positions in New York advertising agencies has changed dramatically. The result is that there is now significant minority representation in the top levels. Such representation varies greatly, however, for different ethnic groups and is differentially distributed by size of agency and type of position occupied.

- Jews, virtually absent from the top echelons of the largest agencies three decades ago, now occupy a considerable number of positions in these agencies.

Further within the broader spectrum of all New York

agencies billing \$10 million or more, Jews clearly comprise a substantial proportion of executives. The lack of historical data for other groups precludes statements about their representation in earlier days; certainly, though the Irish are well represented today. Italian representation, however, remains low and the non-white ethnic minorities are essentially absent from the top ranks.

- Jewish penetration into the top echelons has unquestionably been greater in staff functional roles (Creative, Media, Research) than in the area of Account Management and in top executive positions. It has then been higher in areas where specific skills are generally required; lower where the requirements are more diffuse. In the latter areas, the use of non-ability related criteria and expectations that Jews would not be compatible with clients imposed more formidable barriers. What limited penetration Italians have had has been almost exclusively in functional roles. Irish representation is more proportionately distributed between functional

and managerial positions. In contrast to these ethnic groups, Protestants are more heavily represented in the top command positions and in Account Management rather than in functional roles. Within specific functional roles, there are further differentials. Jews are most highly represented in Research, Protestants in Media and Creative, Irish in Media, Italians in Art.

Jews and Italians are a much more important factor in the medium and small agencies than in the large; the reverse is definitely the case for Protestants. Irish representation is more evenly divided by size of agency. These size distinctions are, with few exceptions, consistent by type of role; they are, however, greater among the top executive group than among the functional executive group. Thus, Protestants were found to be at the helm of the majority of large agencies, while Jews occupying top executive positions do so primarily in medium and smaller agencies.

SOCIAL ORIGINS

The social origins of the newer ethnic groups represented in the top echelons vary considerably from those of the Protestant group. As the ethnic composition in the industry changed, so therefore did its class and social character.

- Most typically the Protestant who is in the top echelons of New York advertising agencies is 4th generation or more. In almost all cases, his father attended college and occupied a top management, white collar position. He, himself, was born outside of New York City and attended a college outside as well. The college he attended was a private one, rather than a state or city institution. Frequently it was a private Ivy League institution, and in a large number of cases, the most prestigious of schools, namely, Princeton, Harvard or Yale.
- The typical Irish executive is often 4th generation or more, but just as often, is 3rd generation. His father as well frequently was in the white collar ranks but in a number of cases was not, and in most

instances, his father did not attend college. The executive himself in most instances was born in New York City, but he went to a private college out of town. As likely as not, he went to an Ivy League institution, about as often to one of the most prestigious of the group as to one of the less prestigious.

- The typical Jewish executive in the top echelons is just as often 2nd generation or less as 3rd generation or more. His father was most often a small businessman, more often though than not, did attend college. He himself very likely was born in New York City. The college he attended was also generally in New York, most often a private one, but in a number of cases, a free tuition City college; rarely did he go to an Ivy League school and almost never to Princeton, Yale or Harvard.
- The typical Italian executive is also as often 2nd generation or less as 3rd generation or more. His father was most often a small businessman, but in many cases was engaged in blue collar work, and in

most instances, did not attend college. He himself is usually a native New Yorker and as likely attended a college in New York as one outside. Usually the college he attended was a private college but, among the sample represented, never one of the Ivy League institutions.

Ethnicity distinctions in terms of social origins were generally found to be independent of role or size of agency. However, within each ethnic group (excluding the Italians where they were too few executives to examine) those in the top executive roles were more often found to be an "aristocracy" than those in functional roles. Also within the top executive group, where observable, those in large agencies were seen to be from more privileged backgrounds than were those from medium and smaller agencies. Thus role and size of agency were indicated as reinforcing ethnicity differences, with the greatest distinctions found therefore between Protestants in top executive roles in large agencies and Jews and Italians in functional roles.

FORCES OF CHANGE

Over the time period this study covered, clearly there were a number of events that occurred in the society at large. These events provided a more auspicious climate for minority mobility than heretofore had prevailed. There was the passage of government laws prohibiting race or religious discrimination in employment, the accession to the Presidency of a Catholic, legislation to eliminate racial segregation in the school schools, pressure from Jewish and other Civil Rights groups to increase minority representation. Undoubtedly this more favorable climate had an effect on the changes observed within the advertising agency industry. This study indicates, however, that it was more than this change in environment which was responsible for the increase in minority ethnic representation. Shortages of personnel, technological innovations, intensification of agency competition, and changes in industry demands provided "moments of opportunity" for minorities and particularly, for Jews:

- World War II was identified as a significant factor in facilitating the entry for white minorities, as a result simply of the shortage of personnel it created. This was followed by a need for new talent as advertising prospered after the War.
- The introduction of television was another factor, bringing with it a demand for additional and new types of talent - for artists, writers and producers.
- A third factor was the shift that occurred in the agency business in the 1950's, as it moved into a marketing phase and marketing services and research became a key commodity, creating the need for psychologists, sociologists, statisticians.
- A fourth, and very important factor, was the competition offered by new small agencies formed in the 1960's and the increased emphasis given by the industry to creativity in what has become to be known as the "creative revolution."

Beyond these impersonal forces, individual personalities appear to have played a significant role. The reference here

is primarily to William Bernbach, a Jew and one of the founders of Doyle Dane Bernbach, Inc. Literally credited by some with having invented a new type of advertising, Bernbach's own personal success and that of others trained by him emerged as an important force in facilitating the entry and upward movement of other Jews to follow. He and they were in effect catalysts, changing the role models for selection and the criteria for advancement.

CAREER PATHS

The career paths followed by the executives currently in the top echelons of New York advertising agencies varied substantially, with those of the Irish being most similar to the Protestants and those of the Italians least similar. With respect to Jews, for whom the most detailed comparisons could be made with the Protestants, distinctions were observed in career preparation as reflected in areas of study, in college, and in levels of educational achievement, in occupational experience prior to and after entry into the business, in points of entry, in first positions held, in the nature of their total experience within the business, in the means by which they achieved mobility. The following is intended to

highlight these distinctions, first among those Protestants and Jews in functional roles and then among those in top executive roles.

Executives in Functional Roles - Most Protestant functional executives started out in a position within their current area of specialty or in one related to it, and spent most of their careers there. Many, though, started out as general trainees, messengers or mail room men; a number also, before ending up in their current field of specialty, spent some time in another activity, a few even spending more time in the previous activity than in the one in which they are now. Most Protestants began their careers in a large agency; if they didn't, they almost always succeeded in moving into one later on. The majority of Protestants also spent most of their careers in a large agency and if they did, the probabilities are that they are in a large agency currently. Most Protestants clearly regard the large agency as best in terms of providing opportunities for skill development and upward mobility. For the most part, these Protestants moved into their present positions from one within the same agency and achieved their best strides by upward movement within

an organization rather than by switching from one agency to another.

The typical Jewish functional executive, even more often than his Protestant counterpart, started out in the area in which he now is or in a related area. Fewer Jews than Protestants spent any time in any other area and none spent more time in some area other than the one in which he is currently. More often than the Protestants, Jews, especially those who began in a large agency, came in with graduate training, though the number doing so was a minority. While most Jews had no outside occupational experience either before or after entering the agency business, Jews, also more often than Protestants, entered with such experiences and more frequently, obtained such experience after entry. Other than those in Research, Jews generally started out in a small agency; in the case of Creatives, very often in a small, retail-oriented Jewish agency. To a large extent, Jews subsequently moved into large agencies, but they were successful in doing so less often than Protestants who began in medium or small agencies. Also while almost as many Jews as Protestants in functional roles spent the major portion of their careers in

large agencies, fewer Jews are there now. Clearly some Jews defected from the large agencies because their opportunities for upward movement were not as good as those for their Protestant counterparts. In other cases though such defection seemingly was merely attributable to the limited number of spots available as they moved up the hierarchy.

As a consequence of the greater difficulties Jews had starting in large agencies and partly because of their movement out of large agencies after having been in them, Jews engaged in more interagency switching than Protestants.

In addition, even those Jews who began in a large agency and are in one now, were less successful than Protestants in moving up within the organization; more often found they had to move from one agency to another for upward mobility. It must be emphasized however that many Jews have been successful in achieving top functional roles in large agencies and that most Jewish functional executives accede the large agency is best both for skill development and upward mobility.

Executives in Top Management Positions - While most Protestants who are now top executives started in some specialized area, a substantial number began as general trainees,

messengers or mail men, particularly among those who began in a large agency. Regardless, however, of the area in which they started, the vast majority moved into top management positions via an account management path. Also while the majority report having started in medium or small agencies (perhaps only by today's standards) most of these men become associated with large agencies. A substantial number of them spent most of their careers in large agencies and if they did, are very likely to be in such agencies now. Further, the preponderance of Protestants clearly rose to their present level from another position in the same agency, by movement within an agency rather than by movement between agencies.

Among the Jews who are now top executives, the career paths followed by the more recent entrants are not especially distinct from those of their Protestant counterparts. However, among the earlier entrants, far more Jews (almost one-fifth) came into the business by starting their own firms. Also while a sizable number even of the earlier entrants came up via Account Management, as many Jews moved into their present positions through a Creative route. Also far fewer of the Jews in early days began in a large agency. Further,

a far smaller proportion of Jews than Protestants who started in a medium or small agency ever became associated with a large one. This was particularly the case for those who rose via Account Management, with only a minority of these Jews ever having had the experience of working in a large agency. Moreover, far fewer Jews than Protestants even among those who spent most of their careers in a large agency have remained in a large agency. While a large number of Jews achieved mobility by moving up within an agency, more Jews than Protestants did so by movement from one agency to another. Finally, far many more Jews (almost half) than Protestants (one out of ten) made their best strides by starting their own agencies.

The major findings emerging from the above are the following:

- Jews entering areas where educational achievement has been regarded as important tended to offer somewhat superior educational credentials. This was particularly the case for those in large agencies, suggesting that in these agencies such credentials served to offset their lesser social profile.
- Jews compared to Protestants, had a lesser degree

of interdepartmental mobility. Specialization was a key factor in the entry of Jews and their subsequent upward movement, not only for those who are in top functional roles but even for those who are in top executive roles, a very important path for the latter having been via the creative route.

- Entry and subsequent mobility via the large agencies was more difficult for the Jews than the Protestants. Among Jews who followed a specialized route, sizeable proportions did, however, achieve mobility in the large agencies. On the other hand, among those who followed an Account Management path, the opportunities were largely limited to the medium and small agencies.
- For Jews in top executive positions, a key factor in their mobility has been the high proportion who started their own agencies.

In the area of career paths, as was seen to be the case for social origins, ethnicity distinctions were found to be more intense among top executives than among functional executives.

TENSIONS AND CONCERNS

As members of a minority, Jews who succeeded in reaching the top echelons expectedly experienced some concerns and tensions during the course of their careers.

Exposure to Anti-Semitism - While some Jewish members deny having experienced any anti-Semitism at all during their careers in advertising, more typically Jewish members currently in the top echelons acknowledged some exposure. What anti-Semitism they were exposed to, though, was generally described as isolated, subtle rather than overt, and "other directed" rather than targeted directly against the respondent. Where encountered, it was recalled as having taken various forms including hearsay, ethnic slurs, ethnic jokes interpreted as anti-Semitic, bigoted remarks directed at other groups which were seen as indicative that anti-Semitism was also lurking in the background. More direct attacks or experiences were described only rarely.

A number of defensive mechanisms were employed by the Jewish executives to deal with such anti-Semitism as they experienced, or knew to exist. These included avoidance or self-exclusion from situations potentially damaging, and re-evaluation of the anti-Semitism with which they may have been confronted, reassessing it and concluding that they possibly over-reacted. In some instances, it is clear that the Jews themselves have accepted as valid, assignments of persons on

the basis of religion (avoiding the placement of Jews on accounts where the client would not find them compatible) succumbing, if you will, to the extant prejudices for the sake of doing business.

For some members their willingness to make moral compromises, for example, by doing business with persons regarded as anti-Semitic, and by failing to respond to anti-Semitic slurs is clearly a source of guilt. For most members of the sample, however, the indications are that when balanced against their favorable business experiences, whatever anti-Semitism they encountered is regarded as inconsequential. Further most Jewish executives are not concerned about it and some regard those who are as "oversensitive."

Insecurity/Consciousness of Jewishness - Just as most members acknowledged some exposure to anti-Semitism, so too it is evident that most at some point in the course of performing their jobs experienced some insecurity stemming from their ethnicity. Such insecurity appears to have been most widespread among the executives early in their careers. As their careers progressed, they generally became more secure.

The increased security resulted from a number of factors, one being simply the increase over time in the number of Jews in the business, to wit, the safety of numbers. Another clearly was their own individual success; as they became more successful, they became more secure. Another important factor, the research indicates, was the success of individual stars, especially William Bernbach, who has been referred to earlier in this summary. His and their success added to the pride and self-respect of the Jews. It was not just that he and they, Jews, were successful, but that his and their advertising was regarded as distinctive, and distinctive because of their Jewish heritage. This, it has to be emphasized, the Jewish executives did not attribute to innate superiority on the part of these Jewish stars, but to the differences in their cultural background, to the fact that they came from poorer origins and could more readily empathize with the mass of Americans. As pointed out in an earlier chapter, whether the advertising was or was not superior is not the issue. What is relevant in terms of the increase in security on the part of the Jews is that they believe they were sought after, not despite the fact that they were Jewish but because they were; they were sought after,

they believe, because they brought a different orientation to advertising, because they changed the style and the tone of the advertising produced. In some cases, they also believe the Jews affected the way agencies operate, by giving a new emphasis to the creative process and new status to the creative man. They could then view their Jewishness as an advantage rather than a disadvantage. Finally, the greater acceptance of Jews in the society at large was undeniably important in adding to the security of Jewish members.

Even as most members indicated increased security with time, the indications are that for some Jews a new strain developed as they moved out of more sheltered, functional roles into those involving broader responsibilities. This new strain, it was evident, reflected concerns about their acceptance in these new roles where interpersonal relations assumed greater importance and technical competence and skills became less significant. It was noted, however, that non-Jews as well as Jews might experience strain at this juncture, and that the Jews involved tended to attribute this strain to their own sensitivities, rather than to any experiences they have had. Moreover, those indicating less security with time were definitely a minority.

ASSIMILATION AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Social Assimilation - The picture with respect to the translation of business relations into the social area is clearly mixed. In certain instances, social relationships with non-Jews definitely have developed. These relationships have been more than of a superficial nature or related to the business needs or business state occasions. In other instances, such relationships have obviously been more limited and even, virtually non-existent.

Where social assimilation has not occurred, it was indicated some Jews attributed this to their own preferences and also to chance factors. Going beyond these responses, we, however, pointed out that certain individuals appear to have avoided such relationships out of fear of non-acceptance. Further, it is obvious that some individuals have not always been encouraged by their non-Jewish business colleagues into forming social relationships, and that country club restrictions remain an impediment.

Ethnic Identification - The evidence strongly indicates that most Jews who are currently in the top echelons of the advertising agency business do not have any deep religious

identification. Nor, however, did they have any real religious identity when they started their careers. Rather they entered the business with minimal religious feelings and followed an assimilationist model.

While there is little religious identification among these members, they have not dissociated themselves from Judaism. Many have provided their children with a Jewish education; all have pride in their Jewish heritage; many observe the Jewish traditions; many work for Jewish causes. The conclusion indicated is that their levels of identification are now as great and perhaps greater than when they entered the business; if anything, they may have experienced some resurgence in ethnic identity.

While acknowledging the difficulty of attributing this seeming resurgence of Jewish identity to particular causes, we suggested a number of factors that may be involved. Contributing to new feelings of identity may be the pride which Jewish executives developed over time in the achievements of Jews in the business. So may be their own success and the security it brought with it. At the same time it has been hypothesized that for some this resurgence may be a reaction to their perception that despite their business success,

there may be limits both to their career mobility and to their full acceptance in a social sense. Finally it is clear that factors outside the business itself have certainly played a role, most especially Israel, which has generated both a new sense of pride in many Jews and also a sense of concern.

Implications for Future Research

As extensive as this study was, in certain areas the data were based on a limited number of interviews. Moreover, the findings have stimulated many new questions, some questions stemming from the restrictions of the study itself and other questions with regard to future trends and comparative data for other industries. A number of opportunities for future research are therefore suggested, the major ones being the following:

Social Versus Business Assimilation - As indicated on earlier occasions, the findings with respect to social assimilation cannot be regarded as either definitive or all encompassing. A more comprehensive study could provide quantitative findings and more deeply investigate the nature and boundaries of the business-stimulated social relationships

between Jews and non-Jews. Most useful would be a comparison of such social relationships with those among persons of similar ethnic backgrounds who have comparable business relationships.

Security and Stage of Career Cycle - The study findings indicated that the security of Jews in the performance of their jobs varied at different points in their career and was influenced by the role Jewish executives played in their organizations. New strains, it was suggested, arise when Jews moved out of non-specialized roles into broader executive positions. This, though, it was speculated might also be the case for non-Jews. A study obtaining detailed data in this area is suggested - one that would measure for persons of different ethnic groups, at various stages in their career, the degree of security they feel in the performance of their jobs, and which would demonstrate the situations in which insecurities exist and do not exist.

The Established Group's Views of Ethnic Penetration - As well as providing quantitative data on the changes that occurred over time in the religious composition within the top echelons of the industry, the study offered material on

how Jewish members in these echelons view the changes that have come about in their acceptance, and also the factors to which they attribute the changes. Whether these perceptions concur with those of the established group remains unknown. Nor is it known how those from the more established group feel about the substantial penetration of minorities, most especially Jews, into the top echelons. A study among Protestant members of the top echelons with these points of inquiry in mind would therefore be of interest.

New Waves of Ethnic Penetration - The findings clearly indicated differential rates of penetration by different ethnic groups and by each group in various types of roles and sizes of agencies. Future studies will be needed to determine how these patterns are altered over time, whether groups now under-represented obtain representation, and whether the representation continues to be disproportionately represented by size of agency and role. Moreover, only such studies can indicate whether the paths followed by later waves of Jews and by newer waves of Italians, Blacks, etc. are similar to those observed for those Jews who, by virtue of their inroads, became the focus of the present study.

Further, it will take future studies to indicate for newer groups who succeed in achieving penetration, what factors and forces provide "moments of opportunity" for these groups.

Historical Analysis of Advertising - It was shown that Jewish members of the top echelons believe that the character of advertising changed as a result of the entry of Jews into the agency business. It was observed that inasmuch as advertising is not a standardized product, a change in the ethnic composition of the personnel within the industry reasonably could be expected to have changed its output; this is regarded as especially likely since the ethnic change also produced a change in the social character of the personnel. As an outgrowth of these findings and observations, several questions arise: One point of particular interest is whether, in fact, the advertising did change as a result of the dramatic changes seen in the ethnic composition, and what was the nature of this change? Has the advertising become more heterogeneous in structure and content? Has the change in ethnic representation given advertising a more "melting pot" character? Content analyses of past advertising would be in order to satisfy this interest.

Non-Jewish Perceptions of the Effect of Ethnic Penetration on the Nature of Advertising - With respect to the effect of the change in the ethnic composition on the advertising itself, an additional point of interest is whether non-Jews as well as Jews believe the advertising changed as a consequence of the penetration of Jews, and if they do, what are their reactions to the change. Jews, we saw, viewed the changes as having had a positive effect on the industry. Whether non-Jews agree with this assessment remains to be explored; whether they regard the changes as constructive or whether they perceive them as a "vulgarization" would be of great interest to determine.

Ethnicity and the Character of Future Advertising - Further, it is reasonable to speculate that as ethnics become more established members of the industry, the nature of the advertising they produce may change. Thus, the advertising produced by the Jewish writers of tomorrow may be different than by those of today. Also by virtue of the integration of Jews and non-Jews in the business, non-Jewish and Jewish orientations may become more similar. Only trend content analyses studies of advertising, produced by different ethnic groups, can deal with these questions.

Ethnic Penetration in Other Industries - The advertising industry is a highly competitive industry characterized by the need for specific talent, high turnover rates, and big risk. Whether the changes in ethnic compensation demonstrated to have taken place in this industry are unique is a logical question. Finally then comparable studies in other industries would be of interest, to determine whether similar changes have occurred in them, in what types of industries they have or have not occurred, and where they have, whether the mechanisms of change have been different or similar to those that were observed within advertising agencies.

By no means should the above list be regarded as exhaustive. As others review these findings, it is certain that additional opportunities will be suggested.

APPENDIX

Description of Informants

The informants used to provide information on the religious background of the respondents were from a number of different agencies. For the most part, they were people who had been with the agencies many years and therefore, knew the people involved. In other cases, they asked others in the agency for the information desired. Finally, in some instances, persons in a particular agency also knew the identity of persons in other agencies by virtue of their being in the same area of specialty.

CROSSLEY SURVEYS, INC.

CROSSLEY SURVEYS, INC. 100 WALL STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038

October 4, 1973

Mr. John Smith
Jones, Smith and Rogers Advertising
909 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are conducting an important study among top executives of advertising agencies. The objective of the study is to learn about the backgrounds and career routes of members of this elite group. This study is one of several planned to permit an analysis of different industries, and will provide important comparative knowledge.

Your name has been selected through random sampling procedures as one of approximately 400 executives. For the results of this study to be projectable, a high completion rate is needed. For this reason your help in answering the enclosed questionnaire accurately and returning it to us is very much needed. The questionnaire will not take long to answer, and a stamped addressed envelope has been enclosed for your convenience.

We assure you that your responses will not be divulged to anyone - they will simply be used in compiling aggregate data about the industry. We are one of the oldest and most highly respected independent marketing and public opinion research organizations in the country, and we assure you that this is a highly confidential study.

Thank you in advance for your help. Please return the questionnaire at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

CROSSLEY SURVEYS, INC.



Franklin B. Leonard
President

FBL:kt
Enc.

CROSSLEY SURVEYS, INC.

100 HERRING AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10001 TEL. 212-755-1100

November 1, 1973

Mr. John Smith
Jones, Smith & Rogers Advertising
909 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Mr. Smith:

We are grateful to the many persons who responded to the survey we are conducting among top members of the advertising community. If you have not as yet replied, perhaps you just haven't had the chance to--but if you are among those who have been reluctant to respond, we would like to answer some of the questions that may be in your mind.

The survey is not being conducted for any commercial purpose. The study is a social research study being conducted to increase knowledge about the characteristics and backgrounds of persons who have been successful in industry.

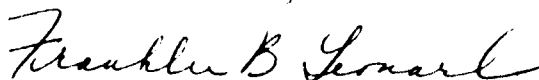
Again, we assure you that your responses will not be divulged to anyone--they will be used only in compiling an aggregate report.

Just in case you have misplaced the original we are enclosing another copy of the questionnaire with a stamped self-addressed envelope.

Won't you please assist us in this important project by replying today.

Cordially,

CROSSLEY SURVEYS, INC.



Franklin B. Leonard
President

CROSSLEY SURVEYS, INC.
909 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10022

ADVERTISING AGENCY STUDY
(Confidential Study Among
Top Executives)

#15245
September, 1973

582
Please Leave
Blank,
Internal
Use Only

1. In total, how many years have you spent
in the advertising agency business?

Number of years _____

1-3 _____

4 _____

2. What was your first position in an advertising agency?

Title _____

5 _____

Description of Responsibilities _____

6 _____

3. Many people in the agency business start in one area of the business and
then move into other areas. Please indicate:

- a) which areas you've been in,
b) in what sequence you were in them, and
c) how many years you spent in each area. (Because you may have
functioned in more than one area at a time, the total number of
years may add to more than your total years in the business.)

(a)

(b)

(c)

Which areas have
you been in?
(Please check all
that apply)

Please order the
sequence in which
you were in them--
starting with "1"
as the earliest

How many years
have you spent
in this area
during your
career?

Overall Agency Management

☐

_____ years

7-8 _____

Account Management

☐

_____ years

9-10 _____

Creative

Creative Director

☐

_____ years

11-12 _____

Copy Writing

☐

_____ years

13-14 _____

Art

☐

_____ years

15-16 _____

Production

☐

_____ years

17-18 _____

Media

Media Director

☐

_____ years

19-20 _____

Media Planning

☐

_____ years

21-22 _____

Media Buying

☐

_____ years

23-24 _____

Research

Media Research

☐

_____ years

25-26 _____

Market/Advertising
Research

☐

_____ years

27-28 _____

Other (PLEASE SPECIFY):

☐

_____ years

29-30 _____

☐

_____ years

We have coded this questionnaire for
check-in purposes. In this way we will
not inconvenience you with future mailings.

PLEASE TURN

4a. What is your present position?

Title _____

31 _____

Description of Responsibilities _____

32 _____

b. In that position, are you -

PLEASE
CHECK
ONE

One of the persons primarily responsible for the
overall policy of the agency

1 ☐

33 _____

An active participant in setting overall policy,
though someone else is or others are primarily
responsible for setting overall policy

2 ☐

Involved in setting policy for your own department, but
not an active participant nor primarily responsible
for overall agency policy

3 ☐

c. How long have you been in your present position? _____ years

34 _____

d. What position did you hold just prior to this one?

Title _____

35 _____

Description of Responsibilities _____

36 _____

e. Was this latter position -

PLEASE
CHECK
ONE

In the same agency where you now are

1 ☐

37 _____

In another advertising agency

2 ☐

With another type of company or organization

3 ☐

f. If with another type of company, what type of company/organization?

38 _____

5. Looking back at your entire career with advertising agencies, would
you say you have made your major career strides -

PLEASE
CHECK
ONE

Moving from one agency to another

1 ☐

39 _____

Moving up within an agency

2 ☐

Starting your own agency

3 ☐

Other (PLEASE SPECIFY):

☐

6. In total, with how many advertising agencies have you been affiliated? Number of agencies _____
7. With what size agencies have you been associated? (Using domestic billings at the time you were associated with an agency as the criterion.)

PLEASE CHECK AS
MANY AS APPLY

Large	1	☐
Medium	2	☐
Small	3	☐

8. If you have been associated with more than one size agency, please answer parts "a" through "d" below.

	(a) In what size agency was your first position?	(b) In what size agency have you spent most of your career?	(c) In what size agency did you develop greatest skills?	(d) What size agency provided the greatest opportunities to move ahead?
Large . . .	1 ☐	1 ☐	1 ☐	1 ☐
Medium . .	2 ☐	2 ☐	2 ☐	2 ☐
Small . . .	3 ☐	3 ☐	3 ☐	3 ☐

9. Was any significant part of your occupational career spent outside of advertising agencies? Yes 1 ☐
No 2 ☐
(IF "NO" PLEASE SKIP TO Q.11a)

10. Indicate the nature of this experience by answering parts "a" through "d".

(a) In what other types of businesses, companies or organizations did you spend a part of your career? (Please specify advertiser, media, etc.)	(b) How many years did you spend in each type of business?	(c) In what kind of work were you primarily involved?	(d) Was this prior to or after your first job in an advertising agency?						
_____	_____ years	_____	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>Prior to</td> <td>After</td> <td>Both prior to and after</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1 ☐</td> <td>2 ☐</td> <td>3 ☐</td> </tr> </table>	Prior to	After	Both prior to and after	1 ☐	2 ☐	3 ☐
Prior to	After	Both prior to and after							
1 ☐	2 ☐	3 ☐							
_____	_____ years	_____	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>1 ☐</td> <td>2 ☐</td> <td>3 ☐</td> </tr> </table>	1 ☐	2 ☐	3 ☐			
1 ☐	2 ☐	3 ☐							
_____	_____ years	_____	<table border="0"> <tr> <td>1 ☐</td> <td>2 ☐</td> <td>3 ☐</td> </tr> </table>	1 ☐	2 ☐	3 ☐			
1 ☐	2 ☐	3 ☐							

PLEASE TURN

11a. Did you ever attend college, graduate or professional school? Yes 1 ☐ No 2 ☐

(IF "NO" PLEASE SKIP TO Q.12)

b. Please indicate your educational background below.

School Attended	College	Graduate School	Professional School	Major Area Of Study	# Of Years Attended	Degree Awarded
_____	☐	☐	☐	_____	_____ yrs.	_____
_____	☐	☐	☐	_____	_____ yrs.	_____
_____	☐	☐	☐	_____	_____ yrs.	_____
_____	☐	☐	☐	_____	_____ yrs.	_____

12. Where were you born? City _____ State _____ Country _____

13. In what religion were you raised? Protestant 1 ☐
Catholic 2 ☐
Jewish 3 ☐
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY): _____

14. What is the predominant nationality or nationalities of your ancestors? On your father's side _____
On your mother's side _____

15. Now just a few questions about your father's background. Yes No
Was your father born in the U.S.A.? 1 ☐ ☐
Was your father's father born in the U.S.A.? 2 ☐ ☐
Was your father's grandfather born in the U.S.A.? 3 ☐ ☐

16a. At the time you were 18 years of age, what was your father's occupation?

b. In what business or industry was that? _____

17. At that time, would you say he was - In the upper class 1 ☐
In the middle class 2 ☐
In the working class 3 ☐

18. What level of education did your father complete? Grade school or less 5 ☐
Some high school 6 ☐
High school graduate 7 ☐
Some college 8 ☐
College graduate or beyond 9 ☐

19. In what age group are you? 20 - 29 years 1 ☐
30 - 39 years 2 ☐
40 - 49 years 3 ☐
50 - 59 years 4 ☐
60 years and over 5 ☐

20. Please check your sex. Male 7 ☐
Female 8 ☐

Thank you for your help.

59 _____
60 _____
61 _____
62 _____
63 _____
64 _____
65 _____
66 _____
67 _____
68 _____
69 _____
70 _____
71 _____
72 _____
73 _____
74 _____
75 _____
76 _____
77 _____
78 _____
79 _____
80 _____

INTERVIEW GUIDECareer Background/Choice of Advertising

When did you first enter the advertising agency business?

Was your entry into the agency business directly from school or had you worked elsewhere? (If elsewhere) What type of work had you done before?

What was your educational background?

What were your fields of study?

Where did you attend school?

How did you happen to enter the advertising agency business?

What were your reasons for choosing advertising?

What other alternatives did you consider?

Why did you select advertising rather than _____ (each other alternative considered)?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (CONT'D.)Early Career Experiences

At the time of your entry into advertising, how difficult was it for a Jewish person to get a job in the field -- very difficult, moderately difficult, somewhat difficult, not at all difficult. (If at all difficult) Why was it difficult?

At that time could a Jewish person get a job in all areas of advertising equally easily? (If no) In what areas was it especially difficult? Why were these areas especially difficult?

How about you? Did you yourself have difficulty getting a job in advertising? (If yes) What kinds of problems did you experience?

Did the person who hired you know you were Jewish? (If yes) How did he know?

What was your first position in advertising?

Do you feel the fact that you were Jewish had an effect on the type of position you were able to obtain? (If yes) How?

How long did you stay in that position? (If less than 3 years) What other positions did you hold during your first years in advertising?

Thinking back to your first years in advertising, would you say being Jewish was a problem or handicap? (If yes) How?

How conscious were you of your Jewish background when you were performing your job in the early years of your career--very conscious, somewhat, not at all conscious? (If at all) Could you give me some examples of times/situations when you felt conscious of being Jewish?

In the early days did you experience any prejudice or discrimination? (If yes) What kind of prejudice or discrimination did you experience?

Were you ever subject to any anti-semitic remarks? (If yes) What happened? What did you do?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (CONT'D.)Early Career Experiences (Cont'd.)

Do you think you would have progressed faster in the early days if you had not been Jewish? (If yes) What makes you say so?

During your early days in advertising, were there many other Jews around in the department where you worked? In the agency where you worked?

How much contact did you have with non-Jews in the agency?

What kind of contact did you have with non-Jews?
Were the contacts friendly?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (CONT'D.)Mid-way Career Experiences

Now could we talk about later on -- mid-way in your career. What kinds of jobs did you hold then -- i.e. after your first years but prior to reaching your current level of success?

Was being Jewish a problem or handicap in those years?

(If yes) Was it more or less of a problem than earlier? Why?
(If no) Why do you think it wasn't (was no longer) a problem then?

Would you say you were more or less conscious of being a Jew mid-way in your career than you had been earlier? Could you explain why you say that?

Do you think you would have been treated differently during that time had you not been Jewish? (If yes) How would the treatment have differed?

During the mid-years of your career did you experience any discrimination or prejudice? (If yes) What kind?

Were you subject to any anti-semitic remarks in those days?
(If yes) What happened? What did you do?

How about the clients you dealt with in those days--were they Jewish/non-Jewish/both?

(If non-Jewish or both) In dealing with non-Jewish clients, were you uncomfortable in any way because you were Jewish? How?

What do you feel was the reaction of non-Jewish clients to the fact that you were Jewish?

Mid-way in your career, were you responsible for hiring people?

(If yes) Did you feel you had to be careful about hiring Jews? Why?
What did you do?

Mid-way in your career, were there many other Jews in your department? In your agency?

What kinds of contact did you have with non-Jewish people in the agency? Was it different than with the Jewish people?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (CONT'D.)Recent Career Experiences

Turning to recent years, to what extent has being Jewish affected your career in recent years--has it affected it greatly, somewhat, not at all? (If at all) How has being Jewish affected your career in recent years?

Is being Jewish a problem or handicap in any way now to you in business? (If yes) How?

Would you say your consciousness in business of being Jewish is now greater or less than it was in earlier years? Why is it greater (less)?

Is there a difference in the kind of consciousness you feel as a Jew in advertising today from that you felt earlier? (If yes) What is the difference?

Have you experienced any prejudice or discrimination in advertising in recent years? (If yes) Could you tell me what the situation(s) were?

In recent years, have you been subjected to any anti-semitic remarks? (If yes) What was the situation? What happened?

Are your feelings about hiring Jews now any different than they were earlier? (If yes) How?

Do you feel you have to be concerned about hiring too many Jews? (If yes) Why?

Do you feel at all uncomfortable dealing with non-Jewish clients now? (If yes) In what way?

Do you feel non-Jewish clients are at all uncomfortable dealing with you?

(If yes) Why do you say so?

Is this a change from earlier years?

(If yes) What accounted for this change?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (CONT'D.)

Recent Career Experiences (Cont'd.)

Do you currently have any close friends from the agency business?

(If yes) Are they Jewish/non-Jewish or both?

Are there barrriers in your friendships with non-Jews
not present with Jews?

What kinds of barriers?

Looking back at your career, how would you compare the success
you had in advertising compared to what you might have had
in other industries:

In manufacturing? Why is this so?

In insurance? " " " "

In banking? " " " "

In media? " " " "

INTERVIEW GUIDE (CONT'D.)Changes in Advertising Generally

How difficult is it for a Jewish person to get a job in advertising today--very, moderately, somewhat, not at all?

Would a person's career today be affected in any way by the fact that he was Jewish? (If yes) How?

Would his chances be equal in all agencies?

(If no) Where would his chances be poorer?
Why would they be poorer there?

Would he be able to get into all areas of advertising equally easily?
(If no) Which areas would be more difficult? Why?

Are there certain kinds of jobs he could get today that would have been closed to him earlier? Why?

How would a Jewish person today do in advertising compared to other businesses?

Manufacturing? Why?
Banking? "
Insurance? "
Media? "

Clearly there are more Jews in top positions in advertising today than there were 25 or 30 years ago.

When did the changes occur?
(For each change) What do you think accounted for these changes?
Why did they take place?

Why do you think Jews rose more quickly in advertising than in some other fields?

What effect do you think the increase in number of Jews has had on the business?

Has it affected the structure of the business in any way? (If yes) How?

Has it affected the way agencies operate? (If yes) How?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (Cont'd.)Changes in Advertising Generally (Cont'd.)

Has it affected the advertising?

(If yes) How?

The casting? How?

The language in advertising? How?

The tone? How?

Obviously some agencies have more Jews than others? Do you think there are differences between these agencies (those with more vs. fewer Jews) in terms of the kind of advertising they produce? (If yes) What are the differences?

INTERVIEW GUIDE (CONT'D.)Ethnic Identity

How religious were your parents -- very, somewhat, not at all?

Did they attend temple?

Did they observe the holidays?

Did they keep a kosher home?

Did they arrange for any religious education for you?

What kind?

Now thinking back to the time you entered the advertising business, how religious were you at that time -- very religious, somewhat, not at all?

Did you attend temple?

Did you observe the holidays?

Were you living with your parents?

(If no) Did you yourself keep a kosher home?

How religious are you today compared to then -- more, less, about as religious as you were then?

Do you attend temple now?

Do you observe the holidays?

Do you have a kosher home?

Are you married?

(If yes) Is your wife Jewish?

Were you married when you entered the advertising business?

Do you have any children?

(If yes) Are they receiving/have they received any religious education?

Are your close friends Jewish/non-Jewish/both?

Do you participate in any Jewish organizations? (If yes) In what way?

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