

Gender capital and vertical segregation: effects on creative advertising trajectory¹

Capital de gênero e segregação vertical: efeitos na trajetória criativa publicitária

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ABSTRACT

This research analyses the effects of gender capital in the creative, academic, social, economic, erotic, human, psychic and emotional capitals during the different phases of the professional career of a group of creatives from the Ecuadorian advertising field. Through 16 semi-structured interviews, based on content analysis, we developed an approach regarding their beginning, admission, permanence and promotions experiences mediated by gender. The findings suggest that the apparent parity observed in the first phase is blurred, while the asymmetries that determine that the trajectory of women and men are headed towards vertical segregation increase.

Keywords: women; discrimination; creativity; capitals; stereotypes; socialization

RESUMEN

La investigación analiza los efectos del capital de género en los capitales creativo, académico, social, económico, erótico, humano, psíquico y emocional de la trayectoria profesional de un grupo de creativos y creativas del campo publicitario ecuatoriano. Mediante 16 entrevistas semiestructuradas basadas en el análisis de contenido temático se realiza una aproximación a las experiencias en el comienzo, ingreso, permanencia y ascenso mediadas por el género. Los hallazgos sugieren que la aparente paridad que se advierte en las primeras fases se desdibuja, mientras que las asimetrías que determinan que las trayectorias se encaminen hacia la segregación vertical se acentúan.

Palabras clave: mujeres; discriminación; creatividad; capitales; estereotipos; socialización

RESUMO

Esta investigação centra-se nos capitais: criativo, académico, social, económico, erótico, humano, psíquico, emocional e de gênero nas diferentes fases do trajeto profissional de um grupo de creativos e creativas no ramo publicitário equatoriano. Através de 16 entrevistas semiestructuradas, realiza-se a partir da análise de conteúdo uma aproximação às experiências de começo, ingresso, transição e promoção na carreira criativa, mediadas pelo gênero. Os resultados sugerem que a aparente paridade que se anuncia inicialmente se esbate e se acentuam as assimetrias que determinam que a trajetória de mulheres e homens se encaminhe até à sua segregação vertical.

Palavras-chave: mulheres; discriminação; criatividade; capitais; estereótipos; socialização

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INTRODUCTION

Unlike the studies that have focused on vertical segregation in the advertising creative field (Martín, Beléndez, & Hernández, 2007; Windels, Lee, & Yeh, 2010; Grow & Deng, 2014; Reimer, 2016; Grow, 2017; Wang & Crewe, 2017) or in female leadership in this area (Mallia, Windels, & Broyles, 2013; Windels, 2013; Grow, Mallia, Williams, Pollock, & Klinger, 2015; Montes & Roca, 2016; Mallia & Windels, 2017), this research analyzes gender as a form of capital that leads professional trajectories towards this asymmetry, an aspect that has not been explored, or at least no evidence of such analysis has been found. This paper studies the management of gender capital in the labor market of Ecuadorian advertising creativity, and analyzes how this guides the trajectories of a group of women and men towards segregation or professional promotion. Although gender is not the only factor that affects occupational segregation, in this analysis it is taken as the axis through which reflection is articulated.

Previous analyzes of the advertising creative field (Hartman, 1988; Weisberg & Robbs, 1997; Klein, 2000; Martín, Beléndez, & Hernández, 2007; Mallia, 2009; Windels, 2011; Grow, Roca, & Broyles, 2012; Priday, 2016; Wang & Crewe, 2017) have evidenced the under-representation of women in creative departments and the absence of women in positions of creative management. This has allowed us to have a vision of what happens in the United States, the United Kingdom, Spain or Australia. Mensa (2015) and Mensa and Grow (2015) have approached the Peruvian scenario but, in general, this subject has not been studied in depth in Latin America. In the Ecuadorian context, Estrella (2015) offers a first approach; however, the masculinization and feminization of profiles in the advertising field, as well as the low female presence in the creative area, have been left out of academic research. This opens the possibility of exploring the Latin American labor market since, as Taylor argues, “research on advertising in emerging markets should not simply be limited to the BRICS”² (2012, p. 229). On the other hand, the assumption that, in the professional field, gender is a masculinized or feminized form of capital that can be accumulated and negotiated has been analyzed by Ross-Smith and Huppertz (2008), Huppertz (2009, 2012, 2015), and Huppertz and Goodwin (2013).

The concept of capital –which can be defined as the accumulation of assets, resources and sources that help achieve an end or promote its attainment (Broadbridge, 2010)– usually refers to the economic field, relating it to investment and rates of return; however, Bourdieu (1988, 2007) broadens the notion and relocates it within the socio-cultural dynamics that occur in differentiated societies, which allows us to understand the symbolic value that supports them. For this author, capital is a resource that produces social effects and acts as a “force within a field”, so it includes material and symbolic goods (Bourdieu cited by Fernández, 2013, p. 35).

This reconceptualization can be understood through the substrate of cultural capital, which for the author originates in the notion of social reproduction, i.e., in the cultural transmission from one generation to another (Bourdieu, 1988), so that it is constituted in another expression of socializing processes. From this perspective, it is pertinent to approach gender as a type of capital that enables or limits mobility opportunities within organizations (Skeggs cited by Huppertz & Goodwin, 2013). Thus, in the same vein as Bourdieu, McCall (1992) argues that gender acts as an embodied cultural capital, manifested through the socialized conceptions of masculinity and femininity represented by men and women and, therefore, as socially learned dispositions, with differentiated valuations according to the context in which they operate. Consequently, gender capitals are related to the advantages and disadvantages that derive from the dispositions or the set of perceived abilities, from positivity or negativity, as feminine or masculine (Huppertz, 2009, 2012).

These concepts, extrapolated to the professional sphere, could determine that gender capital translates into different positions according to the incarnated gender, which, for example, can result in occupational segregation –horizontal and vertical– in masculinized or feminized professions and profiles, and in mobility or stagnation within the organizational hierarchy (Graña, 2015; Huppertz, 2015). In this regard, through a qualitative approach and semi-structured interviews, this research focuses on the management and effects of gender capital in other capitals (human, academic, creative, social, erotic, economic and psychico-emotional) in the different phases of the professional career of a group of women and men working in the Ecuadorian advertising creative field.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the advertising field, McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley (2009) identify three stages in the creative trajectory: a) getting started (consider being creative), b) getting in (be part of the teams), and c) getting on (occupy management positions: creative, executive and general). In the context of this study, we considered that there is a stage of permanence or stabilization, because promotion is not automatic.

The premise guiding this analysis is that the work trajectory is not limited only to the vocation, i.e., it can be affected by factors not inherent to the professional specificity; from this perspective, the incidence of intangible capital—in comparison with the economic capital marked by the collection of goods that serve to produce other goods—may be one of the causes for the vertical segregation in the advertising creative field (Martín, Beléndez, & Hernández, 2007; Mallia, 2009; Grow, Roca, & Broyles, 2012; Martín & Navarro, 2015; Priday, 2016; Grow, 2017; Wang & Crewe, 2017). In this regard, in the following sections there is a brief overview of a series of capitals that could influence the different professional trajectories between male and female creatives.

As for the analyzed capitals (table 1), some are considered endogenous or directly related to the competencies that intervene in the profession (human, creative and academic), while others are of an exogenous nature (social, psychic-emotional, erotic and economic). Due to the role they play in the sociocultural context in which men and women act, they would influence the labor field with different evaluations according to the gender of the professional, among other reasons because the division of labor has traditionally placed women and men in separate spheres of action. Thus, the differentiated socialization exercised over men and women could determine that the management, negotiation and valuation of certain capitals are also different.

GENDER CAPITAL

As stated, in this study gender is conceptualized from the perspective offered by the theory of cultural capital (cultural transmission, dispositions and qualifications) proposed by Bourdieu (1988, 2007), i.e., as a form of capital that allows us to understand the embodied masculinity and femininity that gives meaning to be a man and being a woman. On this occasion, its role is located within the labor market,

which makes it a transversal issue for this analysis. Gender capital has been assumed as the result of the symbiosis between the socializing processes that allow developing the ways of thinking, feeling and acting essential for social participation (Vander Zanden, 1989, p. 126) and gender stereotypes associated with the characteristics of masculinity and femininity that define men and women as social entities (Powell, 2010).

In this regard, gender capital is transformed into the generic identity or the feeling that women and men have regarding what is described as femininity or masculinity (Money & Wang, 1966). That is, women = femininity = docility, weakness, sensitivity, passivity or subjectivity; in contrast, men = masculinity = impetuosity, strength, resistance, competitiveness or objectivity. These characteristics are usually extrapolated to certain professional profiles, because gender socialization has been aimed at training men as producers focused on the public and women as care providers, oriented towards the domestic-private.

ENDOGENOUS CAPITALS

The centrality of work or the importance it has in the life of an individual (Hitt, Black, & Potter, 2006) involves the development of human capital, a set of innate abilities and acquired by the accumulation of general or specific knowledge that facilitates employability (Becker, 1983; Laroche, Mérette, & Ruggeri, 1999). From that perspective, in the advertising field, creativity is the outstanding feature of those who create the campaigns, a key factor for hiring. This, in appearance, is a condition devoid of gender typologies—if compared, for example, with nursing or social work, two professions assumed as feminine in contrast to construction or transport, understood as masculine (Huppertz, 2015; Wright, 2016)—although creativity is associated in a natural way with femininity, by the similarities that occur between the creative process and the gestation of a human being (Alvesson, 1998).

Creativity is understood as the ability to produce something novel, original and unexpected that is appropriate in utility and adaptability (Csikszentmihalyi, 1998); in the advertising context, El-Murad and West (2004, p. 188) maintain that, to be successful, it must have impact, quality and style; ideas must be novel, unique and relevant to the product and to the target audience. Therefore, creative capital can be understood as the

Main capital	Capitals involved in the creative field	Type of capital	Description
<i>Gender capital</i> (incarnation of masculinity and femininity learned through socializing processes)	Endogenous capitals (directly related to the profession)	Creative capital	Talent or innate or acquired ability to solve problems through innovative ideas.
		Human capital	Innate abilities and acquired skills.
		Academic capital	Formal educational level manifested in degrees.
	Exogenous capitals (sociocultural context)	Social capital	Advantageous social relations network.
		Psychic-emotional capital	Strengths to identify and deal with different situations.
		Erotic capital	Attraction or fascination exercised over others.
		Economic capital	Goods and resources to generate other goods.

Table 1. Capitals involved in the advertising creative trajectory

Source: Own elaboration.

accumulation of skills for innovation, design and problem solving through the generation of ideas, therefore constituted by the possession of talent, and not necessarily linked to education (Florida & Goodnight, 2005).

Therefore, although academic capital is constituted by a specific body of knowledge offered by certain institutions legitimized in an educational system (Bourdieu, 1988), in the advertising creative field formal education has been viewed with reluctance (Gifford & Maggard, 1975; Rotzoll, 1985; McGann, 1986), because it is thought that creativity cannot be taught (McLeod, O'Donohoe, & Townley, 2011). However, due to the importance of degrees in the labor market, the university operates as a source of human resources and the advertising industry is not immune to this trend.

EXOGENOUS CAPITALS

Extrinsic factors can affect the professional trajectory; among them, social capital stands out, based on the possession of long-lasting relationships networks, centered on mutual recognition and developed under given structures generated from similarities and attractions (Bourdieu, 1999). Its effectiveness lies in the conversion of these networks into resources to obtain opportunities and accumulate benefits (Broadbridge, 2010). This capital is based on the relations of friendship that are established in family, educational, work and recreational contexts, among others, and acts as a mechanism for hiring and promotion. Its use can be valued in men and condemned in women (Timberlake, 2005).

On the other hand, the feelings, emotions, beliefs, perceptions and values that intervene in human

relationships constitute emotional capital (Feneey & Lemay, 2012), to which adds the ability to identify, express and manage one's and others' emotions (Cottingham, 2016). Confidence, self-esteem, enthusiasm, joy, anger, fear, etc., are assets that allow or prevent managing situations with empathy, flexibility, security or adaptability, which constitutes the psychic capital or processes that allow learning self-protection through the generation of personal strengths (Casullo, 2006; Afifi, Merrill, & Davis, 2016). In this type of capital, women are often seen as possessing expressive-communal characteristics that lead them to care about others, although the socio-emotional orientation is not always appreciated in work environments where competitiveness prevails; in contrast, men are classified as possessing instrumental-agent characteristics, by which they are apt for competitive activities fully established in the public-productive spheres (Powell, 2010).

Another capital that influences the professional world is the erotic that, according to Hakim (2012, p. 9), is "a nebulous but determining mixture of beauty, sexual attractiveness, care for the image and social skills, an amalgamation of physical and social attractiveness that makes certain men and women attractive to all members of their society, especially to those of the opposite sex".

Its use determines that people obtain social prestige, better tools to negotiate and more power. For the author, erotic capital is one of the areas in which women have an advantage over men, because they have been socialized to take care of their image; to this is added grace, charm, and knowing how to create environments in which people feel comfortable.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Studies such as those conducted by Ibarra (1992), Kazenoff and Vagnoni (1997) or Windels and Mallia (2015) on the gender situation within the creative advertising departments have evidenced the lack of diversity in the conformation of teams and the existence of homosocial networks, denouncing the existence of vertical segregation (Gregory, 2009; Grow, Roca, & Broyles, 2012; Priday, 2016); nevertheless, attention has not been paid to the importance of the differentiated socialization exercised on men and women as an embodiment of masculinity and femininity, synthesized in gender capital, and how this may imply that the resources with which their

trajectories are incorporated and developed lead them to that segregation. In this regard, the objectives that guide this research are to explore the management and evaluation of endogenous and exogenous capital in the creative trajectory and analyze the incidence of gender capital in occupational segregation. Taking the Ecuadorian context as a reference, this research seeks to answer the following research questions:

Q1 How does gender capital interfere in the management of other capitals?

Q2 In the advertising creative field, what role do the capitals play in each stage of the trajectory of men and women?

METHODOLOGY

We selected the qualitative methodology, since it is intended to obtain "knowledge of general scope from an in-depth study of a small number of cases" (Giroux & Tremblay, 2004, p. 40). The data was collected through semi-structured interviews and the treatment of the information was based on the interpretive paradigm. To do so, we used a thematic content analysis, which consists in the meticulous review of the data to identify, organize and analyze topics (Braun & Clarke, 2006). "If a group of codes are repeated in a patterned way and in multiple situations, they have potential to become a theme" (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen, & Snelgrove, 2016, p. 105); therefore, this methodology determines frequencies of one or several topics of significance in a previously defined coding unit (Bardin, 2002). Consequently, we have proceeded with the identification and the thematic classification to later elaborate lists of frequencies.

SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE AND PROCEDURE

As this is the first research on the incidence of gender capital in the creative trajectory conducted in the Ecuadorian context and it is an exploratory study, a non-probabilistic sampling is relevant. This does not seek statistical representation, but focuses on the information provided by key individuals (Hernández, Fernández, & Baptista, 2014). As a result, the extracted results are not generalized to the entire target population, but they make it possible to answer the research questions that have been posed and to establish trends regarding the analysis topic.

To select the participants, we resorted to the convenience method, through which we have access to available individuals (Alaminos & Castejón, 2006; Hernández, Fernández, & Baptista, 2014). The criteria for selecting the participants were that they occupy a position in the creative departments of advertising agencies and that their minimum work experience was at least of two years.

The sample consists of 16 professionals, who were informed of the parameters and the academic nature of the study. At the time of the interviews, the participants worked in seven agencies located in the city of Quito (Ecuador). The territorial selection is due to the fact that, in the Latin American context, with the exception of Peru (Mensa, 2015; Mensa & Grow, 2015) there are few researches that have addressed occupational segregation due to gender issues in the advertising creative field.

As for the procedure, initially we contacted 21 people and conducted 16 interviews. The contact was made by telephone, postal mail and electronic mail. In-person and individual meetings were held, except one interview that was done online. One researcher carried out the interviews according to a pre-established agenda, which included professional choice and training, admission into the creative advertising field, gender relations and ways of working, career and promotion, the differences and similarities between male and female creatives, the relationship between family and work, the perceptions about the creative profile, the professional projection and the realization of expectations, among others.

The interviews lasted from 28 to 62 minutes and were conducted in the agencies. To maintain anonymity, they were coded. In the reproduction of some testimonies it is indicated if it is a male or

Code	Gender	Age	Training	Years of experience	Position
E1	Man	32	Advertising	12	CD*
E2	Woman	22	Graphic design	2	AD**
E3	Woman	52	Communication	26	GCD***
E4	Man	31	Advertising	10	CD
E5	Woman	26	Graphic design	2	AD
E6	Woman	34	Graphic design	16	AD
E7	Woman	40	Advertising	9	AD
E8	Woman	37	Graphic design	12	AD
E9	Man	40	Advertising	15	GCD
E10	Man	50	No training	28	GCD
E11	Woman	23	Advertising	2	AD
E12	Man	42	Advertising	15	CD
E13	Man	38	Advertising	18	CD
E14	Man	41	Graphic design	21	GCD
E15	Woman	30	Fashion design	5	AD
E16	Woman	48	Advertising	28	CD

Table 2. Characterization of the sample

Source: Own elaboration.

*CD = Creative director.

**AD = Art director. It is not a managerial position. Its main function is to "carry out the creative development of a graphic campaign, from the concept to the final realization" (Roca, 1998).

***GCD = General creative director.

Inclination: human capital	W	M	Verbatim
Circumstantial	6	2	(...) I did not choose to be a publicist. I studied graphic design and life happened (...) I started working in agencies. (E8, female creative).
Attraction or liking	1	3	(...) I had known the career since a long time. (...) I liked the storytelling part. (E1, male creative).
Vocation	1	2	(...) I had known forever that I wanted to do that. I did my high school thesis on that. (E7, female creative).
Vocational orientation	-	2	(...) There were many factors, but the main one was that some people from a university went to my school (...) they did those typical tests that last eight hours. (E4, male creative).
Initial inclination towards another profession	6	4	Actually, my first intention was to study architecture (...) I always liked it (...). (E9, male creative).

Table 3. First stage. Getting started: exploring or thinking about being creative

Source: Own elaboration.

a female creative. In addition, specific references were eliminated without altering the meaning of the testimonies.

Regarding the characterization of the sample (table 2), we interviewed seven men and nine women, who work in three multinational agencies, an associated subsidiary and three national agencies. The age ranges from 22 to 52 years; the average is located at 38.8. Regarding experience, the general average is 13.8 years.

RESULTS

The results are presented in tables and are exemplified with key testimonies. The analysis is divided into four thematic blocks, related to the phases of the creative trajectory proposed by McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley (2009). Parentheses indicate the frequency of responses (from 1 to 16).

FIRST STAGE. GETTING STARTED: CONSIDERING BEING CREATIVE

As an effect of the transition in which the socializing processes are found, in the stories of men and women we can see the desire to engage in a paid activity related to the creative capital they claim to possess. The career choice was made by liking or attraction (4), vocation (3) or vocational guidance (2). The original inclination to other professions emerges (10), a factor that may have influenced the fact that the arrival to the advertising field was circumstantial (8), especially among women, who felt more affinity for the design (6) although not

necessarily related to the advertising industry (table 3).

In the interaction between human, creative and academic capital, it is perceived that creativity is innate, so to be part of the field it is necessary to have talent (7), which is not exclusive of one gender or another (15). In academic capital, the presence of creativity is important (table 4). Men studied advertising (5) and graphic design (1); in women, training is in design (5), advertising (3) and communication (1). One interviewee has a double degree (advertising and graphic design); another attended a creative school. A participant started studies in medicine, but abandoned them.

SECOND STAGE. GETTING IN: BECOMING PART OF THE ADVERTISING CREATIVE FIELD

In the admission into the creative field, two patterns are identified. One is determined by the direct desire to be part of the advertising field (8); in contrast, the incorporation also occurred circumstantially (8). On the other hand, social capital, expressed in recommendations (13) emerges as one of the mechanisms that influences professional integration (table 5). Among male creatives, the recommendations of people who were part of the field (4) are given by a female account executive and a female graphic designer; for the female creatives, the connection was mediated by a parent who was agency manager and a teacher who created his agency. The recommendations that come from people outside the field (4) correspond, in men, to a brother and a teacher; in women, to a

Capital	W	M	Verbatim
Human and academic capital			
Advertising	3	4	(...) I realized that my folder was useless. Then I went [to a school for creatives] to specialize. (E1, male creative). When I had to choose a career, the opportunity to study graphic design arose (...) it was a short career and I could start working and earning money. (E6, female creative).
Graphic design	4	1	
Advertising and graphic design	-	1	
Communication	1	-	
Fashion design	1	-	
No training	-	1	
Creative capital			
Possessing talent	4	3	(...) Creativity is not taught. It's like the person who makes jokes, who dances well, who sings beautifully. It is a characteristic, a talent which one has. (E3, female creative).

Table 4. First stage. Getting started: training to enter the field

Source: Own elaboration.

husband and a friend. In addition, self-generation of networks appears as another mechanism that facilitated labor incorporation. The proactivity for the creation of networks (5) derives from the psychic-emotional capital; this is how through internships (3) links that led to formal hiring were developed and maintained.

Regarding gender capital (table 6), it is observed that men and women have the same possibilities of being hired (7). For women, the portfolio or creative book (6) is relevant; in addition, they consider that gender does not matter (3). On the other hand, equal access (8) is questioned because the environment is sexist (7). Men perceive that women have a reduced

Social capital	W	M	Verbatim
Admission through people in the field	2	2	My dad in the 80s and 90s was an executive and then he was manager of advertising agencies, so he always told me "I have a friend, why don't you introduce yourself, why don't you come here, why ..."; thus, it was he who got me into that world (...). (E8, female creative).
Admission through people outside the field	2	2	There was an agency in [the university] (...), then on the recommendation of [a professor] I started working there as a creative (...) then it seems that [the professor] recommended me to work in a consolidated agency (...). (E9, male creative).
Self-generation of networks (psychic-emotional capital)	3	2	I called [name], I was 17 years old and I asked him to let me do an internship, at 18 I called a friend of my parents who belonged to the [TV channel] directory (...) at 20 I called [agency] (...), that is when I started my creative career, it has always been calling and looking for contacts. (E16, female creative).

Table 5. Second stage. Getting in into the creative advertising field

Source: Own elaboration.

Gender capital	W	M	Verbatim
Equal opportunities	6	5	(...) It does not depend on a gender, it depends on the person, that is, if a person is good, he can be a man, she can be a woman, he can be gay, she can be a lesbian, he/she can be a transsexual, whatever, but if the person is good, is good. (E5, female creative).
Gender does not matter	2	3	
Importance of the portfolio	6	5	(...) Actually, it depends a lot on your portfolio. (E6, female creative).
They do not have the same possibilities	3	5	(...) It is still very sexist. Women have limitations for being hired. (E2, female creative).
Sexism	4	3	
Reduced female gender capital	-	5	The man, only for being a man, has 80%, 90% of [options to] be hired, the woman, only 40%. (E9, male creative).
Opportunities due to erotic capital	2	4	(...) I think there are more possibilities for pretty women (...) as there are not so many women in this business, if there is a woman who is intelligent, creative and friendly, she has more possibilities (...). (E4, male creative).
Economic capital			
Women are paid less	4	1	(...) I have the feeling that, at the beginning, women earn a little less as juniors and then salaries are equalized, because your gender is set aside (...). (E15, female creative).

Table 6. Second stage. Getting in into the creative advertising field

Source: Own elaboration.

gender capital, based on the fact that they are women (5), which contradicts the prototype of the advertising creative with characteristics associated with masculinity (competitive, egocentric, uninhibited, etc.). Meanwhile, the erotic capital (6) is ambiguous; through physical attractiveness, women may have certain possibilities of being hired (2), but they arouse reluctance (4), because they could distract eminently male teams.

As for economic capital –understood as remuneration–, it is said that in the admission stage women are paid less than men (5).

THIRD PHASE. PERMANENCE: STABILIZATION AND ACQUISITION OF WORK EXPERIENCE

The work environment is classified as masculinized (10) and with demanding schedules (6). In this scenario, women use psychic-emotional capital (table 7) to develop adaptive strategies, which sometimes

leads them to become masculine (6). It is perceived that men impose their criteria (3) and act from egocentrism (7). Female creatives must put aside stereotypes (4) and shyness (2), be strong in the face of criticism (6), know what to say by abandoning emotion in defending their ideas (2) and must make positive use of their erotic capital (3), which means not losing femininity (2), although they must also attenuate certain characteristics not to stand out (4).

The perception about creative capital is that its possession does not depend on gender (8), although the survival of stereotypes (7), manifested in the belief of differences in treatment, is noted (6). The feminine style is perceived as maternal, warm and analytical; the masculine, as bold and irreverent. The gender capital of the female creatives is seen as sensitive (7), organized (6), meticulous (4), analytical (4), strong (4) and innovative (2). Of male creatives, as egocentric (7), scattered (4), ambitious (3), fun (3) and irreverent (2).

Psychic-emotional capital	W	M	Verbatim
Female creatives:			
Adaptation to a male environment	3	3	[...] When you enter an agency, there are many men, it is true. My strategy was to become a man and that is how I subsisted [...]. (E8, female creative). Be brave, fight for the ideas of women, because sometimes because you are a woman they can think that your idea is not good. (E11, female creative). [...] As we are emotional, we are more sensitive, it affects us a lot and I think we have to put that aside [...]. (E3, female creative).
Set aside stereotypes	3	1	
Show strength	3	3	
Lose shyness	2	-	
Control emotionality	2	-	
Male creatives:			
Egocentrism	3	4	Ego, it is egocentric. They think that the world revolves around male creatives. Yes, yes, there is a lot of self-centeredness in this business. (E10, male creative).
Impose their ideas	2	1	

Table 7. Third phase. Stabilization and permanence in the field

Source: Own elaboration.

Regarding economic capital (salary situation), certain contradictions occur. It is expressed that women earn less than men (9), that there are no gender differences (4) or even that female creatives receive higher salaries (3). It is also thought that it takes longer for women to obtain salaries equal to those of their male peers (3).

As for social capital, as men are the majority, they build networks that allow them to impose working conditions (11), marked by the dynamics of extended hours (3), the use of sexualized humor (3) or the isolation felt by female creatives (3), who miss the presence of other women (4). As positive factors within the daily work, friendship and relaxation stand out (5).

FOURTH STAGE. GETTING ON: OCCUPYING CREATIVE, EXECUTIVE AND GENERAL DIRECTIONS

Regarding the managerial positions, in the seven agencies in which the group of interviewees work, the general creative direction is occupied by four men and one woman; the position of executive creative director, by one man and no woman, and there are thirteen male creative directors, versus only one woman who holds that position. In percentages, 90% of the managerial positions are held by men. This shows that managerial positions are dominated by men, a fact that is also

visible in the combination of economic and social capitals that have led three men to create their own agencies and occupy the general creative direction.

However, the perception arises that to reach managerial positions it is necessary to remain in the field (12); therefore, considering the psychic-emotional capital, the appreciations are that the trajectory is not easy, that one should not surrender (4), that it is necessary to forget the ego (5), to have patience (3), and to know how to channel stress (3) or manage frustration (3). Given this, it is stated that female creatives do not always know how to deal (6) with situations that arise in an environment in which the pressure is constant. Because of their psychic-emotional capital, it is perceived that they tend towards emotionality, which implies that they do not to know how to manage criticism, they are too susceptible, or they do not face questionings with clarity.

When addressing gender capital (table 8), we a scarcity of female managers (5), although it is believed that they do have possibilities for promotion (13); however, there are prejudices and biases (7) that hinder upward mobility. For women, it seems that reaching positions of power is more difficult, their careers stagnate (10), and they must strive doubly

Gender capital	W	M	Verbatim
Women have no authority	4	3	<p>For a woman, leading men is more difficult than for men to lead men. As a woman not only do you dress in a man's jacket, but also with masculine characteristics of pose, ways of speaking and even a little more coldness and hardness. The team, composed usually by many men, does not grant you authority (...). (E3, female creative).</p> <p>(...) Now my priority is my family, my son, and I try to respect that, I really try, because it is a continuous struggle, because this is a business without schedules (...). Yes, it is complicated as a mother, as a working woman and as a parent being a publicist. (E7, female creative).</p>
Women must become masculine	5	2	
Men impose their criteria	3	3	
Men as beholders of authority	2	3	
Maternity is a burden	7	4	
Difficulty reconciling work and family	4	4	

Table 8. Fourth stage: Getting on in the creative hierarchy

Source: Own elaboration.

because in them meritocracy is applied more (6). Because of their gender capital, women do not have authority over men (7) or they do not respect them as they do when the person leading is another man (5). In addition, motherhood influences the abandonment of the advertising field (11); the psychic-emotional capital of female creatives can act against them in the face of frustration and pressure to reconcile work and family when they become mothers (8).

CONCLUSIONS

In the advertising creative trajectory, apparently the gender capital –expressed in the differentiated socialization synthesized in what one is supposed to be– acts as the guiding capital, which affects the different stages. It seems to be blurred or not to be very important in the first stage or in vocational exploration, because creativity is shown as a neutral skill in terms of gender. The situation changes in the following stages, because the masculinization of the advertising creative field obeys to a different valuation of the feminine capital versus the masculine.

In the stage of entering the creative field, social capital plays an important role, because it acts as a recruitment factor. There are divergences in the valuation of gender capital; for women, the portfolio

plays an important role, while gender does not seem to influence employability. On the other hand, the sexism prevailing in the field does not facilitate the inclusion of a greater number of women.

During their time of permanence in the creative departments, women resort to psychic-emotional capital to face a hostile work environment, marked by the presence of homosocial networks that impose the work dynamics. In addition, the creative capital of women is in contradiction with the advertising creative profile that has masculine characteristics.

In the promotion stage, female gender capital does not contribute to women being perceived as bearers of authority; to this they must add the difficulties in reconciling work and family, which creates a dilemma. In addition, according to what was expressed by the interviewees, female creatives must demonstrate to a greater extent that they deserve to be promoted, they do not have a network that supports them, and the underrepresentation hinders the emergence of models to emulate.

DISCUSSION

In this analysis, we have approached the influence of gender capital –translated in a feminized or masculinized identity– in the professional career of a

Management evaluation		Stages of the creative advertising trajectory							
		Beginning		Admission		Permanence		Promotion	
		W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Gender capital	Creative capital	=	=	+/-	+	-	+	-	+
	Endogenous	Human capital		=	=				
	Academic capital		=	=					
	Social capital	Social capital		=	=	-	+	-	+
		Psychic-emotional capital		=	=	+	+	-	+
	Exogenous	Erotic capital			+/-	-			
		Economic capital			-	+	+/-	+	-

Table 9. Effects of gender capital on the advertising creative trajectory

Source: Own elaboration.

= Same management/evaluation.

+ Positive management/evaluation.

- Negative management/evaluation.

+/- Ambiguous management evaluation according to circumstances.

group of female and male advertising creatives (table 9). The approach has been from the effects of gender in the constitution of a work environment that appears to be inclusive, but in which exclusionary practices occur.

The findings of this research allow to consider gender as a capital through which occupational segregation can be explored in a professional activity such as advertising creativity. From this perspective, as suggested by Huppertz and Goodwin (2013), we have analyzed how men and women manage, negotiate and evaluate masculinity and femininity as capitals that act in vocational exploration, the entry into the creative sphere, the permanence in it, and mobility in the organizational hierarchy.

Despite the slow but gradual changes that have occurred in the socializing processes, expressed in the unfinished reformulation of gender capital – foundational basis for the gestation of male and female capital–, the survival of stereotypes obliterates the full integration of women in the public-productive sphere. Even though there has been a significant change in

their socializing processes, in which both domestic orientation and paid work have a place, the capital they have places them in disadvantaged positions in a male-dominated work environment such as the creative one, due to the mechanisms exercised by male hegemony so as not to alter the domestic-private and public-productive spheres (Mallia, 2017). To understand this situation, in the next sections we conduct an approximation to the influence of gender capital in the management and evaluation of the endogenous and exogenous capitals that intervene in the advertising creative trajectory.

Regarding creative capital, the main difference observed between men and women is that, although they identify themselves as possessors of talent and make it profitable, in the professional horizon of the creatives the advertising field is one of free will, so the management of their human and psychic-emotional capital allows them to be in charge of their future. In the case of female creatives, it is an option among others, so the circumstantiality is more marked. Despite this,

in the first stage of the trajectory, when considering the future professional activity, the creative capital has a similar management in appearance, because the gender capital is neutral. This situation tends to change in the admission phase to the advertising field, since male capital has a positive valuation in a work space dominated by men.

In the stabilization phase, the gender capital of the female creatives (sensitive, reserved, organized, etc.) along with their creative-human capital (maternal, warm, analytical) (Montes & Roca, 2016) goes against what prevails in the advertising field (Weisberg & Robbs, 1997; Parpis & Anderson, 2005; Reimer, 2016; Windels, 2016; Windels & Mallia, 2017). The creative profile is lined with male stereotypes (egocentrism, daring, irreverence, ambition) (Nixon, 2003), so there is a contradiction when the person who embodies it is a woman.

It is in the phase of promotion in the hierarchy in which the profitability of the masculine creative capital is accentuated. As they are the majority and occupy most of the positions of power, men impose a style or treatment in campaigns that do not always reflect the feminine vision. This situation may be due to the lack of creative women both in the formation of the teams and in the creative managements, which limits the perspectives of the advertising discourse (Broyles & Grow, 2008; Priday, 2016; Windels, 2011, 2016; Mallia & Windels, 2017).

On the other hand, regarding the creative capital in the advertising field, although greater relevance is given to innate creative abilities over those developed through training (McLeod, O'Donohoe, & Townley, 2011), academic training acts as a prerequisite for hiring in a very competitive labor market (Csikszentmihalyi, 1998). Having university degrees is part of the creative advertising field, although it is stressed that creativity is not something that is taught or learned; to that extent, having a degree does not guarantee access to the labor market.

In general, in terms of human and academic capital, female and male creatives start in conditions of equality, since they have acquired a formal instruction; however, specialized training shows differences: in university, men choose to be publicists and women, designers. This could mean that the vocation and professional training have a symbolic value not comparable in the advertising field (integral vision of advertising versus

the more functional development of design).

Regarding incorporation into the creative sphere, social capital is significant (Timberlake, 2005; Broadbridge, 2010), a capital that shows strong degrees of masculinization (Ibarra, 1992; Gregory, 2009; Priday, 2016; Wang & Crewe, 2017). Both for female and male creatives, the internal (in the advertising field) and external (which are not part of the field, but have influence due to friendship) contacts come from a male figure (father, brother, husband, friend, teacher, etc.), a factor that can be interpreted from the bargaining power men have in an area in which they are the majority (Hackley & Kover, 2007).

In another consideration, as DiSesa (2008) states, female creatives must acquire a specific capital. Professional socialization occurs under masculinized parameters that are acquired according to situated learning (McLeod, O'Donohoe, & Townley, 2011; Windels & Mallia, 2015; Grow, 2017). Interaction in an environment where they are a minority leads women to learn routines, perceptions and norms that are common for male creatives, who act from the strength given to them by a broad social capital (Ibarra, 1992; Timberlake, 2005; Gregory, 2009). Women are strange agents in a male fraternity that has its own codes; their bargaining power is limited, while men impose the rules (Windels & Mallia, 2015; Priday, 2016; Grow, 2017).

The first divergences that allow us to see that the female and male trajectories will take different paths appear in the phase of admission into the field. Female creatives do not see gender as a factor that affects hiring, while male creatives consider that their gender capital is positive because they are men, which is reinforced by the sexism that prevails in the field (Broyles & Grow, 2008; Roca, 2009; Grow, Roca, & Broyles, 2012; Mensa & Grow, 2015). In the Ecuadorian case, the perception of women seems to focus on the management of psychic-emotional capital, which they see as an individual and not a structural issue. Discrimination seems to be banished because some female creatives have managed to break the molds. The presence of symbol women (Kanter, 1977) would normalize female underrepresentation (Huppertz & Goodwin, 2013).

On the other hand, for female creatives, the period of permanence in the field is marked by the management of the psychic capital. Resilience operates as a survival

mechanism (Casullo, 2006; Afifi, Merrill, & Davis, 2016); when they are in a male domain, they must be masculinized (Mallia, 2009; Windels & Lee, 2012; Grow, 2017). This alters the creative, erotic and psychic-emotional capital of female creatives (Kazenoff & Vagnoni, 1997; Windels & Mallia, 2015; Grow, 2017; Mallia, 2017), who must adapt their style to the one prevailing in the field (Mallia, Windels, & Broyles, 2013).

In the promotion phase, the asymmetries seem insurmountable, as demonstrated by the analyzes conducted by Mallia (2009) and Grow, Roca, & Broyles (2012). Gender capital, marked by differentiated socialization between men and women, gains strength. The weight of motherhood operates as a brake on the upward mobility of women (Correll, Benard, & Paik, 2007; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008; Conor, Gill, & Taylor, 2015; Graña, 2015; Mallia, 2017). The effects of psychic-emotional capital, condensed in the guilt and responsibility that determines the ethics of care, put female creatives at a crossroads that leads them to choose between work and family, a situation that is synthesized in the complexity to reconcile the two spheres (Weisberg & Robbs, 1997; Mallia, 2009, 2017). Many female creatives opt for the family because the professional field does not offer them paths to self-improvement (Lipovetsky, 2000). In contrast, among male creatives, paternity does not alter their work routines or the projection they can have in the field.

Although female creatives have reinforced their psychic capital, exhaustion can affect their emotional capital. Despite perceiving that promotion is possible, they seem to accept that to achieve it, they will have to work harder and they will not have authority (Grow, Roca, & Broyles, 2012; Friday, 2016). Men, socialized for competition, strengthen their position from egocentricity, which allows them to impose their criteria, act with authority and establish the working conditions (Alvesson, 1998; Windels & Mallia, 2015; Grow, 2017; Mallia, 2017).

The findings suggest that in the beginning phase or when joining a team, the erotic capital

has some relevance (Hakin, 2012). The feminine attractiveness can be a factor of hiring, although it can be dissuasive, among other reasons because recruiters seeks to preserve the male cohesion condensed in the so-called boys' clubs or homosocial fraternities (Kanter, 1977; Ibarra, 1992; Gregory, 2009; Wang & Crewe, 2017).

In the stabilization stage, the low female presence prevents them from creating an identity community in which they are no longer the different ones; thus, in this stage, the asymmetries are reinforced. The economic capital of female and male creatives, expressed through salary remuneration, shows divergences (Endicott, 2002), inequalities that can be appreciated from the admission phase. Female creatives perceive that they earn less than their peers and that it takes longer to achieve comparable remunerations. In that regard, they must show that they deserve pays equal to those of the male creatives.

In short, as can be seen in the preceding sections, we have analyzed the endogenous and exogenous capital that are supposed to intervene in the advertising creative trajectory of a group of women and men. From a gender perspective, we wanted to make a reformulated approach to the cultural capital proposed by Bourdieu (1988, 2007). This opens a line of research in which feminization and masculinization can be analyzed as gender capitals, understood as the accumulation of resources with a symbolic character that materialize in the vertical segregation existing in the advertising creative field.

On the other hand, the main limitation of this study is that there is not a homogeneous sample in terms of the positions that men and women occupy within that work environment, due to the lack of female creatives. This reduces the possibility of having information that can be largely comparable. Considering this, future research may have other territorial demarcations as a reference for analysis, which would allow knowing the influence of gender capital according to the labor market in which it operates.

NOTES

1. This paper shows some of the results of the doctoral thesis *Las (in)movibles fronteras del género. Identidades, estereotipos y expectativas profesionales en el ámbito creativo publicitario* [The (im)movable frontiers of gender. Identities, stereotypes and professional expectations in the advertising creative field] (<https://ddd.uab.cat/record/169256>)

2. The acronym BRICS (initially conformed by Brazil, Russia, India and China, to which soon South Africa was incorporated) was coined by Jim O'Neill to focus on the potential of the economies of these countries, considered as emerging (Hooijmaaijers & Keukeleire, 2016, p. 391).

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