Relationship Counseling for Advertising Agencies and Clients:

A Textual Analysis of Framing in Trade Publications

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A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Graduate School

at the University of Missouri-Columbia

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

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by

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Fall 2018

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A Textual Analysis of Framing in Trade Publications

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"Advertising people who ignore research are as dangerous as generals who ignore decodes of enemy signals." - David Ogilvy

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABSTRACT

Although the conflicts between agencies and clients have existed for as long as advertising agencies have existed, agencies and clients have appeared to face increasing difficulty maintaining their relationships. Many previous studies have used the survey and interview methods to understand the factors contributing to agency-client relationship problems, largely ignoring what industry media outlets have to say about these problems. In response to the need for a better understanding of industry discourse, this study used a qualitative textual analysis to investigate ways in which three prominent advertising and PR trade publications, *Ad Age*, *Adweek* and *PRWeek*, have framed issues in the agency-client relationship from 2015-2017.

Keywords: Agency-client relationship, Relationship management, Advertising, Public Relations, Industry publications, Advertising agencies, Framing, Text analysis

INTRODUCTION

The breakup made headlines.

It wasn't a celebrity divorce that had the media talking. It was a breakup between an advertising agency and its client. In a "surprise move" that shocked the advertising industry, Dos Equis had dropped the agency that created the Most Interesting Man in the World (Oster, 2017).

"The Most Interesting Man in the World," an iconic advertising campaign for Dos Equis beer, featured television commercials with a bearded gentleman doing daring exploits, always ending with the famous tagline, "Stay thirsty, my friends." In 2017, *Advertising Age* reported that Heineken USA, owners of Dos Equis, had cut ties with Havas Worldwide, the agency that created the campaign in 2006 (Schultz & Stein, 2017). After a long-standing partnership with Dos Equis and numerous awards for their creative collaborations, Havas lost the account to Droga5 in an unexpected decision without an agency review (Richards, 2017). When brands are considering dismissing their current agency of record (AOR), they usually conduct a review that often allows the current agency to make its case to keep the business.

The case of Dos Equis and Havas is but one example of the agency-client breakups that are common in the advertising industry. Although the conflicts between agencies and clients have existed for as long as the advertising agency has existed, agencies and clients have appeared to face increasing difficulty maintaining their relationships. In 1992, it was estimated that 20% of all clients in the United States switched their agency in any 12-month period (Rutherford, Thompson, & Stone, 1992).

In 2013, the average agency-client relationship was thought to last less than three years (Parekh, 2013). These reports illuminate an increasingly pressing issue in the advertising industry: The destabilization of the agency-client partnership (Beard, 1996).

Many scholars have acknowledged the importance of maintaining a successful agency-client relationship (ACR). An agency-client relationship can be defined as the association between an advertising agency and its client, the advertiser (Waller, 2004). "At the core of concern about relationships is the aspiration to achieve longevity of the ACR," (Keegan, Rowley, & Tonge, 2017). The termination of an agency-client relationship results in significant costs for both agency and client (Fam & Waller, 2008). To preserve successful partnerships, it has become more crucial than ever to understand the issues in agency-client relationships and adapt to a rapidly changing industry (Durkin & Lawlor, 2001).

With the above focus, this study asks: How have relationship issues between agencies and clients been represented in the advertising industry over this period of destabilization? What can we learn from examining the ways in which professionals have conveyed agency-client issues in the media?

Agency-Client Relationship Research Background

To explore how the advertising industry conveys agency-client issues, it's crucial to first understand the nature of the agency-client relationship, and factors that contribute to the success or failure of that relationship.

To describe the nature of the advertising agency-client relationship, I use the definitions that have been previously used in seminal agency-client studies, including Waller (2004), Bourland (1993), and Cagley (1986). An advertising or PR agency is a

business dedicated to planning marketing activities, including advertising, media buying, public relations and other services. A client is the marketer, or the business that is doing advertising and PR activities, that works with the agency. An agency-client relationship is the partnership between an advertising agency and its client.

I will define agency-client issues as the areas of conflict in the agency-client relationship, such as communication. The factors that influence these issues are the central focus of this study, as they are important to understand in order to maintain successful relationships. "A number of factors are important for a successful agency–client relationship, otherwise dissatisfaction in the relationship will lead to agency termination and the process of selecting another advertising agency," (Fam & Waller, 2008, p. 6). Scholars have studied these factors in detail, focusing on managing relationships, identifying sources of conflict, and understanding perceptions on both the agency and client sides. These studies mainly used survey and interview methods to measure the attitudes of working professionals in the advertising industry, and most studies were done between 1980 and 2015 (Keegan et al., 2017).

Rationale

Although many academic studies have examined the agency-client relationship, there is a lack of research over the past several years, during which the advertising industry has undergone significant change (Taylor, 2017). With the advent of digital and social media, as well as mobile marketing and programmatic advertising, more research needs to reflect the changing nature of the advertising industry. Additionally, there is a need for qualitative studies that take a more in-depth approach toward interpreting findings (Keegan et al., 2017).

Furthermore, researchers have not yet explored agency-client issues from the perspective of media texts. Media discourse could reveal valuable insight into the viewpoints of many experts over time, rather than relying on individual responses in a survey or interview (Bourland, 1993). One such media text is the trade publication. A trade publication is a media outlet that is written for an audience that works in a specific industry; for example, *Ad Age* is a trade media outlet in advertising. Trade publications play a significant role in the advertising and PR industry, both for brands and for agencies. Professionals turn to publications like *Ad Age*, *Adweek,* and *PRWeek* for information on industry news, best practices, creative work, market trends, and analysis. These publications reach readers who are "decision makers," the leaders in ad agencies, brand marketers, and media companies (Adweek, 2018). As influential sources for industry professionals, trade media outlets have voices that should not be ignored.

The trade press in the advertising and PR industry offers rich discourse on the agency-client relationship, with numerous stories about the misunderstandings between agencies and clients, reports of account losses, and campaign news. Trade literature in public relations and business bristles with tales of conflict between public relations agencies and their clients, pointers on how to achieve a productive working relationship, and advice about how to avoid being taken advantage of by the other side. The sheer quantity of such stories, and their often contentious tone, indicate a need for agencies and clients to develop better understanding of each other's viewpoints (Murphy, 1994, p. 209). However, while many scholars have acknowledged that trade outlets like *Ad Age* and *Adweek* frequently discuss agency-client issues, I could locate no studies that have

actually researched *how* trade outlets cover those issues (Dowling, 1994; Doyle et al., 1980; Lace, 1998).

To address these deficiencies, I used a qualitative textual analysis to examine how popular advertising and PR trade outlets have framed agency-client issues and made sense of these issues for advertising professionals (McKee, 2003).

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to understand the ways in which the advertising industry has framed agency-client relationship issues by focusing on leading trade publication articles over a three-year period. This study responds to the need for a better understanding of how advertising authorities have conveyed agency-client relationship problems through trade discourse.

I hope to offer interpretive insights that will contribute to both scholarly and practical knowledge. First, I expand on existing literature by using theoretical frameworks and methods that are underutilized in the study of the agency-client relationship. Second, I hope to inform professionals with regard to effectively managing a business partnership by providing more insight into industry viewpoints. Finally, although I focus on advertising and PR agencies, it's important to note that the fractures in long-term business partnerships are not unique to the advertising industry. Business professionals across industries may benefit from more knowledge in how trade media outlets define the issues in business partnerships, attribute causes for those issues, and prescribe solutions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In my review of the literature pertinent to this study, I begin by introducing the existing body of academic research on agency-client relationship issues. This includes studies that have defined agency-client relationship issues and investigated the factors contributing to those issues. Next, I provide an overview of framing theory, and how it applies to my specific area of study. While I did not locate other studies that have applied framing theory to the study of agency-client relationship issues, I have examined the relevant areas of framing research, including framing in the media and framing in professional discourse.

Defining Agency-Client Relationship Issues

To understand the context of this study, it's important to first understand the background of agency-client relationship research. Numerous scholars have explored the factors contributing to the success of an advertising agency-client partnership, or the ACR. The vast majority of these studies have used survey and interview methods to examine perceptions of various factors on both the agency and client sides, with a few studies that use model testing or behavioral testing. This indicates the need for more qualitative studies using a wider variety of methods (Keegan et al., 2017). Most studies do not use theoretical frameworks, but the theories that do appear in studies primarily include agency theory, game theory, and performance theory (Keegan et al., 2017). To the best of my knowledge, no studies at the time of this study have applied framing theory, which I will address in detail in the Framing Theory section of this literature review.

I have organized my literature review into three pertinent themes in the agency-client literature: (1) Conflict, (2) Client Account Management, and (3) Structural Factors. First, I examine conflict within the ACR, which explores sources of conflict and how conflict can be minimized. Next, I provide an overview of account management, investigating how agencies can effectively manage their relationships with clients. Within that theme, I then describe the research on each of the account management life-cycle stages: Agency selection, development, and review or termination. The last category I explore will be structural factors, which examines the institutional and environmental contexts that could affect the ACR. Under structural factors, I further explore the subthemes of economic trends, technological advancements, and social and cultural changes.

These categories were partially informed by the work of Keegan et al. (2017), who conducted a systematic review of the research literature on the ACR over the past forty years. The study categorized the existing research into five overarching themes: conflict, client account management, cultural and international perspectives, contracts and agency theory, and co-creation. For the purposes of my research, I modified these categories to focus on the aforementioned themes of Conflict, Client Account Management and Structural Factors. These themes are the most relevant to my research on factors affecting the success of an ACR, and can best inform my understanding of how trade publications have interpreted these factors. First, I examine the theme of conflict.

Conflict. Agency-client relationships have often been regarded as problematic, and the high amount of research on conflict suggests that many scholars make the assumption that there is conflict in the agency-client relationship (Keegan et al., 2017). In

fact, the business relationships between advertising agencies and their clients have often

been compared to marriages. Hume (1979) observed, "If you judge by the accounts shifts

reported weekly, you'd think the divorce rate in the ad industry is accelerating as fast as it

seems to be with people."

Researchers have acknowledged the importance of understanding conflict in order

to manage more productive relationships (Bourland, 1993). Studies on conflict ask how

conflict can be avoided, minimized, or managed creatively (Keegan et al., 2017). Some of

these studies also overlap with the studies that examine the specific life-cycle stages of

the ACR. The main factors that have been found to cause conflict include agency

performance, such as lack of professionalism, and communication issues (Keegan et al.,

2017).

In one commonly cited study, Bourland (1993) uses the content analysis method

to evaluate how articles in *Public Relations Journal* have determined the sources of

conflict in firm-client relationships. Bourland examined the decade from 1980-1989,

finding four key recurring issues in articles: understanding the business, communication,

finances, and "chemistry." This study is unique because it utilizes the content analysis

method, where most other studies of agency-client relations have used interviews and

surveys. It also notes that the conflicts found mirror those of the advertising literature,

making it relevant to the topic of advertising agency-client relations. Bourland justifies

her purpose and methods with great detail and multiple reasons behind each decision,

such as the choice in time period and magazine. She also incorporates validity checks

using previous literature, and interviews with agency professionals. The study's

limitations include the fact that the study focused on *whether* the conflicts were covered,

and not *how* they were covered. It also suggests that the research be broadened to include more publications, a need that can be addressed by researching multiple advertising and PR trade publications.

Pincus, Acharya, and St. Michel (1991) use game theory as a framework for analyzing the conflicts between public relations agencies and clients. Game theory is used to explain the inability of agencies and clients to strategically manage the exchange of information. The study asks the question, "What are public relations agencies' and their clients' perceptions of the major issues of conflict in their professional relationship?" (p. 154). It answers this question by sampling 25 advertising agencies and their clients, and isolates findings on how agencies and clients perceive their conflicts. They identified three key sources of conflict: Implementation, audience, and costs; furthermore, they found that agencies were more accurate in predicting client's perceptions of conflict, than clients were at predicting agencies' perceptions. The implication is that agencies and clients must clarify their points of conflict with one another.

To gain a better understanding of client perceptions of conflict, other studies have focused on the client perspective of the ACR (Beard, 1996; Dowling, 1994). Beard (1996) investigates the complex nature of the client's role in the agency-client relationship. Clients are susceptible to "role stress," or role ambiguity and complexity. Role ambiguity refers to ambiguity in the parts that the client and the agency each play in the advertising process. Because previous studies had found that role ambiguity was a source of conflict in the agency-client relationship, Beard (1996) proposes a way to effectively manage the work role that clients must perform. The study examines how

defining the client's role can alleviate some of the dissatisfaction and pressure that the agency-client relationship has faced.

Similarly to the way Beard (1996) focuses on offering a specific solution—defining the client role—Beverland, Farrelly, and Woodhatch (2007) identify proactivity as one of the solutions for effectively managing conflict in a relationship. The study defines proactivity as agency proactivity within client relationships, or the initiative that the agency can take in "actively shaping the relationship to develop new opportunities" and anticipating the client's needs (p. 50). This study points out that while taking initiative has been found to increase client satisfaction, little research has been done to explore what it means to be proactive. The researchers conducted dyadic interviews of client and agency professionals, identifying the four characteristics of proactivity in agency-client relationships, and applying those characteristics to conflict management. While the study acknowledges the dual role that agency and client play in their partnership, it tellingly focuses on proactivity on part of the agency, rather than the client.

Client Account Management. Counterbalancing the theme of conflict, studies on client account management ask how agencies can better manage their relationships with their clients, focusing on best practices and recommendations for improvement. Client account management can be defined as the process and characteristics of the management of client accounts (Keegan et al., 2017). Account management involves building a relationship with clients and making sure their needs are met. The account manager essentially acts as the liaison between the client and the advertising agency. Account management activities can include communicating with clients on a day-to-day basis,

navigating through problems, setting timelines and budgets, and providing strategic counsel.

Studies on account management focus on the life-cycle stages of a relationship, and the factors affecting the relationship as it develops. In a seminal work, Wackman et al. (1986) proposes four stages of the agency-client life-cycle: pre-relationship, development, maintenance, and termination. Waller (2004) builds on this life-cycle and boils it down further into three main stages: (1) Agency evaluation/selection; (2) Relationship development; and (3) Agency review/termination.

Using this framework, I divide the literature on client account management into three stages of the agency-client relationship. The first is *agency selection*; some studies have focused on the reasons a client chooses an agency (Cagley, 1986; Davies & Prince, 2005; Fam & Waller, 1999). The second is *maintaining a relationship*; these studies attempt to identify the factors that lead to a positive or negative working relationship (Hotz et al., 1992; Lace, 1998; Pincus et al., 1991; Wackman, Salmon, & Salmon, 1986). Third, studies have examined the *termination of a relationship*, or the predictors of an agency switch (Bennett, 1999; Dowling, 1994; Doyle, Corstejens, & Michell, 1980; Henke, 1995).

Agency Selection Factors. Scholars have suggested that the criteria for selecting an advertising agency are different from the criteria for deciding whether to keep an advertising agency, making it important to focus specifically on different stages (Fam & Waller, 2008). Studies that focus on the selection stage identify the factors that lead to a client's decision to choose an agency for partnership (Cagley, 1986; Davies & Prince, 2005; Fam & Waller, 1999; Mathur & Mathur, 1996).

In a widely-cited work, Cagley (1986) compares the attitudes of clients and agencies to examine the factors that clients use to assess agencies. This study confirmed that the "people factor," or the attributes of personnel quality, integrity, personal compatibility, and mutual agreement, was a critical component of agency evaluation.

Fam and Waller (1999) identify eight selection variables that are important when an agency is attracting a client's business. Of these, the variables "interpersonal relations," "integrity and shared purpose," and "quality of account team" support Cagley's (1986) findings that the "people factor" is an important aspect of agency selection. Na, Marshall and Son (2004) further explored the importance of the "people factor" when examining how different firm types had different selection criteria. The study compared the evaluative criteria of market-driven versus non-market-driven firms in selecting an advertising agency, with the purpose of helping advertising agencies segment the right clients when looking for new business. The findings showed that market-oriented firms rated customer-orientation, reputation, and technical competence as the most important selection criteria, while non-market-oriented firms valued relationship compatibility, service quality, and management style most. This highlights how the "people factor" can be more important to some clients in their selection process than others.

Davies and Prince (2005) further examine selection factors by homing in on one specific factor: Trust. The researchers argue that when a client selects a new agency, they are investing considerable time and money in the process, and must be confident that they can trust an agency to meet expectations (Davies & Prince, 2005). The concept of trust is further explored in later studies focused on the Development and Maintenance stage,

discussed in the next section of this review (Fam & Waller, 2008; Wackman et al., 1986; Sekeley & Blakney, 1996; Michell & Sanders, 1995).

In an earlier study, Mathur and Mathur (1966) make a unique contribution by investigating the factor of financial performance in the decision to select an agency. The researchers examine whether choosing an agency results in increased value for the client, or a "wealth effect." They studied firms' announcements of establishing a new relationship, and examined the "wealth effect," a measure calculated as the change in the market value of the firm. The study found that the announcement of new agency-client relations resulted in significant negative wealth effect overall, but the effect could be positive in some situations, such as partnering with a more prestigious agency.

Development and maintenance. Most early studies on agency-client relations tend to focus on the agency selection and agency termination stages, rather than researching what goes in between: maintaining working relationships (LaBahn & Kohli, 1997). Later studies address this gap by examining agency-client relations in the development and maintenance stage of the life-cycle. Studies focused on relationship maintenance attempt to identify ways in which agencies and clients can increase client satisfaction and work toward a mutually beneficial working relationship.

One prominent theme in the literature on relationship development is work performance. Lace (1998) conducted a survey of how clients rate their agency performance. While many studies have had clients rate the importance of different factors in maintaining a relationship, this study measures actual experience in present relationships, and it was found that the main drivers of client satisfaction were involvement of agency management, and the quality of thinking. Murphy (1994) also

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examines work performance by comparing the judgment patterns of agencies and clients, contributing to the understanding of how agencies and clients evaluate work performance. Using social judgment theory, Murphy compares the criteria that agencies and client use to assess public relations plans to determine the extent to which agencies and clients understand their judgment processes. Clients were found to be more predictable decision makers; both were conscious about financial costs; and agencies had a bigger gap between what they believed their decision patterns were, and what they actually were.

LaBahn and Kohli (1997) surveyed 194 advertisers to show how agency and client behaviors influence the working relationship. They propose that there are three components of the agency-client relationship model: agency and client behaviors (such as agency assertiveness and client indecisiveness), agency performance (such as creative implementation), and client disposition (such as client trust and client commitment).

Adding to these findings on the importance of trust and understanding, much of the literature on relationship development involves maintaining trust (Davies & Prince, 2005; Fam & Waller, 2008; Wackman et al., 1986). Davies and Prince (2005) examine the different forms of trust, including cognition-based and value-based. Other studies explore how to earn trust (Sekeley & Blakney, 1996) and problems that arise from a lack of trust (Michell & Sanders, 1995).

Review/Termination. Research has suggested that businesses switch their agencies frequently (Bennett, 1999). This switch often happens after a period in which clients are dissatisfied. Another factor behind the increased volatility of relationships is the tenure of the Chief Marketing Officer (CMO). The CMO at a company is often the

person making the decisions behind advertising activities, and therefore the decision behind retaining or switching the company's advertising agency. When a CMO leaves, the agency partnership often leaves with them, and the average tenure of a CMO gets shorter almost every year (Vranica, 2017). Many studies investigate the causes for account switching in an attempt to understand how agencies and clients might prevent this frequent switching.

In one important study, Doyle, Corstjens and Michell (1980) identify the signals of vulnerability in the ACR. The researchers used a mail survey to obtain data from clients and advertising agencies in the U.K. and examine the reasons contributing to the breakdown of their relationship. The findings demonstrated differences in the way each side viewed their conflicts: Clients cited specific issues, the top being "dissatisfaction with performance," while agencies lacked clarity and self-criticism in their views. The article concluded with recommendations for advertising agencies, including vigilance to signals of vulnerability, regular review sessions, tactical adaptation to client organizational change, wholehearted commitment to new strategies, account audits, and post mortems. This article provides a foundation for later studies on the reasons for terminating a relationship and switching agencies.

Hotz, Ryans and Shanklin (1982) examine the behavioral aspects of the agency-client relationship that contribute to the decline of the partnership. This study uses the survey method, with a sample of executives in prominent advertising agencies and advertisers. It makes the effort to delineate overarching "generic" problems that potentially encompass other smaller issues. The study ultimately identified four factors that contribute to the decline of the agency-client relationship: "the personnel turnover

rate at the agency; the amount of assistance given to the agency by the advertiser; the effectiveness of the client organization in dealing with its advertising activities; and agreement between the advertiser and its agency about the agency's role," (p. 44).

To extend knowledge as to why clients decide to switch their agencies, Dowling (1994) surveyed 95 Australian companies that changed their agencies, and 61 clients that believed they would change their agency soon. At the time, the study was the first to focus on the client side of the issue. After examining the reasons that advertisers changed agencies, Dowling identified four main areas of conflict: (1) a creative issue – style of campaign; (2) a success/failure issue – campaign effectiveness; (3) a cost issue – cost of a campaign; and (4) an interpersonal issue – client service.

Building on the work of Doyle et al. (1980), Hotz et al. (1982), and Dowling (1994), Henke (1995) also attempts to identify the key predictors of an agency switch. The study used a longitudinal analysis designed to discover the discriminating factors critical to the decision to switch agencies. The method was a two-wave telephone survey of advertisers, chosen randomly from *Advertising Age*'s list of 200 companies with the highest ad expenditures. Henke conducted two interviews one year apart, the first to determine perceptions and the second to determine whether they had switched agencies. Henke compared the perceptions of non-switchers with switchers, identifying the variables that distinguished the switchers. Like many other studies examining the sources of conflict in agency-client relationships, it utilizes the questionnaire method.

Bennett (1999) examines the topic of account switching by analyzing the nonprofit business sector. Nonprofit organizations were surveyed on their reasons for dissatisfaction with their agencies. It was found that the main reasons were lack of

attention to the account, creative design, and failure to meet deadlines. The study of nonprofit organizations is a unique contribution, as it addresses a gap in research that focuses on the relationships between charities and advertising agencies.

Davies and Prince (2010) focus on the cost of switching agencies, which had not yet been researched in agency-client relationships. They develop a theory of advertising agency compensation, client evaluation and switching costs. "Switching costs" are operationalized as the time, effort, money and psychological burden involved in setting up a new relationship, and the lost benefits from ending the previous agency relationship. The study aimed to show how switching costs can affect client behavior in terms of how they compensate and evaluate their agency partners. Using a survey of North American clients, the study found that higher switching costs were a double-edged sword; clients were more likely to make an effort to maintain a relationship with high costs, but it also meant that client dissatisfaction and conflict could endure longer. This study makes a unique contribution to the literature on agency-client relationships because it examines the costs of switching, not just the reasons for switching. This helps justify the importance of maintaining a long-term relationship, since it describes how costly it is to end a relationship and switch to a new one. It also provides more insight into the factors behind the decision to switch agencies.

Structural factors. The third overarching category of the agency-client literature examines structural factors, or the organizational and environmental factors that affect the success of an agency-client relationship (including economic trends and technological change). I included this category because most of the research on agency-client relationships focuses on firm incompetency and individual participants, ignoring and

perhaps even discounting the structural forces that impinge upon relationships (Keep, Hollander, & Dickinson, 1998). Many previous studies focus on improving current client-agency relationships, rather than exploring *how and why* the nature of those relationships has changed or investigating historical reasons for those changes. This isn't to say that it's not valuable to understand how individual practitioners contribute to the success of an agency-client partnership. However, analysis on the individual level should not come at the expense of analysis on the institutional level. Although the existing research on environmental factors affecting agency-client relations is relatively limited, I still explored this knowledge base to ensure my analysis accounts for the structural factors behind agency-client relationship issues.

The major theme that emerged in the structural explanations of agency-client issues is the increasing complexity of the agency-client relationship. As the agency evolved over time, the services that agencies were expected to offer grew more and more complicated, leading to undefined roles, new performance expectations, and fragmented business. While the first advertising agents started by selling space in newspapers, an advertising agency today is typically a "full-service" agency offering a variety of services from market analysis, to packaging design, to public relations services (Miracle, 1977). Client service is a defining characteristic of the agency-client relationship, and it is reasonable to assume that changes in the nature of those services could have an important impact on agency-client conflicts. Indeed, new role expectations and performance issues have been cited as sources of conflict in agency-client relationships (Beard, 1996). Most studies attributed this complexity to economic trends, technological advancements, and social and cultural changes.

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Economic trends. Academics and practitioners alike often point to economic trends as an explanation for changes in agency-client partnerships. Miracle (1977) describes economic factors as one of the four main historical forces shaping the agency-client relationship. He argues that because the nature of advertising changes in response to changing economic conditions, the mix of services that agencies offer also changes.

Technological advancements. Technology has also frequently been used to explain the changes in agency services over time. Many recent studies focus on the rise of the Internet as an influential force, while historical papers emphasize the radio and the television as major influences (Durkin & Lawlor, 2001; Keep et al., 1998; Miracle, 1977). "It is our contention that technology has always been the skeleton around which advertising was formed," (Rust & Oliver, 1994, p. 72).

Miracle (1977) makes the argument that the radio and television not only created the need for new types of advertising, but it also created the need for market research. Now that media could reach audiences on a national scale, more intelligence on the consumer and the market was necessary for developing effective campaigns. Agencies were now closer to their clients' management and marketing problems, and faced more requests for additional services (Miracle, 1977). Under this explanation, as new technology emerged, specialized services expanded, thus complicating the agency's role and heightening the complexity of the agency-client relationship.

Keep et al. (1998) build on this argument, citing the development of strong national television networks as a factor behind new flexibility in agency-client agreements. Client defections increased throughout the 1960s, and since the 1980s, advertising expenditures have decreased, as clients spend more money on areas like

public relations and sponsorships (Keep et al., 1998). The growth of electronic media presents new communication challenges, and this has affected dynamics of the agency-client relationship.

The argument that electronic media directly impacts the success of agency-client relationships is reinforced in agency-client literature between the early 1990s and 2000s. Rust and Oliver (1994) discuss the impact of the new media at the time, citing media fragmentation and interactive communications channels as new sources of pressure on advertising. They argue that these new media channels put more pressure on agencies to perform an integrated marketing communications role, since traditional mass media was becoming obsolete (Rust & Oliver, 1994). This further complicated the advertising agency's role in providing services and strategic counsel for clients.

Durkin and Lawlor (2001) expand on Rust and Oliver (1994) by discussing the rise of digital media and the strengths and opportunities affecting agency-client relationship dynamics. The article focuses on the impact of the Internet on agency-client relations by exploring the response of Irish advertising agencies, examining the degree to which agencies could provide website design and Internet advice. The study's findings suggest that the agencies studied could not yet provide sufficient expertise in Internet communications, which is consistent with the findings of earlier studies that the lack of digital competency is a common client complaint.

Social and cultural changes. By its very nature, advertising must respond to social attitudes. While social and cultural shifts may be more poignant in some decades than others, social changes have impacted the development of the agency-client relationship over time (Miracle, 1977).

Consumer behavior has played a powerful role in dictating the type of services that advertising agencies offer. During the 1950s and 1960s, there was a new emphasis on the role of the consumer, and agencies were now expected to offer more marketing service capabilities to clients (Miracle, 1977). Fox (1984) also argues that social changes affected agencies' service offerings, as the youth hippie movement of the 1960s intertwined with the creative nonconformity of the "creative revolution." Along with the technological advancements and economic trends across the development of the advertising agency, the emphasis on consumer insight has created new complications and performance demands for advertising agencies, impacting the nature of agency-client relationships.

THEORY

Framing theory has not yet been applied to the understanding of agency-client relations, and it offers a valuable way to explore how agency-client issues are constructed and interpreted. Framing is a critical aspect of constructing social reality, because "it helps shape the perspectives through which people see the world," (Hallahan, 2007, p. 207). Framing theory can be used to better understand the ways in which industry practitioners communicate within their own professional community to establish meaning for different phenomena (Bardhan, 2013). Motion and Leich (1996) argue that practitioners "strategically deploy texts in discursive struggles over sociocultural practices....to maintain or to transform these sociocultural practices and the values and attitudes which support them and which they embody,'' (p. 298). Thus, analyzing the frames in an advertising trade text can give insight into how advertising practitioners perceive issues in the agency-client relationship, and their values and attitudes about best practices. Using framing theory to analyze the discourse in *Advertising Age*, *Adweek* and PRWeek, I can investigate how agency-client issues have been conveyed in the advertising industry.

Defining frames and framing

Many scholars have pointed out the lack of a commonly shared definition or theoretical model of framing (Goffman, 1974; Scheufele, 1999; Entman, 1993). To remedy this, scholars have made the distinction between frames and framing, and delineated what it means to research frames. *Frames* have been defined as interpretive structures, through which individuals make sense of ambiguous events (Goffman, 1974).

Scheufele (1999) supports this definition, describing how media frames provide audiences with schema for interpreting events; individual frames are mental ideas that guide information processing. *Framing* can be defined as the act of constructing frames and managing meaning (Deetz, Tracy, & Simpson, 2000).

Entman (1993) provides one widely accepted definition of framing as selecting aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient. "Frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements," (p. 55). Entman (1993) proposes four functions of framing: *Problem definition*, which identifies what a causal agent is doing; *cause diagnosis*, which identifies the forces that are contributing to the problem; moral judgments, which evaluates the agents and their effects; and *suggesting remedies*, which offers solutions to the problem. We can apply these four functions to analyzing the media discourse on agency-client relationship management.

Scheufele (1999) expands on this definition by operationalizing media framing on the basis of social constructivism. Social constructivism is the idea that mass media set the frames of reference that readers use to interpret reality (Scheufele, 1999). Scheufele classifies previous approaches to framing research into two dimensions: The type of frame examined (media frames vs. audience frames), and the way frames are operationalized (independent variable vs. dependent variable). Scheufele then develops a process model of four key processes: Frame building, frame setting, individual processes, and a feedback loop. This widely cited article offers an approach to framing analysis that can be used in research on the ways in which agency-client relations have been interpreted in the media, specifically my analysis of the ways that trade publications have interpreted agency-client issues.

Framing in the media

Scholars have typically used framing analysis as an approach to news discourse and media studies (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Scheufele, 1999). Pan and Kosicki (1993) present framing analysis as a sociocognitive process, involving three groups: sources, journalists, and audience members, all operating under shared culture. They conceptualize news texts into four operationalizable dimensions to allow for empirical evidence: Syntactical (patterns of arranging words), script (orderly sequencing in predictable pattern), thematic (presence of hypotheses), and rhetorical (suggest how a text should be interpreted—metaphors, imagery, etc.). This conceptual framework can be applied to analyzing news texts, and Pan and Kosicki (1993) is often cited in later studies as a foundational step toward reaching an understanding of the news discourse process as a whole.

Hallahan (1999) builds on Entman (1993) and Pan and Kosicki (1993) to identify seven different models of framing, for the purpose of applying framing theory to the public relations field. These seven frames include: situations, attributes, choices, actions, issues, responsibility, and news. Story framing involves (a) selecting key themes and (b) using narrative techniques to support the theme. It's suggested that the central idea linking each of the frames is *contextualization*, or putting information into context (Hallahan, 1999).

Reporters do not just report on issues because they believe those issues are important; they often frame issues in a way that suggest valid interpretations of those issues (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). Media do not merely convey content-- they are not "common carriers of information," but rather play a substantial role in shaping public

opinion (Andsager, 2000, p. 578). While reporters may strive to be objective, frames will still emerge due to ongoing social debate and cultural influences, whether they are aware of it or not (Andsager, 2000). The producers of an article adopt frames that recommend their readers to act in a certain way, intentionally or unintentionally (Johnson and Sivek, 2009).

One particular area of literature on framing in the media falls into conflict framing. The conflict frame will be especially relevant to my study, since I focus on exploring how conflicts between agencies and clients are framed. In one important study, Valkenburg, Semetko and De Vreese (1999) examined types of frames and determined that the conflict frame "emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions" and "makes winning and losing the central concern," (p. 551). They describe how frames can influence reader's thoughts about news issues, and give an audience a direction "on how to conceive of a specific issue or event," (p. 567).

Scholars have continued to review the concept of framing in the media and define how framing can be studied in detail. Chong and Druckman (2007) examined how frames can affect public opinion. They argue that frames are chosen with an audience in mind and discuss how researchers can identify frames in communication. First, an issue is identified; second, the scholar must isolate a specific attitude about the issue; for example, attitudes about agency-client issues. Next, the researcher can identify an initial set of frames to create a coding scheme using the existing literature, which is why I examine the existing research on agency-client relationship factors. Finally, the researcher selects sources for analysis. In my own study, I have selected *Ad Age, Adweek,*

and PRWeek, three dominant professional trade media outlets in the advertising and PR industry.

Framing applied to professional media discourse

While no studies to date have specifically used framing analysis to analyze agency-client issues in the advertising trade media, some scholars have applied framing to analyze the discourse in professional media outlets, with useful implications for this study's focus on frames in trade outlets. Frames can be strong indicators of the ways in which professionals make sense of different issues. Through framing, a professional authority (such as a respected trade publication) determines the reality of those issues for readers. Thus, practitioner discourse offers a valuable opportunity to understand how voices of power and authority in an industry have interpreted the reality of issues for their readers. It's also important to consider that frames can be especially powerful when used for issues that are uncertain or ambiguous-- such as agency-client relationship issues. "We do not suggest that every subject is suitable for framing. However, to the extent that uncertainty or ambiguity mark a given subject, what is real and important is often what we say is real and important," (Fairhurst, 2005, p. 168).

Bardhan (2013) and Austin (2010) both use framing theory to study practitioner discourse, through qualitative analysis of public relations trade publications. Bardhan (2013) studied frames in *The PR Strategist*, a quarterly trade magazine targeted toward public relations professionals. Bardhan argues that "texts deployed by practitioners within their own interpretive community to establish certain meanings of phenomena (such as globalization) may also be seen as a form of espousing certain values and attitudes regarding these phenomena," (p. 398). This study illustrates that framing can be

used to analyze how issues are discursively presented in a trade media outlet. Similarly, Austin (2010) used framing theory to examine how gender and diversity issues have been framed in public relations professional media. Through a qualitative content analysis, the study examined modern public relations industry trade publications to understand how diversity issues were described.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Drawing on key concepts from agency-client relations and framing theory, I have developed a qualitative study that uses the textual analysis method to investigate ways in which advertising and PR trade outlets have framed issues in the agency-client relationship.

Research Questions

I asked the following research questions:

RQ1: What dominant frames emerge in the discourse on advertising agency-client relationship issues in *Ad Age*, *Adweek* and *PRWeek* between January 2015 and December 2017?

> *RQ1a:* What key themes do these frames reveal about the ways that the advertising and PR industry are conveying agency-client issues, including how they define issues, attribute causes, assign blame and prescribe solutions?

RQ2: What are the similarities and differences in each publication's interpretation of agency-client issues?

It's important to know how each publication's frames and themes interpret these problems because it could impact how readers—industry professionals—interpret problems. While audience effects are beyond the scope of my study, future research could build on my findings to investigate how the industry might be affected by the interpretations in trade outlets.

Textual Analysis Method

To identify and analyze the frames used, this study will use a qualitative textual analysis method. According to Fursich (2009), textual analysis is "generally a type of qualitative analysis that, beyond the manifest content of media, focuses on the underlying ideological and cultural assumptions of the text. In a text analysis, the text is understood as a complex set of discursive strategies that is situated in a special cultural context" (p. 240). Sometimes referred to as discourse analysis, the method allows the researcher to analyze patterns and assumptions of a media text (Fursich, 2009). Historically, text analysis has its roots in content analysis, which was primarily a quantitative method. However, text analysis can be qualitative; a qualitative approach involves going beyond simply coding the content, and investigates the language to understand and categorize how the content has similar meanings (Weber, 1990).

As an interpretive method, text analysis is the best approach for my study because it allows the researcher to analyze frames and compare different texts. By analyzing the rhetoric used in articles covering agency-client issues, a text analysis allows for me to closely study how those issues were framed. I can look for themes and draw conclusions from those themes, analyzing both the explicit and the inferred information (Creswell, 2009). Textual analysis is the method chosen in similar studies of framing in trade media publications, including a framing analysis of *The PR Strategist* (Bardhan, 2013).

To analyze themes, a qualitative text analysis uses a "systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns," (Hseih and Shannon, 2005). There are two different common approaches to this analysis. The first is inductive development, also referred to as conventional textual analysis, in which researchers creates codes based

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on their own interpretation of the texts rather than existing theory (Mayring, 2000). The second is deductive category application, or the directed approach, meaning that there is existing research about the topic that can determine the initial coding scheme (Hseih & Shannon, 2005). According to Hseih and Shannon (2005), the prior research can provide direction for an initial coding scheme, as the researcher can "begin by identifying key concepts or variables as coding categories," (p. 1281). The researcher can begin coding with the initial categories, identifying subcategories throughout the coding process. Any text not categorized into the initial coding scheme could be categorized into new codes.

Because there is existing research on agency-client relationship management, I have chosen the directed approach, as it allows me to operationalize the key concepts behind agency-client issues and understand systematically how those issues are expressed through framing, in relation to one another. This method is additionally appropriate for extending knowledge on existing research, which is one of the goals of this study. While the directed approach has its limitations, I will implement validity checks to address those limitations, which I discuss in detail in the validity section of my methodology.

Sample

This sample will draw content from three different trade publications in the advertising and PR industry: *Ad Age, Adweek,* and *PRWeek.* These outlets were chosen because they are popular and respected in the industry, as demonstrated by their circulation and demographics in Table 1. It's important to note that while I am examining print publications, these outlets all have an online presence with high digital readership, illustrating their relevance in the industry across multiple platforms. The articles shared in print also appear online. Additionally, circulation statistics do not reflect pass-along

readership; magazines are often shared with multiple readers, and these numbers are not measured, meaning the number of readers is often even higher than the reported circulation rate.

These outlets were also chosen because they cater to professionals in the advertising and PR industry, with high percentages of C-suite executives and managerial-level professionals in the audience. In *Adweek* and *PRWeek*, there is a higher percentage of agency-side readers than client-side readers, while *Ad Age* has more client-side readers than agency, which has interesting implications for the study that I discuss later.

Table 1. Circulation rates and audience demographics per publication.

Outlet	Circulation	C-suite	Agency	In-house
Adweek	150,000	34%	51%	30%
Ad Age	58,188	20%	29%	47%
PRWeek	8,500	7%	47%	38%

Adweek. Of all the advertising industry trade outlets, including *The Drum*, *Campaign*, and *Ad Age* among others, *Adweek* has the highest readership (Adweek, 2018). It also has the highest percentage of readers who are C-suite executives. Because it is published weekly, it has timely information, revealing the real-time thoughts and attitudes of industry professionals during industry changes. It typically covers current events, industry trends, best practices, opinion columns and profiles of advertising agencies and executives.

Ad Age. Previously known as *Advertising Age*, *Ad Age* is a prominent brand that also caters to advertising professionals on both the agency and client sides. However, in contrast with *Adweek*, *Ad Age* has a higher percentage of readers on the client side. It's also a highly trusted and respected brand in the industry. According to the *Ad Age* media kit for 2018, marketers (clients) are 80% more likely to turn to *Ad Age* than any other media brand (Ad Age, 2018). *Ad Age* covers breaking news, industry trends, and marketing strategies.

PRWeek. PRWeek caters to the PR community, delivering coverage to an audience of high-level PR executives. According to the PRWeek 2018 media kit, 50% of its readers are at the Director level or above, 20% are a VP, SVP or EVP, and 7% are in the C-suite (PRWeek, 2018). I selected this outlet to represent the trade publications in the PR industry, since it's the most widely read PR trade publication. Like *Ad Age* and *Adweek*, *PRWeek* typically covers news, best practices, trending topics and profile stories of agencies and executives. While PRWeek appears to have fewer print subscribers in comparison with Adweek and Ad Age, it's a prominent publication with an online viewership of 95,000 average monthly online visitors (PRWeek, 2018).

Time frame. After examining the content of each publication over the past five years, I identified a time frame that would capture the best picture of agency-client relationship coverage. I selected the three-year period of January 2015-December 2017 for several reasons. First, this time period covers a gap in the existing research. I selected this time frame because it addresses the gap in agency-client research over the past several years. The advertising industry has seen developments in the past several years that might affect agency-client issues, including technology shifts, the introduction of

programmatic advertising—the automated purchase of advertising space—and changing agency structures, among numerous other things. One particular point of contention involves the rise of the compensation model of agencies receiving a percentage of media buys, which I will describe in more detail in my discussion of findings (Finneran, 2016).

Secondly, this is the time period immediately before and after an unprecedented wave of agency reviews. Starting in approximately June 2015, dozens of the world's largest advertisers, including Coca-Cola, L'Oreal, Unilever and 21st Century Fox, put their media accounts on review (Coffee, 2017). The collective business was worth more than $8 billion. This frenzy of agency reviews has been dubbed "Mediapalooza," and the collective business was worth more than $8 billion. Agencies were scrambling to pitch the major clients that put their business into review. One *Ad Age* article referred to the "post-Mediapalooza world" as a time of frenetic new-business pitching activity (Graham, 2017). The content in articles published around Mediapalooza offer rich data, as they contain analysis of agency-client issues in a perceived period of disruption in client relationships.

After closely reading each publication over the time frame and counting the number of articles present that meet my criteria (described in detail under data collection), I verified that this time frame would yield sufficient data.

Procedure

Below I have outlined my procedure for data collection, measurement and analysis.

Data Collection. I selected articles that focus on agency-client issues as the main topic. All issues between January 2015 and December 2017 were individually scanned

for articles that deal with the topic of agency-client relationship issues (Bardhan, 2013). Articles that briefly mention agency-client issues, but do not make them a main focus of the story, were omitted from the sample. Articles that report account reviews (when a client considers changing agencies) but do not analyze the cause for review in depth will also be excluded; the trade media routinely reports reviews in brief, without further analysis. Although a textual analysis can include more than words, such as images, this study only considered the text in the articles, not the presentation or layout of the articles. This analysis also solely focused on media frames, rather than audience frames, as audience frames are beyond the scope of the study. However, it could be a valuable direction for future research.

While each publication has both print and online editions, I chose to use the print issues because all three publications are available in print over the specified time frame. Additionally, the print issues allowed me to access the entire publication, giving me the best understanding of how an article was situated in its full, original context.

A textual analysis requires an initial "deep soak" into the reading material, followed by multiple close readings of each text (Lester & Raman, 1999). I began by immersing myself into each issue of *Ad Age*, *Adweek* and *PRWeek* between January 2015 and December 2017. Next, I selected articles for analysis. Then I closely read each individual article multiple times to examine for recurring themes, frames and rhetorical strategies. After identifying frames, I analyzed those frames for themes and compared similarities and differences across the three publications using a constant-comparison approach (Creswell, 2003).

Measurement and Analysis. After reviewing the literature and theory, I devised an initial coding scheme for analyzing the articles (see Appendix). In order to operationalize the concepts behind framing and agency-client relations, I used the deductive approach to derive my coding scheme from the existing theory and literature (Hseih & Shannon 2015). To develop my coding protocol, I followed Van Gorp (2007) as well as Chong and Druckman (2007). According to Van Gorp (2007), a researcher can identify initial frames by 'inductively drawing up an inventory of frames on the basis of media content, public discourse, and a literature review,'' (p. 72).

To examine the agency-client issue factors covered, I created initial categories based on the existing research on agency-client relationship issues. These helped identify any patterns, themes and differences in the types of factors that appear in articles over the time studied. I created the following categories, originally proposed by Wackman, Salmon and Salmon (1986): (1) Work Product; (2) Work Patterns; (3) Structural Factors; and (4) Relationship Factors. I also created categories for agency-client relationship life-cycle stages: (1) Agency Selection, (2) Maintenance, and (3) Review/Termination. I then coded each article for the categories that the agency-client coverage falls into; for example, an article advising agencies to improve their communication with clients would be coded as Relationship Factors, in the Maintenance life-cycle stage.

Next, to systematically examine how *Ad Age*, *Adweek* and *PRWeek* frame these issues, I used established framing categories that were utilized in previous studies in the public relations industry as a guide for analysis (Knight, 1999). This study employed the use of Entman's (1993) four framing definitions: Define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. "In framing analysis, then, practitioners

would seek to discover how various frames define problems, diagnose causes, suggest remedies and evaluate agents of change. In the process, they would pay close attention to the stories and linguistic devices employed to convey those ideas," (Knight, 1999, p. 389).

After frame identification, I coded for discursive strategies employed to convey the frames, by paying attention to the language tools used. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) highlight five key language tools for framing: (1) Metaphor, to frame a conceptual idea by comparing it to something else; (2) Stories, to frame a topic via narrative; (3) Slogan, jargon, catchphrase; (4) Contrast; and (5) Spin, to present a concept in a way that conveys a positive or negative value judgment. I included these techniques in my coding scheme, to capture the discursive strategies used to frame agency-client issues. This helped me gain an in-depth understanding of how the different articles conveyed each frame.

The directed approach to textual analysis has an important limitation to consider, in that analysis can be limited to categories that are already known beforehand (Matthes & Kohring, 2008). To address this limitation, I used manual coding to identify frames rather than electronic coding, because this "allows greater flexibility to discover new frames that were not identified in the initial coding scheme," (Chong & Druckman, 2007). After determining the extent to which the initial frames are present in the media texts, I then noted frames outside my initial coding scheme (Van Gorp, 2007). As I analyzed the articles, I continued adding any additional themes that I uncovered, until I reached data saturation and all themes were expressed (Bunce, Guest, & Johnson, 2006).

Pilot study. To test my coding scheme, I did a trial run on three articles from each publication within the specified time frame of the study. The coding scheme was found to

be sufficient for uncovering the frames and text strategies that were expressed, as well as analyzing how those frames contributed to the ways that agency-client issues were conveyed to the audience.

Validity

I have incorporated multiple validity checks into my study design, with strategies that specifically address the qualitative textual analysis method.

Construct validity. Construct validity refers to making sure the operationalizations of a concept are measuring that concept in accordance with theory (Brown, 1996). I addressed this by deriving my coding scheme from theoretical definitions, in order to measure the concept of framing agency-client issues. It has been acknowledged that frames can be difficult to measure, since a frame is an abstract variable and it may not be clear "which elements should be present in an article or news story to signify the existence of a frame" (Matthes & Kohrin, 2008, p. 263). To remedy this, I identify the elements that should be present, following Entman (1993) and Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) to devise the categories in my coding scheme.

Contextualization. Another threat to validity in a textual analysis is that there are different possible interpretations of a text (Lacity & Janson, 1994). McKee (2003) argues that in order make an educated guess at the likely interpretation, we must look for evidence of reasonable interpretations. We can find that evidence by understanding the institutional circumstances in which that text was produced, connecting media content with the circumstances of production (Fursich, 2009). This is one of the primary reasons I examined print articles, since I could access the full issue in which the articles were published. In my coding scheme, I created a section for describing the context.

Low-inference descriptors. To illustrate data as closely as possible, I provide direct quotations from the texts in my coding scheme and the final discussion of my findings (Johnson, 1997).

Reflexivity. Reflexivity involves self-awareness and critical self-reflection on potential researcher biases (Johnson, 1997). After working both on the client side and the agency side in public relations, I have personally observed the issues between clients and agencies. It is important to acknowledge that my personal experience in the industry may affect my interpretations; it gives me the advantage of understanding the industry from an "insider" perspective, but it can also bias my feelings toward the conflicts in agency-client relations. To address reflexivity, I included a section for self-reflective researcher notes in my coding scheme.

FINDINGS

A total of 57 articles were analyzed for this study. *Ad Age* had the most agency-client relationship coverage over the time period studied, at 35 articles. *Adweek* had 16 articles and *PRWeek* had just six.

In my discussion of findings, I will first describe important events in the news cycle in the advertising and PR industry over the period studied, to give the context and historical backdrop underlying the agency-client issues covered. Next, I'll provide an overview of the dominant frames and themes that appeared. Then I'll present the differences I found when comparing each of the publications.

News Cycle of Agency-Client Issues, 2015-2017

The advertising industry saw developments over January 2015 through December 2017 that impacted the issues that the trade publications covered. There were several major developments driving news coverage of agency-client issues, which I will outline in detail below.

The Rebate Debate. In March 2015, the former CEO of MediaCom (one of the world's largest media agency networks), Jon Mandel, gave a controversial speech at the Association of National Advertisers Media Leadership Conference about corruption in media planning (Neff, 2015). He accused agencies of a practice called media rebates or "kickbacks." Undisclosed media rebates are best described as an arrangement in which agencies pocket hidden revenue from media deals, without disclosing it to their clients. For instance, an agency might receive a discount when purchasing media for a client, and instead of passing that discount back to the client, the agency would keep it. The

assumption is that clients look the other way, in order to cut down on agency fees, while allowing the practice as a way of letting agencies get more compensation. Mandel, who was essentially the whistleblower, described this practice in his speech, and he said that "I personally believe we're living through the least transparent time for the media industry in our careers" (Neff, 2015). Bill Duggan, group exec VP at the ANA, said "I really do believe that we're in an era of the least transparency between media agency and client than any of us have ever encountered, for reasons like programmatic and trading desks," (Bruell, 2015). This speech triggered an investigation into media transparency in the industry, and the ANA launched a review to examine whether media rebates and bonuses were being pocketed without disclosure. All three publications covered this issue, and it greatly impacted the coverage of agency-client relations.

   Mediapalooza. Following the rebate debate, 2015 saw a wave of media reviews- that is, when a client is choosing a new agency- that was described as "unprecedented" in all three of the publications analyzed. The sequence of media reviews happened over a period of about six months, with global accounts worth a total of $17.3 billion. Articles frequently cited the rebate debate as the trigger behind the reviews; one article reported "An unprecedented number of major media agency accounts have gone up for review since much of the industry became aware of practices related to undisclosed agency compensation," (Bruell, 2015). The term "Mediapalooza" was first used by author Alexandra Bruell in *Ad Age,* in an article that appeared in the May 11, 2015 issue called "Media Reviews Multiply" (Bruell, 2015). All three publications covered Mediapalooza in detail, and often used the event as a news hook for discussing problems in the agency-client relationship.

Technology. Another key development throughout 2015-2017 was the increasing prevalence of marketing technology, or "martech," including programmatic advertising (Slefo, 2017). While there wasn't one single event related to technology that affected agency-client coverage, technology was a pervasive theme that reflected the historical changes in media around the 2015-2017 timeframe that was studied. As I will detail later, technology made a big impact on the frames and themes that emerged in agency-client issue coverage.

Major Account Changes. Advertising and PR trade publications frequently report account changes, especially reviews and terminations, and bigger account changes often drove media coverage of agency-client issues. For instance, Chick-Fil-A terminated its longstanding partnership with The Richards Group, resulting in a cover story and feature in *Ad Age* describing the account loss and ACR issues that could have contributed to that loss (Wohl, 2016).

RQ1: Dominant Frames

After identifying frames, I counted the number of times each frame appeared in each publication. Table 2 shows the top five frames, by publication.

Table 2. Dominant frames, by publication studied.

Frames	Ad Age	Adweek	PRWeek	Total
Technology complicates the ACR	18	7	3	28

Broken agency model	16	7	4	27
Nostalgia for a simpler past	7	4	0	11
Unprecedented change	6	1	1	8
The ACR as a romantic relationship	1	2	1	4

Technology complicates the ACR. The most dominant frame was "technology complicates the ACR." Stories used this frame to convey agency-client issues as resulting from changes in technology, which often placed the blame on this outside factor rather than either the agency or the client. This frame contributed to the theme that technology creates complexity, which in turn creates a more complex ACR, which then causes confusion and chaos and thus conflict. An *Ad Age* article summarized it this way: "Media reviews have become more complicated because media itself has," (Graham, 2017). Most articles focused on the practice of media buying when describing the impact of technological change- *Ad Age* wrote, ""In a market dominated by TV buys and commission-based compensation agreements, that arrangement made sense. Today, agency-client relationships are not quite so simple, and neither is the way in which media is bought." (Bruell, 2016).

This frame of technology complicating the ACR is reflected repeatedly throughout advertising agency-client relationship literature over the past five decades. As Miracle (1977) described, the emergence of new technology means the expansion of advertising services, which complicates the agency's role. Just as Miracle (1977) made this argument for radio and television, and Durkin and Lawlor (2001) did for the rise of the Internet, trade publications between 2015 and 2017 continued to be making that same argument for marketing technology. Rust and Oliver (1994) said that "It is our contention that technology has always been the skeleton around which advertising was formed," (p. 72). *Ad Age*, *Adweek* and *PRWeek* seemed to continue this trend, because in their coverage of agency-client issues, they attributed issues to the complications caused by technology.

This was especially apparent in coverage of Mediapalooza; the onslaught of media reviews provided an opportunity for publications to assign a cause to issues in the ACR, and the cause was often technology. Andrew McMains wrote in *Adweek*, "This leads to the strategic reason behind review fever: Marketers don't know if they have best-in-class media players in areas like mobile and social marketing simply because the disciplines are new." (2015) This article argues that technology is to blame for the media reviews, because it causes clients to question whether they have the right agency partner- a common theme across coverage, especially in coverage of the ANA rebate debate news.

As publications covered the story of the rebate debate, they argued that the rise of programmatic advertising and automated media buying created more confusion and doubt. One *Ad Age* article called it a "perfect storm," asserting that, "Not only is the relationship between clients and agencies at a low level of trust and confidence, and not

only are digital media buys (where marketers are putting an increasing share of their budgets) fraught with phony clicks and ad blocking, but now consumer buying behavior is changing dramatically and marketers aren't even sure who their best customers are anymore," (Crain, 2015).

Broken agency model. Another prominent frame that emerged was the "broken agency model." Articles refer to the traditional business partnership as "broken," meaning it is no longer effective in today's business environment. Clients have changing needs, due to a variety of things-- more fragmented media options, changing consumer behaviors, and as highlighted above, changes in technology. Authors that used this frame pointed out that agencies need to adapt their business models and structures to the changes in the marketing environment or suffer the consequences in the ACR. The frame revealed an "adapt or die" mindset across agency-client coverage: Businesses needed to evolve their models or lose to other agencies that were able to adapt.

In a feature story called "Agency of the Future," *Ad Age* used an extended "Game of Thrones" metaphor to describe the issue of agency structures as a war: "Winter is coming. The old families are preparing their troops and poring over strategies in a race to secure their territory before it is invaded by new and unfamiliar forces. The best option might be to bundle up (again) and forge alliances between disciplines, but with internal politics and prevailing trends, that might be hard to pull off in a timely fashion-- and impossible to do without sacrificing entire regiments or even divisions," (Bruell, 2016).

Nostalgia for the past. Along with the "broken agency model" frame often came a "nostalgia" frame. Past agency-client relations were frequently described through the frame of nostalgia; whether in references from the traditional agency model, or the

advertising industry as a whole. This tone was usually more negative, making it seem like the past advertising business was more easy and straightforward, and that agencies today have to have a "keep up or get left behind" mentality. Some articles used the phrase "Once upon a time" to paint a picture of advertising in the past-- for example, *Adweek* started an article with, "Once upon a time, not too long ago, being an adman or woman was a pretty sweet gig," (Gottfried, 2015).

Under the nostalgia frame, the ACR of the past is seen as a positive, close relationship. In an article detailing the power structures of the ACR called "Putting the Notion of Power in Perspective" one author wrote, "There is power in partnership, and I sometimes lament the passing of the kind of partnerships we once enjoyed when CEOs of agencies had close, top-to-top relationships with their client counterparts," (Reinhard, 2016). Wrote Karen Kaplan in *Adweek*, "Ten years ago, the exclusive agency/brand relationship was the norm," (2016). This frame reveals the assumption that the ACR used to be a close relationship, and that agencies today have lost their connection with top executives at the client.

One rhetorical strategy that stood out with the nostalgia frame was the use of myths and legends. Advertising has its legends, from famous classic ads to historical figures, and trade publications frequently use these legends to romanticize the past and make their points. Articles often cites past advertising men; one *Adweek* story credits the president of the Minnesota Canning Company's relationship with Leo Burnett for the success of the Jolly Green Giant (Reinhard, 2016). Another *Adweek* article described the past as "the days of smoky, three-martini lunches," (Coffee, 2017).

Unprecedented change. If "nostalgia" was the dominant frame used to frame past ACR issues, "unprecedented" was the frame for issues of the present. Using this frame, articles depicted ACR issues in the present as an anomaly. Framing things as "unprecedented" - from describing technological changes, to agency reviews - was incredibly common through a variety of topics, but the frame was most prominently seen in articles about media reviews, particularly Mediapalooza.

The phrase "unprecedented wave of media reviews" appeared over and over, repeating itself in each publication. Alexandra Bruell wrote in *Ad Age*, "There has been an unprecedented number of top-spending marketers prepping and conducting media reviews, with giants like Coca-Cola, Unilever and L'Oreal rethinking how, and where, to spend their media dollars," (2015). In a later article focused on the media rebate (titled "Unprecedented Wave of Media Reviews Partly Driven by Rebate Debate"), Bruell wrote, "An unprecedented number of major media agency accounts have gone up for review since much of the industry became aware of practices related to undisclosed agency compensation," (2015). An *Adweek* article stated, "20 marketers are conducting agency searches, leading agencies to feel stretched because they are trying to pitch an unprecedented amount of new business while still paying attention to existing accounts," (McMains, 2015).

In a *PRWeek* cover story called "Is the Agency Model Broken?", Rose Gordon Sala wrote, "Facing unprecedented pressures, marketers' efforts to evolve will shake the foundation of the agency-client relationship. As an avalanche of reviews crashed down on the marcoms sector this year, agencies were once again forced to revamp offerings for cost-conscious clients on the lookout for that perfect brand steward in an increasingly

complex multichannel world led by a distracted consumer," (2015). In another *Adweek* article reporting the media reviews, McMains wrote, "For agency CEOs, the pace of reviews is unprecedented and has their staffs scrambling between pitches and existing accounts," (2015). At the time of that article's publication, 20 major media reviews had reportedly launched in the previous seven months.

The ACR as a romantic relationship. All three publications frequently framed the ACR as a romantic relationship. When using this frame, stories often used the metaphor of a marriage or dating, even referencing online dating applications. One *PRWeek* article used this frame to convey the issue of clients frequently switching agencies, quoting an agency executive as a source: "Clients are becoming 'agency promiscuous' because there is a desperate search for the shiny new object. I don't fault them for this quest, but it sucks when I feel like our working life is more Tinder than happily ever after," (Sala, 2015). The same article also referenced a breakup: "Like any breakup, an agency review rarely falls into the "it's not you, it's me" category or vice versa. There's always something that's not working on both sides of the table."

An opinion article in *Adweek* called "Five Ways to Improve Client Chemistry" used the marriage metaphor to give advice: "It's a marriage, and marriages function best when they're healthy, respectful and collaborative," (Rosenberg, 2016). Another *Adweek* article used the frame to argue that long-term, successful relationships are the hardest because they're most similar to the work it takes to maintain a marriage: "It looks like advertising heaven, but it's not. This is actually the hardest relationship. There are disagreements and discussions, fights and frustration, crying and cursing. It's like a real

marriage. Not every day is great, but every day you make a conscious choice to stay together in the name of great work," (Ramos, 2017).

This frame was often used to convey the more personal factors associated with issues in the ACR, such as communication and trust, which I will discuss in the next section.

RQ1A: Key themes

Through the theoretical lens of Entman's (1993) four functions of framing (problem definition, cause diagnosis, moral evaluation and prescribed solution), I analyzed how these frames contributed to key themes, and what these themes illustrate about the ways in which the trade media portrays agency-client issues.

Complexity is often diagnosed as the cause of tension in the ACR. The theme of complexity resonated throughout the frames used, from the "technology complicates the ACR" frame, to "broken agency model," to the "nostalgia" frame. This is consistent with the themes found in previous agency-client literature, including Beard (1996) who found that clients are susceptible to "role stress," or role ambiguity and complexity. When this theme appeared, stories often described historic agency roles as simple and straightforward, with only one role or one objective (usually creating and buying a TV or print ad). Meanwhile, in the present, there are more options for media and more complex expectations from clients.

In *Ad Age* Maureen Morrison wrote, "The thing that has changed is, historically, clients approached an agency with a specific problem they wanted to solve. But it's really hard for a client now. There are so many opportunities..." (2016). Bruell wrote, "Historically, the business was straightforward. Marketers hired agencies to create 30-

second spots, place them on TV and in magazines and create and send direct mail to addresses stored in massive databases. But clients' needs have changed," (2016).

Of all the articles analyzed, few approached complexity in a positive way. Most diagnosed complexity as the source of problems for the ACR, without offering optimism; articles describe complexity as more "opportunities" for the client, but more headaches for the agency. This also had implications for how trade media assigned blame for ACR issues, detailed below.

Blame is assigned differently, depending on the type of issue. The frames revealed a theme in the way media outlets attributed blame: If the issue was believed to be a structural, broader industry issue (such as technology or business model), the agency was blamed. If the issue was more personal and individual-focused (such as trust and communication), the blame went to both.

In articles that used the "broken agency model," and "technology complicates the ACR" frame, the responsibility was often placed on the agency rather than the client. For example, the PRWeek story "Is the Agency Model Broken?" placed blame on the agency: "More reviews and consolidation are going to continue because of the underlying theme of agencies not meeting the CMO's needs," (Sala, 2015). Another article used Procter & Gamble (P&G) as an example of an unhappy client, placing the blame on agencies for the issue of complexity: "P&G, for one, doesn't seem impressed. The thousands and thousands of words being spewed in the press and on analyst calls and at industry conferences about the unbearable weight of complexity seems to strike the world's biggest marketer as the equivalent of, 'the dog ate my homework,'" (Wheaton, 2016).

However, when using the "ACR as romantic relationship" frame, stories placed the moral responsibility on both the agency and client. For example, an article in *Ad Age* called "Agency-Client Therapy" stated, "Marketers have to be honest with themselves and understand that they are usually part of whatever problem they're having with an agency. On the other side, agencies should try to imagine a client's three-year horizon, rather than just looking at immediate solutions," (Stein, 2017).

Rarely did the blame go to the client, with the exception usually being financial issues-- articles frequently stated that clients were cutting costs too much and not compensating agencies enough, and the creative work was suffering because of it.

View that issues are unique to the present. The dominant frames revealed that the advertising and PR industry convey agency-client issues as a challenge that is unique to the present. This was most clear in the "unprecedented" frame. Additionally, by framing agency-client issues through nostalgia for the past and technology complicating the ACR, coverage furthered the idea that challenges in the ACR are endemic to our present circumstances. One *Ad Age* article included a quote from Doug Ray, president of media agency Carat, describing challenges of the present: "It seems that part of the motivation is the dramatic changes that have occurred over the past several years…Clients and agencies are facing challenges they have never faced before: viewability, ad fraud, programmatic trading, transparency and social media. An agency now must be an expert in technology, data and content planning,'" (Bruell, 2015). Another article, in its own acknowledgement of all the dramatic coverage surrounding technological change, presented this laundry list: "Media fragmentation, digital disruption, warp-speed technological advances, big data, pricing pressures,

programmatic, yada-yada, etc., so forth and so on. You know the spiel. The future is a scary place and it just might be run by robots," (Wheaton, 2016). Writers themselves recognized how often the industry perceived issues as an anomaly of the present, and something to be feared and dramatized.

It's important to note that what makes something newsworthy is often that it's outside the norm, which may be why agency-client issues are frequently portrayed as an abnormality in the media. Trade media outlets often highlight news events and frame ACR issues around those current events, rather than focusing on identifying other causes of an issue. For instance, academic researchers like Dowling (1994) found that campaign effectiveness was often a reason that clients switched agencies. However, trade media articles do not often cite this as a reason for switching; instead the focus is on agencies who had successful campaigns and still got the axe, such as the Richards Group. The Richards Group created the popular "Eat More Chikin" campaign for Chick-Fil-A, with iconic cows that still appear on billboards nationwide (Wohl, 2016). Ad Age ran an entire cover story on The Richards Group's loss and used it as a news hook to discuss the issue of the unexpected termination of a longstanding account.

Transparency and trust were the most recommended solutions, but articles often failed to prescribe specific solutions. Another prevalent theme across the articles was that the agency-client relationship needs better trust and better transparency. The coverage of the ANA rebate debate could have contributed to this theme, as trust and transparency were at the heart of the debate. Transparency was such a common theme in media coverage over the time period studied that one *Ad Age* writer referred to it as the "t-word" (Crain, 2015).

Trust was a key factor associated with the "technology complicates the ACR" frame; for instance, *PRWeek* quoted a source saying technology was the cause of ACR issues because it resulted in lack of trust: "Obviously media has taken the biggest hit, and a lot of it is impacted by programmatic. It's a lack of trust and increase of audits," (Sala, 2015).

Beyond the technology frame, trust and transparency also prevailed across the other dominant frames. An *Adweek* article that used the "broken agency model" frame to describe issues in agency organization stated that "Ultimately the best, most effective work requires collaboration and trust. But many agency processes work against that," (Coffee, 2017). A different *Adweek* article that focused solely on relationship factors wrote, "Trust is especially important. Almost all clients and agencies (98 percent, in fact) believe that a relationship based on trust leads to better work," (Ramos, 2017). *Ad Age* said, ""Scratch the surface of any long-term agency-client relationship and you'll find trust. Trust in people and their integrity. Trust that the ideas are great," (Stock, 2015).

While transparency and trust did appear as solutions, an overwhelming number of articles did not offer any specific solutions at all. I will describe the implications of this finding in more detail in my conclusion.

RQ2: Differences Across Publications

I will now discuss the differences I saw when comparing each publication. As mentioned in my procedure, I took a comparative approach. This is where I took especially careful note of rhetorical devices employed in each text, because this is where the outlets differed most: Not in the frames and themes expressed, but rather their

particular portrayals of those frames and themes. Surprisingly, all three publications shared dominant frames, even though they varied in content, audience and format.

Ad Age. Ad Age had the most coverage of agency-client issues over the period studied. Of the three publications studied, Ad Age was the most critical of agencies, using the harshest tones to convey its messages out of the three publications. For example, one article describing Mediapalooza said that "agencies are on a path to self-destruction" and that they needed to adapt in order to have better agency-client relations; Rance Crain wrote, "You'd think agencies would have figured out this basic (and rather simplistic) message for themselves by now," (2015).

Ad Age contained the most in-depth analysis of ACR issues, relying more on sources and statistics than *Adweek* did. When describing the need for agencies to adapt their business models, for example, an *Ad Age* article used statistics from a credible analyst firm, Forrester: "Half of marketers aren't satisfied with their lead agency, according to a Forrester report, and 60% are open to consultancies like Deloitte and Accenture." (Slefo, 2017)

Adweek. *Adweek* is another popular trade publication in advertising, but its audience differs from *Ad Age*'s, in that there are more agency-side professionals than there are client-side professionals that subscribe to the magazine. This difference was reflected in the way articles covered agency-client issues.

Adweek typically had articles that were shorter in length, and the tone was often more opinionated- *Adweek* contained more columns and editorials based on one writer, while *Ad Age*'s writers used more sources in their stories. *Adweek* also featured the most stories that specifically focused on solving agency-client relationship issues, often in the

form of a "listicle" (an article in the form of a list). These articles had headlines like "The 4 Types of Agency-Client Relationships," "Five Ways to Improve Client Chemistry," and "Four Things AORs Can Do to Survive."

PRWeek. While PRWeek had the smallest sample size and thus yielded the least data, it still had rich coverage of agency-client issues that reflected the themes found in the other two publications. The coverage tended to consist of feature-length articles rather than breaking news events or op/eds. It's also important to note that PRWeek is shorter in length.

This could likely be due to the fact that public relations, as a profession, may not be as greatly impacted by the news issues affecting the advertising industry, including the rise of marketing technology. While structural changes certainly affect the PR industry on a larger scale, such as agency structures, it's possible that they don't have as big of an impact on day-to-day issues affecting agency-client relations, since the work product is different. While advertising often relies on media buying—a work product greatly affected by technology changes—public relations usually focuses more on traditional, earned media coverage, which means PR practitioners would have been less concerned about the ANA rebate debate and other issues associated with paid media. Thus, the key drivers of media coverage in the advertising trade publications, such as the rebate debate, were not reflected in the PR industry over the time period studied. Future research could yield different data by studying different time periods.

CONCLUSION

By analyzing how advertising and PR trade publications have framed agency-client issues over 2015-2017, I hope to have contributed to both practical and scholarly knowledge on agency-client relationships. This study has important implications both for the professional advertising and PR industry, and for agency-client relationship research. It also has limitations, which can be addressed through future studies.

Implications for professional industry

The dominant frames and key themes all underscore one common, underlying problem inherent to all agency-client relationships: Uncertainty. At the risk of using the "ACR as romantic relationship" frame in my own thesis, I've found that just as in a romantic relationship, there is no magic formula or love potion that will solve an agency-client relationship. But there are factors that we can make a good guess at, from personal factors like trust, to external factors like technological advancements. These factors appeared in previous studies on the ACR, and they also appeared in my study of trade publications.

Even as the reporters attempted to pinpoint the causes of agency-client issues, they often shied away from prescribing solutions. From a personal perspective as a researcher who is also an industry practitioner, it was unsettling to see how many articles did not confidently prescribe specific solutions to the issues that they described. In my coding notes, I had a column for "Solutions" and a recurring note that I made in this column was "Did not offer solutions." As an industry, this could be an area where the

trade media and industry professionals themselves can do a better job in offering

solutions and guidance, even if they are only making educated guesses.

Portraying industry change as dramatic and unprecedented could also have

particularly dangerous implications, because it creates a tone of panic and hopelessness.

While it is true that the industry has never seen the specific types of technology that we

now have, it is also very possible that the industry has seen the amount of transformation

and disruption that comes with technological change. Yet the stories in trade outlets often

assumed otherwise, potentially inciting fear and pessimism in audiences. Although this is

not an audience effects study, it would be interesting to see whether this type of coverage

does impact readers.

Implications for agency-client relationship research

This study expanded on the agency-client relationship literature by using a

methodology that had not been previously used, and it has important implications for

framing studies in ACR research. First, it provides insight into how media outlets have

interpreted issues, rather than professionals. While the survey and interview method

focused on practitioners, the text analysis method offers more perspective from reporters

and authors, who are often not directly involved in an ACR (with the exception of

opinion columnists, who were sometimes guest contributors and current practitioners).

This detachment may allow media outlets to be more open and critical, and a text analysis

draws back the curtain to reveal more of what the industry is thinking.

Limitations of the study

This study had several important limitations to consider, along with new

directions for future research. First, by nature of being qualitative, my analysis was

subject to my own individual interpretations. As an industry practitioner myself, my interpretations may have been influenced by my own experiences and feelings. As I coded the texts, I recorded my own personal reactions in my coding scheme, to reflect on how my own feelings may be affecting my interpretations. A different researcher reading these texts may come to different conclusions about what they find.

Secondly, this is one of the first studies in advertising and PR that focuses on a text analysis of trade publications, and to the best of my knowledge, this is the first that focuses specifically on agency-client issue coverage, and audience effects were beyond the scope of this particular study. Because this study does not explore audience effects, I can only speculate and suggest how the interpretations of the ACR in trade media outlets might impact readers.

Another limitation of this study is that the agency-client issues described in each publication typically reflected issues of larger agencies and clients, like Leo Burnett and Coca-Cola. Articles often described the plight of the big global agencies and chose sources from these agencies, leaving out the perspectives of mid-sized and smaller agencies and clients. It would be an interesting to see in a future study whether the agency-client issues and factors impacting those issues are framed differently in the smaller agency and client environment, and whether smaller agencies are covered in other trade publications or simply left out of the media cycle.

Along the same vein, reporter beats could have impacted the coverage of agency-client issues. While this study does not touch on agenda-setting theory, it's important to acknowledge that reporters selected certain issues to write about, based on their individual beats.

Finally, this study was also limited by its sample size. Only the period from 2015-2017 was examined, and future studies could examine more articles over a longer amount of time to uncover trends. A longitudinal study would be particularly valuable to investigate the use of the "unprecedented" frame, for example, to examine whether this frame recurs in other time periods.

Directions for future research

Due to the highly interpretive nature of this study, it would be beneficial to expand on this work with a quantitative content analysis of agency-client issue coverage in trade publications. The ways in which advertising and PR trade publications frame agency-client issues have revealed that the ACR is often seen as a troubled one, and because this is an emotionally charged issue, a quantitative analysis could balance the subjective, interpretative nature of a qualitative text analysis.

I have also mentioned throughout this paper that an audience effects study could be a valuable direction for future research, as an audience effects study could further examine the potential impact of agency-client issue coverage on readership. This would then offer insight into how industry professionals are interpreting these issues and applying them to their work. Agenda-setting theory would be another fascinating direction to explore, as mentioned earlier, as it might reveal more insight into why trade publications

Because this study only examined articles from 2015-2017, it would be particularly interesting to see a longitudinal analysis of cycles in agency-client issue coverage, since one of the themes I uncovered was the sentiment that ACR issues are

unique to the present, when further historical examination of media coverage may reveal

that this theme occurs throughout different periods in advertising and PR.

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APPENDIX

Initial Coding Scheme

CONTEXT Circumstances of publication	AGENCY-CLIENT ISSUE CATEGORIES Factors influencing agency-client relationship	FRAMING FUNCTIONS How those factors are framed	DISCURSIVE TECHNIQUES How the frames were communicated
• Author background • Historical trends • Contemporary events • Issue topic • Where it appears in the issue • Sources used	• Work Product • Work Patterns • Organizational Factors • Relationship Factors • Structural Factors Life-cycle stages: • Agency Selection • Maintenance • Review/Termination	• Problem definition • Causes • Moral judgments • Recommended solutions	• Metaphors • Stories • Slogan, Jargon, Catchphrases • Contrast • Spin