

**THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF
PUBLIC RELATIONS CONFERENCE 2015**



Held at Bournemouth University

July 8-9, 2015

Conference Chair: Professor Tom Watson
Deputy Chair: Dr Tasos Theofilou

Proceedings edited by Professor Tom Watson

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ABSTRACT

‘Smoking and Health’ 1962 The Royal College of Physicians and the start of the campaign against smoking

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The report ‘Smoking and Health’ was published by the Royal College of Physicians in 1962. It marked the start of a campaign that continues more than fifty years later.

The figures presented in the 1962 report are striking. ‘During adult life nearly 75% of men and 50% of women become regular smokers’ with men smoking an average of 19 and women an average of 11 cigarettes a day (Royal College of Physicians 1962: 4).

Though written in measured scientific language, the report made clear the connection between smoking and lung cancer:

‘The most reasonable conclusions from all the evidence on the association between smoking and disease are: that cigarette smoking is the most likely cause of the recent world-wide increase in deaths from lung cancer.’ (Royal College of Physicians 1962: 43)

This report had been commissioned in 1959 as an investigation into ‘Smoking and Atmospheric Pollution’. The remit of the study was:

‘To report on the question of smoking and atmospheric pollution in relation to carcinoma of the lung and other illnesses.’ (Royal College of Physicians 1962: 1)

To provide some context, there had been many fatalities from smog (atmospheric pollution) in the 1950s. 4,000 people are known to have died during an episode in December 1952 (MetOffice), hence the equivalence given to this concern and to smoking when the report was commissioned.

Where does public health become public relations?

On 7 March 1962 the Royal College of Physicians (RCP) held its first ever press conference to launch the report (Thompson, R 2012: vii).

The then RCP president Sir Richard Thompson assessed its impact 50 years later:

‘This brave report, with policy recommendations based on the research of Sir Richard Doll and Sir Austin Bradford Hill, caused a media storm and an ambivalent, even hostile response from some quarters of government, media and society. It also began five decades of action on tobacco control at the RCP.’ (Thompson, R 2012: vii)

This further report by the Royal College of Physicians published in 2012 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of *Smoking and Health* noted that:

‘Only 21% of the population [now] smokes. Government, media and society have largely accepted the need to protect people, particularly children, from much of the harm associated with tobacco smoke.’ (Thompson, R 2012: vii)

At an awareness-raising level and in terms of attitude-change this has been a successful long-term campaign. Much has been achieved in terms of behaviour change, though the campaign continues with the aim of reducing the numbers smoking still further.

This paper is based on archive research at the Royal College of Physicians into the planned launch of *Smoking and Health* in April 1962. It also illuminates a moment in institutional history and involves a detour into architectural history.

The Royal College of Physicians, founded in 1518, has had several homes in London in the past five centuries. Many of them could be characterised as gentlemen's clubs and one shared a Pall Mall East building with a club (Moore 2014).

Under the leadership of Professor Sir Robert Platt (president of the Royal College of Physicians 1957-1961), the college commissioned a new building and also moved metaphorically to position itself to lead a public debate around health issues such as smoking.

As well as initiating *Smoking and Health*, Platt commissioned the RCP's new building in Regent's Park, a strikingly modern building designed by Denys Lasdun (who was later responsible for the National Theatre).

Architectural critic Rowan Moore writes:

‘For Platt, the new building should enable the College’s more outward-looking culture... It was important to Platt, who was advised on selection by the architectural historian John Summerson, that a modern architect should be selected.’ (Moore 2014: 59)

The Regent's Park building was formally opened by Her Majesty the Queen on 5 November 1964 and is a rare example of a postwar building to have been awarded Grade 1 listed status.

The anti-smoking campaign is in the public domain, so the originality of this paper lies in the institutional context, the exploration of architecture as public relations, and on its focus on the use of planned public relations by a previously inward-looking professional body of medical practitioners in the early 1960s.

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Targeting crowds: Norwegian labour movement's shift from logos to pathos in its 1930s propaganda

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Purpose of study

The purpose of this paper is to shed light on similar propaganda practices in the parallel worlds of the 1930s leftist labour movement in Scandinavia, with emphasis on Norway, and the NSDAP, the fascist movement of Central Europe, especially Nazi-Germany.

Background

Following the 1917 Soviet revolution, labour leaders in Central and Western Europe expected a revolutionary wave, later coined the “Domino effect”, to reach their shores. The term suggests that a regional, if not a global wave of Bolshevik revolution would overturn European aristocracies, replacing them with working class communes. Communes would eventually be expected to submit to a centralized Soviet leadership, under which Marxist doctrines would be discussed, interpreted, thus forming a global constitution for a confederacy of peoples and nations.

The Communist International, popularly named “Comintern”, embraced labour parties in most European nations, including Sweden and Norway. The very notion, and as of the early 1920s fact that working class parties should submit to an emerging totalitarian system, sparked controversy within the labour movement. It also fed external criticism, not only from the political right; also from potential or would-be sympathizers. Peasants and coastal fishermen, who owned their means of production, were generally not willing to hand over land, tools or fishing vessels, to local *communes*. In pre-second world war Norway, “working class”, narrowly defined, encompassed only about 27,5 % of the social stratum that defined the labour movement's primary target. (www.ssb.no, Seen 30th November 2014).

The Soviet-inspired “working class” persona was often depicted as an active, working man in heavy industries, a heroic, muscular thirty-something male. There seems to have been little room for women, and for members of the *Lumpenproletariat*, a German sociological term, describing a class below working class, unconscious to *Klassenkampf* and to useful production.

Disagreement over the strength of ties to Moscow had caused a split the Norwegian labour movement between 1921 and 1927. After 1927, when the majority of the movement organizations submitted to a pragmatic, less dogmatic, main organizational structure, political gains followed suit. However, the spirit of the Marxist and Leninist past continued to haunt and hinder campaigns for widening party membership and voter behavior throughout the 1920s.

Research questions

While social-democratic party communication pre 1930s had emphasized the rational of Marxism, and the establishment of a socialist system, Goebbels' communication methods focused on entertaining crowds, thus luring individuals and groups to the fascist right. In

period and later literature, it is evident that there are methodological similarities between 1930s Scandinavian labour movement communication, and that of the NSDAP. The research questions for this paper are therefore:

RQ1: How does Scandinavian Labour movement rhetorical literature draw on contemporary NSDAP methods in the 1930s?

RQ2: How does the Labour movement communicate to the crowd (the “masses”)?

I will enter this field of research, and approach the research questions chronologically and linearly. As a social scientist, I look for causality in historic and contemporary phenomena; my findings rest in empirical evidence.

Literature review

In his *The Politics of Crowds* (2012), Borch explores “crowds” semantically, historically and sociologically. European revolutionary history would not have taken place, had it not been for crowds. Borch draws first on Plato’s term “plethos”, the political mass of citizens, via the 1789, 1830 and 1848 revolutionary, unruly crowds, to Darwinism, political mass movements and phenomena associated with such. Early sociologist, i.e. Le Bon (1897) and Tarde (1910), as well Darwinian zoologists Trotter (1917) discuss “crowds” in political contexts.

In his *Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse* (1921), Sigmund Freud reviews Gustave Le Bon’s essayistic *Psychologie des Foules*, especially Le Bon’s argued fact that crowds usually are constituted as makeshift collections of individuals, animated by a undefined collective will. Freud, and later Canetti (1960, 1980) suggest a semi-sexual longing for crowds. *Berührungsangst*, chriactophobia, argues Canetti, represent man’s deepest fear: only by letting oneself dissolve into a crowd, can man overcome the *Berührungsangst*.

Helge Granat (1934) problematizes “crowd” in a social-democratic context. Party meetings, although open to anyone within the political realm of the working class public, were poorly attended. Looking at Germany, where the NSDAP’s party rallies drew enormous crowds, he suggested that the Swedish Labour party learn take lessons from Goebbels, whom he ranks as “intellectually superior to the other leadership” (1934, 188). Without crowd support, the Labour parties would be unable to win elections, since “meeting attendance is less than 10 % of the membership” (1934, 187). Nevertheless, all had the same voting rights. Granat also reflects on and worries over the fact that a large fraction of working class German brethren had turned their backs to Marxist socialism, and succumbed to *Deutscher Sozialismus* (Sombart, 1934).

Sources

I have studied the Norwegian Labour movement’s development of rhetorical literature in the 1930s in my PhD – thesis, (Bang, 2012). My paper will draw on findings in that thesis.

Having been under a personal union 1814 – 1905, with a common head of state and foreign policies, Sweden and Norway were, and are, twins on the Scandinavian peninsula. The peoples share a pronunciation of quite similar languages, for centuries there has been unhindered migration across the border. There national labour movements in the two lands have a shared and parallel history, and a common pool of knowledge. Swedish socialist literature is therefore an integrate and natural part of my source material.

The first approach to the field, and getting an overview, is going to working class movement sources. *Arbeiderbevegelsens arkiv og bibliotek*, The Norwegian Labour Movement Archives and Library, a documentation centre founded in 1908, has records on

almost all activity in the sphere of the labour movement and the political Left for over a century. Although closed and looted during the German occupation, much material had been hidden shortly after the 1940-invasion, so the archives could reopen, almost intact, in 1945.

The most important source for this paper, is the June 1934 edition of *Det 20de århundre*, (*The 20th Century*), a semi-academic journal published by the Labour party with financial support from the trade union movement. Its 1934 editor, Finn Moe, was born into Bergen's bourgeois community. As a privileged son of a dentist, he was able to go to France for his secondary education, and graduated from the Sorbonne as a *magister* of sociology and philosophy. A fluent of the German, Moe had been a Berlin correspondent for the Labour party daily, *Arbeiderbladet*, between 1927 and 1929, the NSDAP propaganda formative years.

Shortly prior to the October 1934 general election, the Labour party secretary, Haakon Lie, edited a handbook, *Agitasjon og propaganda*, advising local organizers on rallies, canvassing and speech writing. It deepens, broadens and concretizes the more general outlines in the June 1934-edition of *Det 20de Århundre*. Pre-1934, the party's 1933 election manifesto, titled "Hele folket i arbeid!" – *Jobs for all!* – had proved to be an exceptionally successful trial balloon. I will come back to *Agitasjon og propaganda* towards the end of this paper.

All other sources stem from findings in the mentioned publications. I have applied an organic study method. Some sources are well referenced in other literature; some are serendipitous, for example from a footnote in the 1936-edition of *Agitasjon og propaganda* with reference to an article by "Rektor Alf Ahlberg" (1936, 17). The Ahlberg-article gave me a reference to his *Social psykologi* (1933), where I found an utter reference (1933, 67) to the works of German economist and sociologist Werner Sombart. Dr Sombart, a renegade who had been working alongside Marxists Ferdinand Lasalle and Friedrich Engels, ended up as an underwriter for Hitler's 1933 and 1934 referenda. Dr Sombart shared his world views in a massive literary production; i.e. ten editions of *Sozialismus und soziale Bewegung* (from 1897 and on); its tenth, two volume-edition named *Der proletarische Sozialismus* (1925). Sombart also wrote *Deutscher Sozialismus* (1934), in which he supported a socialist order based on German values, as conducted by NSDAP and Hitler, opposed to a Marxist, and what he perceives as a Jewish-influenced socialism, found in the Soviet and Polish labour movements.

A simple factor analysis is a relevant and feasible approach in understanding the 1930s political sphere discourse, identifying key characteristics of the sender, the message, and the receiver, respectively.

- The role of the sender is adaptable to the given rhetorical situation. The sender persona is of little interest; a vessel or a messenger of the class, the movement or the party; always aiming to present the dogma and the ideology of Marxism. The perception of the role of the sender seems to be a constant factor in the material that I have studied.
- The message is always anchored in political discourse, depicting a bright and better tomorrow for working class members. As I will argue, there is a paradigm and rhetorical shift circa 1933, from a mode of factual argumentation and high level of precision, logos, to a discourse of parallel rhetorical paradigms, where established factual argumentation co-exists alongside a new rhetorical style of propaganda, anchored in the mode or persuasion, pathos. Key contributors to the rhetorical strategies label the former mode "agitation", the latter "propaganda", although the terminology is not universal, and terms sometimes used synonymously.
- The receivers are actual and potential voters. The idea of the voting body is a complex structure. The core working class was too insignificant numerically to win elections.

Hence, Labour party leaders recruited sympathizers from other walks of life: peasants, coastal fishermen, woodsmen, farm hands, maids and civil servants, to mention some. There was also an academic stratum in the movements, however, its top positions were reserved for “*håndens arbejdere*”, manual workers.

The crowd

My research draws on early psychological research, *moderne psykologisk forskning*, as phrased by editor Moe (1934, 186), and as described by Le Bon (1895), Trotter (1917), Sombart (1925). Their research was adapted by political scholars and strategists embedded in Scandinavian working class political discourse.

Late 19th and early 20th century humanities research seems to have wider categories than what is common today (2015). French sociologist Gustave Le Bon, sometimes labelled “psychologist” or “social psychologist”, studied crowds in revolutionary Paris and published his longitude findings in *Psychologie des Foules* (1895), thus opening the field to other research.

Wilfred Trotter’s research on his concept of “herd instinct” is based in Darwinism’s key concept: only a fine layer of civilization separates man from beast. Trotter challenges, or perhaps widens Darwinism’s concept of “survival of the fittest” to include a concept of necessary “gregariousness”, an inherit and instinctive mental propensity also imperative to a kin’s survival. Individual behaviour patterns are more extreme and unpredictable in crowds than outside; such patterns dissolve when the herd disintegrates. The closeness of the herd alleviates physical and intellectual isolation. According to Trotter, the social animal’s most prominent characteristics

1. are most evident in man’s behaviour when he acts in crowds, and are then evident as something temporarily superadded to the possibilities of the isolated individual.
2. [...] – The cardinal quality of the herd’s homogeneity. It is clear that the great advantage of the social habit is to enable large numbers to act as one, whereby in the case of the hunting gregarious animal strength in pursuit and attack is at once increased to beyond that of the creatures preyed upon, and in protective socialism the sensitiveness of the new unit to alarms is greatly in excess of that of the individual member of the flock [...] (1917, 29).

Trotter finds no evidence of management or leadership in crowds. He takes it for granted that an invisible and undetectable hand will conduct herd behaviour. In exchange for protection and potency, the individuals freely give up their individuality:

To secure these advantages of homogeneity, it is evident that the members of the herd must possess sensitiveness to the behaviour of their fellows. The individual isolated will be of no meaning, the individual as part of the herd will be capable of transmitting the most potent impulses. Each member of the flock tending to follow its neighbour and in turn to be followed, each is in some sense capable of leadership; but no lead will be followed that departs widely from normal behaviour (ibid.).

Although Trotter’s research units are non-human, his findings are congruent with Elias Canetti’s research on own behavioural patterns, described in his autobiographic *Masse und Macht* (1969) and *Die Fackel im Ohr* (1980), where he gives evidence to the potency and sense of invulnerability in crowds, “protective socialism” (Trotter, ibid.). In a retrospective

narrative, adolescent Canetti (born 1905) witnessed the 1927 *Julirevolte* in Vienna. Three men, connected to the Austrian fascist movement were rightfully accused for having murdered a Croatian migrant worker, but were acquitted in a scandalous trial. In retaliation and revenge, Viennese crowds flung themselves to the streets and set the *Wiener Justizpalast* on fire.

“Crowd” applied in period political discourse

Werner Sombart coined four subcategories of “crowd” in *Der proletarische Sozialismus* (1925, 99f).

- A “statistical crowd” connotes a numerical perspective that is of importance in analyzing impact by a large, versus a smaller crowd. By contrast, claimed Canetti may a crowd consist of only a few, “*fünf oder zehn oder zwölf, nicht mehr*” (1960, 14).
- A “cultural crowd” connoted un-educated, lower strata of the proletariat.
- A “sociological crowd” connotes a crowd void of all ambition, urban *Lumpenproletariat*, people living miserable lives near society’s bottom.
- A “psychological crowd” connotes a crowd in which its inseparable members seem interconnected by an undetected mental frame of mind, and how they act collectively without a centralized direction, as also described by Trotter (1917).

The “crowd” is essential in understanding 1930s political discourse. I will argue that the Scandinavian Left shared fundamental views on the masses, or the crowds, with European totalitarian movements, more precisely the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany.

Central and essential parts of Sombart’s writings on crowds, *Die Masse*, were adapted, even copied by Dr Alf Ahlberg, *rektor* at *Arbetarrörelsens Folkhögskola*, the (Swedish) labour movement’s *Folk High School*, (college). Ahlberg’s *Social psykologi* (1933) was, in the writer’s own words, based on a collection of speeches. One chapter, “Agitationens psykologi”, is a collection of quotes and misquotes from Sombart’s chapter “Die Masse” (1925). When studying Ahlberg’s Swedish writings, I found text similarities, to the extent of plagiarisms: Ahlberg had selectively translated some of Sombart’s text passages and presented as his own.

Ahlberg never mentions the fact that Sombart, at the time, in 1933, was a prominent Nazi supporter. Sombart’s belief in a “socialism applied to the values and needs in protestant Northern Europe” had by then been well documented. In late summer of 1934, Sombart published *Deutscher Sozialismus* to underline and clarify his views. However, as early as 1911, he expressed a clear skepticism towards Jews in his *Juden und das Wirtschaftsleben*: The Jew could, in Sombart’s word, never become German. In fact, the Jew is the very anti-thesis of the German, biologically, morally and spiritually. Sombart had leaned on National socialism during the Weimar republic, a fact much criticized by Friedrich Pollock, whose 1926 *Sombarts Widerlegung des Marxismus* (*Sombart’s Falsification of Marxism*) was available in Scandinavia shortly after its release.

Der proletarische Sozialismus is full of sarcasms, ironies, no *Festschrift* to the working class. Sombart applies certain semantic techniques to underline his views; among those qualifying adjectives, like *sogenannte Arbeiterklasse*, the “so-called working class”, as well as an extensive use of quotation marks, as in “Die Masse”. Werner Sombart also uses intertextual figures, many of them biblical in his outlining of the working class and socialism, as to suggest that socialism, as applied by the political Left, has more in common with

religious dogma than political ideology. I quote the original German, and translate into the English:

...daß auch diese *Ketzer*, die niemals die *Wahrheit der Lehre*, wie sie Marx *verkündet* hat, angezweifelt haben, sondern nur behaupten, im Besitze der *wahren Lehre* zu sein, wieder zu *gläubigen Gemeinden* mit einem anerkannten Oberhaupte sich zusammengeschossen haben. So gab es in Deutschland die *Konfessionen*. (1925, 180)
... that also *heretics*, that have never been in doubt about the *truth of the dogma*, as *proclaimed* by Marx, just claiming to be in possession of the *true dogma*, founded in a *congregation of believers* with a head. There were *confessions* in German [...] (my italics).

It should be implausible that Dr Ahlberg, a scholar of Schopenhauer and other German thinkers, and a leading researcher on European political science in general, socialism in particular, could have misunderstood the German, and thus have misread Dr Sombart's very outspoken and loud criticism of the political Left and of Marxism. Sombart's view of Marxism, a material philosophy in which atheism is a fundamental, indirectly labelling it an *Ersatzreligion*, pseudo religion, must have made some bells ring in Dr Ahlberg's mind. Nevertheless, Dr Ahlberg not only translates long passages from *Der proletarische Sozialismus*, he does so omitting qualifying marks, i.e. quotation marks, and adjectives like "so-called".

Dr Ahlberg's article "Agitationens psykologi", was built on copying and extensive editing of Sombart's chapter "Die Masse". It found its way, not only into the book *Social psykologi* (1933). It was translated into Norwegian and published in *Arbeiderbladet*, the Labour party daily, in a report on the successful 1934 election campaigns. Until then, Nazism had had little or no significance outside Germany. Even though Hitler had outlawed political opposition, and claimed all power in the hands of the NSDAP and himself. There seems to have been a certain admiration for social and economic achievement under Hitler rule, diffused across the political spectrum. Such achievements were results of government control of production means and the national economy, "planned economy" if one wishes.

Traces in labour movement handbooks and journals

In my research I have found two theoretical levels of NSDAP traces in the Norwegian labour movement literature: In the June 1934 – edition of *Det 20de Århundre*, where academics, and some pundits suggest and outline a radical change of rhetorical strategies, thus opening the labour movement rhetorics to two parallel paradigms:

- one factual, based in statistics and reliable research.
- another one in which slogans, entertainment and audience participation and activities should persuade less interested voters.

The *nye metoder* were officially taken into and applied in party manuals and handbooks as of 1934, also based on evaluating a highly successful 1933 trial balloon.

In accordance, and competition with the radical Right, the Left applied a rhetorical methodology similar to those developed by Joseph Goebbels' *Reichsministerium für Volkserklärung und Propaganda*. The similarities are especially evident in the appliance of pathos as the mode of persuasion. Concretely, that meant that speeches and lectures that formerly had drawn on the perceived rational of a new social and economic order, as of 1933/34 were replaced with one-liners and slogans. Somber party meetings were replaced with mass rallies in town squares. Where party leaders once had been featured attractions in

election campaign meetings, they would now have to share the podium with music hall entertainers.

Moe argues in “Nye opgaver”: “[...] important to conquer the minds of the masses, it is now a matter of life or death for the socialist movement.” (1934, 185). He argues that the politically inactive masses, distraught by economic hardships and crisis, are willing to revolt against establishment. However, they lack guidance on which direction to take their perils and frustrations. In such a struggle, there is a dire need for new modes of persuasion. Moe argues that the Labour movement must learn from “modern research on psychology” and “modern advertising”. (1934, 186) That is an acknowledgment of human emotion as a more important mode of persuasion than critical ability. Quoting one professor Tschachotin, a proponent of new methods, he says that the fight between fascism and socialism in Germany, was “first and foremost a psychological fight, a propaganda fight.” (ibid), in other words, though unspoken, not necessarily an ideological or political fight, but a fight over the minds of the masses.

Granat (1934) comes to a similar conclusion. Almost resigning to the fact that members of the working class did not know their own good, he concluded that “one has found out that less than 10 percent of voters attend political meetings” (1934, 187). The party was unable to reach many voters through mass media, as many did not even read socialist newspapers. The dilemma was, argued Granat, that under universal voting rights, absent, and passive voters had the numeric power to decide elections. Hitler looked for, and found his reserves in such strata (ibid).

Granat also argued that “one must use methods that to a certain degree differ from printed information, naturally without setting aside propaganda that must be the moral backbone [of the Labour party communication methods].” Referring to the success of Nazism, he went on: “Without doubt, the labour movement, in this respect, may benefit on some Nazi methods of agitation.” (1934, 188). He followed up the principal recommendation with an explanation, close to apologia:

Nazi politics is, to a wide extent, characterized by brutality and scurrility; however, one must admit that the Nazis in one field have played their role cleverly and skillfully [...] the propaganda [...] Goebbels’ intellectual capacity is considered to reach way and high above the other Nazi tops” (ibid).

In the middle of, and towards the end of his short (3,5 pages) article, Mr. Granat suggested that the labour movement copy some of the Nazi party concrete measures and methods:

Symbolism

Granat points to the swastika, which “generally is associated with Hitler’s fierce speeches and attacks. Because it [the swastika] was in use by the hundreds of thousands, it contributed to making Hitler’s words relevant, and thus became an integrate part of the psychological manipulation of the masses”. (1934, 188). Granat suggests that the labour movement learn from Heidelberg socialist brethren, who in 1931 had founded the *Eiserne Front* and designed a symbol, three black arrows on a red background, as their standard, in clear and easy perception as opposition to the Nazi swastika.

Mass rallies

One of the *Einserne Front* spokespersons, professor Tschachotin, also reported that the front propaganda included slogans, music and well organized mass demonstrations. However, complained he, the delivery was bloodless, without passion and emotion, set in motion in a

bureaucratic manner. Mr. Granat followed up the critique by referring to Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, a passage where the Führer stresses the uselessness of traditional political meeting:

The audience enter and take their seats, a professor gives a speech on today's topic that only half the crowd understands and one third comprehends, the moderator thanks for the brilliant speech; "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" is sung, all leave. (Hitler. *Mein Kampf*, in Granat 1934, 188).

Needless to say, Hitler's instinctively dismissed such meeting (Granat, 1934). Nazi demagogue intuition promoted huge rallies, music, flags, singing party and national songs. Such propaganda, continues Granat, is rooted in psychological research. Supporting a good cause is not enough; socialists need to know that they fight for large, well organized mass movement.

A perception of security, togetherness and will to fight get a fierce boost during mass rallies. Granat emphasizes the necessity to acknowledge such elementary psychology: "It is important that rally audiences are not passive, but really takes part in the meeting. One must therefore not ignore the importance of unison singing. The psychological impact of demonstrations, torchlight processions and marches, meet and gratify participants' need [longing] for activity." (ibid.)

Granat goes as far as identifying his suggestions and recommendations in minute detail: "During all rallies, there should be music before and after the speech [singing the Internationale is always part of the program]; no dance music, of course [...] no music that suggests a quiet and introvert emotional mood. The music must fit the situation and should stress strong will, rhythms and easy to catch". The speaker must simplify the message to reach out to the majority of the audience, without setting factuality aside:

A public speaker must find the courage to express banality. That means that he must not be reluctant to repeating facts well known to himself and to the politically versed, but unknown to the less interested and less enlightened. The regular party paroles must be repeated in varying forms (1934, 189).

Helge Granat also suggest it be a task to design expressive symbols that can easily be reproduced and used, as well as paroles and slogans that express labour movement goals and policies. Towards the end of his article, he repeats that factual information, in accordance with what we today would label James Grunig's method of "scientific persuasion", must be maintained in smaller, inner party circles. However, writes he,

[...] it is necessary to maintain propaganda that does not necessarily inform or shed light on problems, although it [propaganda] gives the [great] masses the correct notion of socialism's goals and methods, and that strengthen the communal spirit, the will to fight, and the idealism within the movement. (ibid)

Real life application

Central parts of NSDAP methodology was adapted, and applied into the Labour party communicational and organizational manuals as of 1934.

The propaganda must be straightforward and intense
Finn Moe argues that "criteria of straightforwardness" is the most important. Everybody must be able to understand the content, for "It is only that way that we shall be able to reach the politically passive, who, at the end of the day, form the majority of the public". (1934, 16). It

has to be intensely present, all the time. “It [the propaganda] has to work, day by day. Slogans must be repeated, all the time. Rally must follow rally.”

The propaganda must leave a sympathetic impression

Integration of communication is important. That includes logistics and presentation: “Order, precision, nicely decorated venues and premises, well designed posters, evoke sympathy”. At the same time, party propaganda should not offend anyone, i.e. by mocking religious faiths.

Slogans

Aksel Zachariassen had in his 1931 handbook *On the pulpit - På talerstolen* suggested that the Norwegian labour movement should learn from Soviet propaganda techniques and develop effective, hard hitting slogans for May-day rallies, during work disputes and strikes, and to reach voters in the fringe of the movement. He argues: “The Bolsheviks formed a world class slogan in their attack on Kerinski and the Russian bourgeois democracy: *Peace and bread*. A slogan understood by all. Nevertheless, in its simplicity, it encompassed and included all of the Bolshevik political platform” (1931, 72). A slogan of such quality is neither too personal nor too contextual: it can be recycled and reused.

In the 1934 literature, Moe argues:

we have not acknowledged that a good slogan might be more useful than a long manifesto. The labour movement has disallowed, and failed to acknowledge the force of human emotion [...] One may pound in simple truths into people’s minds by using simple slogans. A slogan may well contribute a standard and an objective to a political campaign (Moe, in Lie (ed.) 1934, 12).

Translations of slogans rarely covers the original message. Political slogans are no exceptions. However, some period slogans have survived and have been recycled in campaigns until this day: *By og land, hand i hand* – “Town and countryside, hand in hand”. The central and essential metaphor in its content is, in the party’s own evaluation, its best slogan ever. The original was however, a direct translation from a 1933 Nazi country fair: [the German original can easily be translated into the Germanic Norwegian]: *Stadt und Land, Hand in Hand*. The depiction, as in the poster for the campaign, also bear witness to the source of inspiration.

Some slogans were written as rhymes, others were ironic: “*Vi er blitt så fattige at vi ikke en gang har råd til å arbeide!*” – “We have become so poor that we no longer can afford to work” (Colbjørnsen 1933, 158) in a mock commentary to conservative fiscal policies during the 1930s period of mass unemployment.

Aesthetic and artistic modes of expression and persuasion

Labour party leaders had been impressed by mass rallies of the early Soviet, especially early Stalinist propaganda. After 1927, when the Communist wing of the labour movement had lost the internal power battle, the Soviet Union became less interesting, although *Det 20de Århundre* had a more or less steady column in its monthly issues: “Nyt fra Sovjetunionen” – “News from the Soviet Union.” Soviet and Nazi aesthetic taste seemed fairly in line with each other, depicting heroic, muscular males who could do nothing better than praising their respective political systems. Art doctrines within realism, i.e. social, socialist and/or heroic realism were *comme il faut* all over the Northern hemisphere.

Post-1933/34 handbook literature stress that most people are emotional, not very rational beings. Most have short concentration spans and must be entertained, not lectured to. Entertainment came in many shapes, mostly limited by economic resources. However, it cost

nothing to let participants at mass rallies sing “The Internationale”. As of 1934, the political messages in mass rallies took a back seat to participants’ aesthetic and emotional experience. In a 1936 rally in front of the Labour party headquarters in Oslo, the then tallest building in the city, hardly a political word was spoken. Oversize portraits of the party leadership decorated the building: two popular music hall artists performed vaudeville acts. There were amateur theatre groups, motor cycle processions and speaking choirs. High up above, a small plane circled the over the rally and wrote “*Stem DNA*” – “Vote Labour” – in pyro letters across the dark autumn sky.

Findings to research questions, summary

There is evident methodological overlap between Labour party period political propaganda, and propaganda found in the Third Reich, masterminded by Goebbels. There is no attempt in the Norwegian labour movement to conceal that there was a certain admiration for NSDAP propaganda methods, although policies per se, were very different. Norwegian labour movement leaders realized that it was essential to reach out to, and include, the less interested parts of the working class, unless they fall victim to the radical Right.

It was stressed that communication actors realize that they play to “the crowd”, not an “assembly of individuals”. The “crowd” is polyseme, with wide statistical, cultural, sociological and psychological connotations. The crowd has dynamics of its own and responds simultaneously to external stimuli, like a herring shoal, or a flock of birds, seemingly ruled by one, communal mind and will. The “crowd” is therefore a primary target in the period political propaganda.

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Public Relations dissent and activism through the lens of Rotary International Southern African representatives

J.C.Skinner and D.R.Benecke

Abstract

Professional public relations practice in a complex and ever changing environment demands practitioners to actively create opportunities to share ideas, debate differences and influence change. By speaking out, acting against the norm and challenging widely accepted practices, public relations practitioners are instrumental in introducing dissent, a critical review, and postmodern thinking of traditional approaches to everyday practices (Holtzhausen, 2011,p147).

This paper will draw upon this understanding of the role and possibilities of Public Relations in order to explore the history of a citizen group, namely Rotary International, and its communicative influence within Southern Africa during and after apartheid over a period spanning ninety years.

1. Introduction

The western, American-centred, modernist understanding of Public Relations (PR) and its history which sees PR as unproblematically and benignly serving the establishment in the interests of democracy has only fairly recently being challenged by scholars in this field (e.g. Watson, 2013). Watson suggests that ‘we need a more analytical, critical stance and to move from the corporatist stance that has dominated to research the messy, complex world of communication and persuasion... Through an activist perspective, we can research how NGOs, citizen groups and communities used PR techniques to combat government and vested interests’(p17). This paper adopts this theoretical approach within the unique political and social milieu of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa and the current oppressive regime in Zimbabwe.

In a history as rich, complex and dramatic as Southern Africa, deconstructing public relations practices in the service of democracy requires a systematic analysis of agency, agent and practice. Selecting a suitable agency to investigate agents and their practices is made possible if we follow the argument of Lee Edwards in “imagining public relations and its infrastructure

in terms of its interconnectivity” (Edwards, 2011 p. 39). The paper has selected the service organisation Rotary International (RI) which is a non-political organisation (and this is embedded in its constitution) and which is rightly seen as generally drawing its membership from the “establishment” – “business and professional people” as it describes itself (these being, until 1987, all men). RI in fact can be argued to partake closely in the bland, western, modernist approach criticised by Watson in his analysis of much PR historiography in earlier decades (Watson, 2013). However, by shifting the focus to Southern Africa, we will argue that a corporatist view of the world at its most benign was arguably able to effect some surprisingly positive and, in the case of South Africa, potentially democratic outcomes. In fact this approach, seen as unthreatening by the apartheid establishment in effect allowed Rotary (RI) as a recognised NGO, and representative of a citizen group to ‘use PR techniques to combat government and vested interests’ if in a fairly small way, in the interests of disadvantaged communities. In the case of Zimbabwe, while mainstream politics have not been affected (and this is strongly attested to by participants in the survey), community upliftment has been positively affected.

Thus we believe that this focus on a service organisation such as RI, operational in Southern Africa since the 1920s, with the motto of “*Service above Self*”, provides a context against which to research activism in this complex and somewhat contradictory context. Analysing a survey of senior RI members which explored their views on activism; reviewing the internal processes of this type of service organisation, and observing its ability to transform alongside the changing social environment, will form the foundation of this paper. As the history of Rotary South Africa is intrinsically linked to the history of South Africa, its practice of inviting new members, its membership profile, as well as the type of projects it undertakes, makes it a suitable and representative structure and agency for this research.

The paper will explore the views of some of the most senior representatives of Rotary in Southern Africa, will examine the records of Clubs that represent Rotary through the annals of *Rotary Africa*, the official journal of Rotary International in the region, and will delve more specifically into the annals of one Club, the Rotary Club of Durban, which has just celebrated its 90th anniversary. This was the second Rotary Club to be formed on the African continent.

2. Literature review

2.1 NPOs and social service organisations

Research into PR dissent and activism in South Africa has up to now been very limited and the purpose of this paper is to explore these concepts from a social organisation and civil society point of view and not from an organisational perspective. This approach is based on the definition of public relations “as a persuasive tool for strengthening democracy” (McQueen, 2013 p.5) and Moloney (2013 p.3) who state that public relations is the “promoting of ideas of public intellectuals, academics, experts, and people of faith, found in both progressive and conservative philosophical circles”.

Service organisations such as RI consist of members from diverse social contexts, who are invited to join RI as volunteers and through fellowship and mutual support to aid needy individuals and address social issues through fund-raising, but often also through hands-on involvement at grass-roots level. In the South African context service organisations such as RI are formally registered with the Department of Social Development and with the South African Revenue Services (SARS) which categorises them as Non-Profit Organisations (NPOs) and as part of the third sector (Waters, Burnett, Lamm, Lucas, 2009). Kong (2008) refers to this kind of organisation as social service non-profit organisations (SSNPOs). According to Eikenberry and Drupal Luvver NPOs and, by implication, social service organisations, have the responsibility to ‘create and maintain a strong civil society’ (2004 p.132). Kong (2008) proposes that this involves the promotion of the Intellectual Capital (IC) of the organisation and its members with IC viewed as the non-financial resources of the organisation which include the human capital, structural and relationship capital (Kong, 2008 p.290)

2.2 Dissent and activism

Dissent, meaning thinking differently about social issues, or a difference of opinion within a group, will often lead to doing things differently in ways that can achieve positive ends by using PR techniques such as opportunities for dialogue which introduce new thinking. Activism has been defined as a doctrine or practice of vigorous action or involvement as a means of achieving political or other goals and as a policy of taking direct and often militant action to achieve an end, especially a political or social one; or efforts to promote, impede or direct social, political,

economic or environmental change or status (<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/activism>). Activism is identified through the actions of individuals advocating an issue and in so doing they become activists who are defined as individuals or groups seeking to influence public policy, organisational actions, social norms or values (Coombs and Holladay, 2010 p.82). Ganesh and Zoller (2012) argue that activist groups actively engage in dialogue, develop actions and analyse dialogue and contestation.

To those actively enforcing the status quo, such as in the case of the apartheid regime, activism in its more militant sense is understood as the road to anarchy and activists were regarded as the enemy. We would argue that the situation of RI involvement in South African society, and their active engagement in social change to promote the interests of the disadvantaged communities during apartheid, represents something of a middle ground. While non-political support for social improvement may be seen as indirectly shoring up the status quo, the active involvement of individuals and their hands-on engagement with the communities which apartheid (as ‘separate development’) actively sought to keep apart, had arguably the opposite effect in the longer term, namely, of undermining the credibility of the regime. The complexity of constant change, how it is enacted and the resulting effects will be touched upon by looking at the proposed advancement stages of activism identified by Heath (1997) in Heath and Waymer, (2011). These stages include strain, mobilization, confrontation, negotiation and resolution (Heath and Waymer, 2011 p. 196).

PR techniques designed to bring attention to these thinkers and their arguments are used in order to assess any change in the policy climate. The questions asked as far as Rotary is concerned is what role did it play in eliminating apartheid, to what degree was it an architect of change? To conclude: what future role does it have now in the democratic dispensation in South Africa and in the broader context of southern Africa?

2.3 Rotary International as a social service non-profit organisation

Rotary International, which celebrated 110 years’ service in 2015 brings together a global network of volunteer leaders who dedicate their time and talent to tackle in a small way some of the world’s most pressing humanitarian challenges. RI connects 1,2 million members from 200 countries and geographical areas. Rotary International’s work impacts lives at both the local and international levels, from helping families in need in their own communities to working towards a polio-free world. In addition to the Polio campaign, RI also concentrates on

and focuses on issues such as peace and conflict resolution, disease prevention and treatment, water and sanitation, maternal and child health, basic education and literacy and economic and community development.

In addition to the core membership of men and women over forty years of age (although this stipulation is often now relaxed) RI involves young men and women in their twenties (“Rotoractors”) and organises and sponsors high school students (“Interactors”) who are young adults aged 12-18. Rotoract groups are organised to promote leadership, professional development, and service among young adults aged 18-30.

Rotary has had a presence in southern Africa for more than 90 years with the first Club established in Johannesburg in 1921 followed by Durban and Pietermaritzburg in 1925.

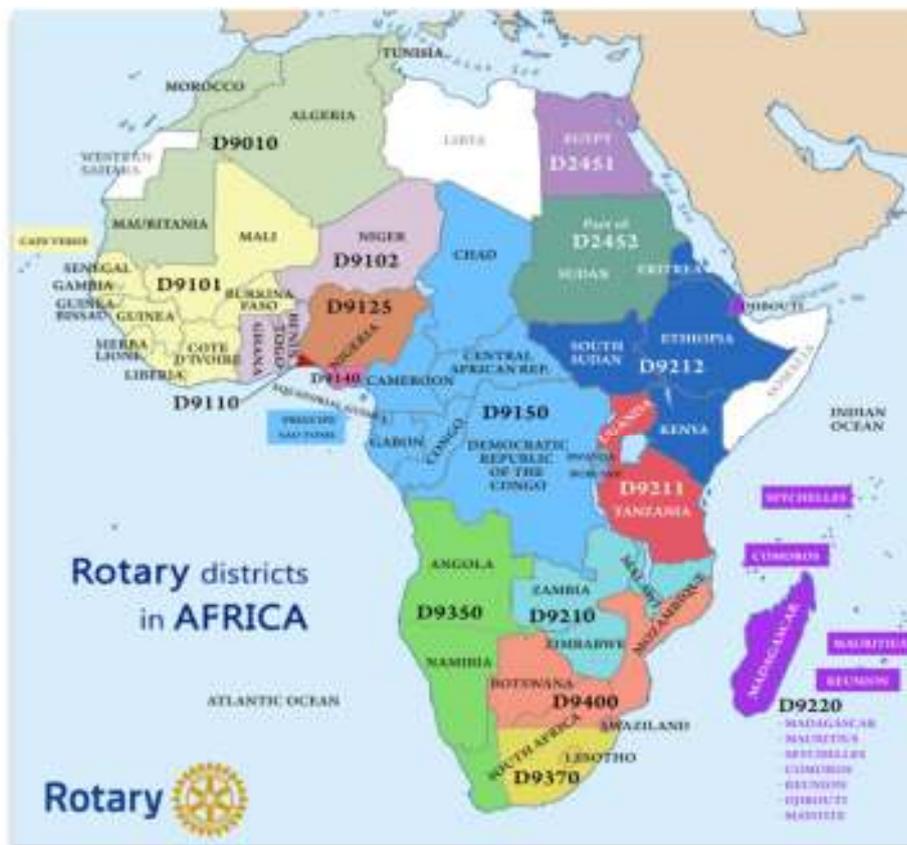


Figure 1: RI map (*Rotary Africa*)

According to figures prepared by *Rotary Africa*, the official RI magazine in the region, the number of Rotarians in January 2014 by District in Southern Africa were:-

District 9210...1383

District 9400 ...1543

District 9350 ...1303

District 9370 ...1900

These members are distributed amongst some 300 Clubs. Throughout these years, Rotary International's vision has been consistent in striving to be "The service organisation of choice with dynamic, action oriented clubs whose contributions improve lives in communities worldwide". Its mission has been "to provide services to others; promote integrity, and advance world understanding, goodwill and peace through our fellowship of business, professional and community leaders" (RI strategic documents, 2014/15).

3. Research methodology

The methodology used in researching this topic involved a case study of the former Rotary District 9270, the views of its leaders, the activities of individual Rotary clubs gleaned from Rotary's official Journal in the region, Rotary archives of the oldest club in the District and the personal experiences of one of the researchers as a former Governor of the District. District 9270 comprised some 48 Rotary clubs in a district which stretched from Piet Retief in Northern KwaZulu Natal to Butterworth in the Eastern Cape Province¹.

A survey was conducted using purposive sample of former District Governors of the KwaZulu Natal Rotary District over the past twenty years². The personal experiences of one of the authors of this paper, Chris Skinner, were also drawn upon (Mr Skinner has been a Rotarian in South Africa since 1975 and was a District Governor for Rotary International for this District in 2003-4 as well as Rotary International's public image coordinator for Africa from 2007-9).

¹This District has recently (2011) been joined with another to the south forming a new District 9370 embracing KwaZulu Natal and the Eastern Cape.

²Although these respondents were not District Governors during the apartheid years (that is before 1994) their seniority would imply that most would have been Rotarians during the later years of apartheid. All had been Rotarians for more than ten years.

Documents consulted included: the Archives of the official Rotary International regional magazine, *Rotary Africa*, dating back to 1927 and a history of the oldest Rotary Club in this District – the ninety-year old Rotary Club of Durban. This approach represents an instrumental case study (Blake, 1995:3) in that the aim was to understand how an agency such as RI influenced, and was influenced by, socio-political issues in pre-and post-democratic South Africa. The inclusion of District Governors from Zimbabwe in the survey represented an additional and contrasting example.

Investigating the human capital of a social organisation such as RI included drawing on the personal experiences of leading Rotarians in the region and the specific insights of a senior RI member in the person of one of the authors of this paper, as explained above. Apart from being a senior RI member Mr Skinner is also an Accredited Public Relations practitioner (APR), lead author of the Handbook of Public Relations, widely used as prescribed text in South Africa and research associate at the Durban University of Technology DUT). His perceptions can provide a personal account of the human capital of this particular social service organisation by reflecting on its approaches to introduce new thinking and new behaviours in RI, in South Africa and ultimately in society (Moloney, 2013). An investigation of structural and relationship capital will include an analysis of some of RIs' social networks in Southern Africa and the social projects undertaken in an attempt to explain their role in bringing about dissent which may or may not have lead to activism and social change.

4. Findings and interpretation.

The findings and interpretations are discussed in terms of the agency (RI) as a service organisation, its activities, the activities of a specific club, namely, Durban, and the personal record of a senior RI member, Chris Skinner.

4.1 RI as the case study.

A questionnaire was sent to all twenty senior Rotarians who have held leadership positions as District Governors within District 9270 in Southern Africa over the past twenty years. In addition the questionnaire was sent to past district governors in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. Twelve responses were received – nine from the former SA Rotary District 9270 and three from Zimbabwe. Zambia and Malawi were therefore excluded from the findings as no responses were returned by these members. These responses were compared to, and enriched by, a more

detailed assessment of the projects undertaken by the Rotary Club of Durban over its full 90 year history with a special focus on how the Club had impacted from a social activism perspective, and the communities it served. Triangulation was advanced with the perspective taken from the personal experiences and perceptions of Past District Governor Chris Skinner.

The responses revealed that a majority (58%) of Rotary leaders felt that Rotary did not actively seek to bring about change in society; two (16%) were unsure and three (26%) felt strongly that Rotary was involved in actively promoting social change. The majority, who felt that Rotary was and is not involved in 'activism' in its overtly political form, made comments such as: 'vigorous campaigning in the name of Rotary would not really fit with Rotary's stance of not exerting any pressure on governments or political authorities' and 'I am not aware that Rotary in South Africa has adopted an 'activism' approach [since apartheid] as our fledgling democracy is concerned with wider issues and would not probably be bothered with our approach'. Those who were unsure still felt that significant support for community upliftment had happened through Rotary involvement.

The currently oppressive regime in Zimbabwe provides a somewhat different picture as it precludes Rotary from indulging in even minor social activism. As one Rotary leader in Zimbabwe explained: "We are perceived as an NGO and therefore it is vital that we are only involved in assisting communities and not seen to be supporting any political party, otherwise we would be banned. At one time Rotary was one of the few charities allowed to distribute food relief because we were seen as apolitical". This respondent also explained that "At any project handover, the community is free to invite the local councillors or MP and they will be recognised at the ceremony but, apart from a vote of thanks, they are not invited to speak". However, "we have had recent success in getting the District Governor to meet the city mayors on his annual visit to Clubs. Only recently has the Governor been interviewed on radio. The media is tightly controlled by government so it is not easy to get media coverage on projects."

Another respondent agreed that although Rotary was apolitical, it is active in social change in Zimbabwe: "The widespread immunization of children against measles, and whooping cough under the Polio Plus programme has been an excellent contributor to social change. The provision of water wells, boreholes and nutritional garden education is also empowering the communities Rotary has helped. A special humanitarian grant from Rotary International has empowered women in Harare suburbs as has the supply of dictionaries to community schools.

Personally as an Anglican I believe Rotary's social activism is an extension of the work our churches inspire us to do".

In summing up the situation in that part of Southern Africa, another Past District Governor believes Rotary "has made meaningful and valuable interventions right across the length and breadth of Zimbabwe, where economic hardships have meant that government alone cannot meet the demand for social services. Working in some instances with arms of government, Rotary Clubs see themselves as complementary to positive social change initiatives that have impacted lives in useful ways". In Harare, for instance, a Rotary Community Corps have empowered communities in three urban townships through entrepreneurial activities and community projects. A special RI international grant involving three Rotary Clubs and a Canadian Rotary club has made this possible and Rotarians continue to provide mentoring assistance, to ensure project sustainability. This provides evidence of the benefits of interconnectivity between the various clubs, international support and mentorship.

For years now, medical teams have visited Zimbabwe under Rotary auspices or partnerships, to undertake free surgical operations for both adults and children ("Operation of Hope"; "Eyes for Africa") with rural areas a prime but not exclusive target. Throughout different country districts and poor urban settlements, Rotary projects have seen lives transformed by improving access to water, housing, improved sanitation, health, education and general poverty eradication. Books have been donated to schools and medicines to rural health institutions. Challenges are also experienced especially in volatile situations such as captured by a recent email response from Zimbabwe which described how a Rotary Club 'rubbed a politician the wrong way by sinking boreholes in his constituency without his knowledge – and he was livid!' (follow-up correspondence with a respondent from Zimbabwe). This type of action refers to an implicit form of dissent in which communities are supported outside of government structures but with a need to form partnerships and collaboration with local community leaders, taking care not to antagonise leaders and earn their distrust.

4.2 The Rotary Club of Durban

In studying the history of the Rotary Club of Durban, an insight emerges of just how a large Club (having over 100 members in the 1950s and 1960s – all considered as 'leading citizens')

has been able to respond to political, social and economic challenges over a period of 90 years. The following are examples of involvement taken from Official *History of the Rotary Club of Durban (1925 – 1966)* (unpublished):

Early years.

- 1927 The creation of a Boys Hostel (Normans House) to look after young offenders
- 1930 Establishment of a Bantu (Native) Social Centre
- 1932 Launched a Community Chest scheme to provide benefits to those relying upon charities in the Durban area

Depression years

- 1932 During the depression, the Club provided food parcels and ran soup kitchens
- 1936 Helped to focus attention on wages being paid to unskilled and semi-skilled labour
- 1938 The Club pleaded for government legislation to combat malnutrition among Natives and increase their educational facilities

War years

1945 At this time, one of the main talking points in Club circles was the question of Rotarians taking part in Government and civic affairs. It was felt, however, that politics would split Rotary and Rotarians. It was decided that members of the Community Service committee should be encouraged to take part in civic administration. [It is clear from subsequent entries that this positive but non-controversial approach continued after the war as follows:]

Post War years:

Rotarians were encouraged to publicise in every way possible the necessity for a virile public opinion in civic matters.

[At the same time social support programmes which touched the lives of black children and adults continued and included:]

Refurbishment of girl dormitories at a school in the township

‘Spirit of Adventure’ camps for disadvantaged children

Providing pumps and vegetable tunnels to three rural communities

Building toilets and organising feeding schemes in the [black] townships

Providing computers to rural African schools

Organising irrigation for community gardens

Re-equipping kitchens in rural areas and starting a mobile herb garden

All these projects essentially benefitted the ‘non-white’ communities outside of the urban areas and were examples of opportunities created by RI members to promote social change and social justice

Post-apartheid years

While the emphasis remained on support for the disadvantaged – and this normally still implied black communities – the focus was able to expand post-1994 towards fostering a more inclusive membership precluded during most of the apartheid years. Currently there is ‘an emphasis on membership to all, irrespective of race and gender, as well as on developing Rotary projects which answer needs in all communities, particularly those who are underprivileged and suffering from malnutrition and ill health’ (Responses of Club members 2015). It has however in most instances proved to be difficult to attract leading black business people into Rotary within South Africa. An exception exists amongst senior educators, including principals and deputy principals of government schools, who are beginning to join in small numbers, particularly those who have fostered international links with European Clubs keen to support the development of disadvantaged African schools.

4.3 Personal observations and experiences.

My experiences as a young Rotarian in Johannesburg in the 1970s and 1980s and a member of a vibrant central club, the Rotary Club of Rosebank, which boasted over sixty members at that time, suggest a mixed picture regarding our contribution to social and political change. It was probably true that the majority of the members were sympathetic to the ruling apartheid regime while a significant number would have voted for the more progressive parties. Their hands-on involvement with projects within black areas, while condoned by the apartheid government, nonetheless served to undermine in small ways the apartheid intention of keeping communities strictly apart. In a social setting Rotarians were able to experience the negative results of this official policy. This finding as to the dissent character of RI supports a critical, postmodern paradigm but would require scrutiny and further research to draw any strong conclusions as to its validity.

While there were no women in the movement at that time, the “Rotary Anns” as wives of Rotarians had a subordinate but fairly active role in supporting Rotary projects. However, apartheid was probably more successful in influencing these normally “stay at home” women whose only contact with other races was generally with their domestic workers with whom little

genuine socialisation occurred. My wife can recall that Rotary Anns were generally more enthusiastic in supporting the SPCA than African township projects! One of the internationally influential black activist poets of that time who contributed to vibrant and subversive ‘Soweto Poetry’ called in one of his works for his fellow township dwellers to “beware of white ladies who come in the spring ...” [to plant flowers and beautify the drab streets of Soweto]. Such privileged affluent housewives, while well-meaning, saw no need for radical change and cannot be seen as contributing to the elimination of apartheid – but rather (as the poem suggests) to shoring it up.

A more substantial undermining of the logic of apartheid occurred however in my experience of Durban in Natal (now KwaZulu Natal) in the case of the Indian community who are a substantial section of the demographic make-up of that province and who formed a specially prestigious group within the Rotary Club of Amanzimtoti which I joined, making up 20% of its total membership. This mixed membership was also openly condoned by the Apartheid regime in its closing years. Members included a leading surgeon and his wife who was also a respected medical doctor and a university professor, a town clerk (within an Indian area) and a school principal. The social standing, education and prosperity of these individuals served powerfully to undermine any logic of separate development – and this was not lost on the Rotary movement as a whole in the Province. Again this ‘postmodern’ conclusion would need further research in order to substantiate the findings, and more research would be needed on activities explicitly or implicitly aimed at changing policy.

In summary the findings indicated that dissent was practiced in various forms through the support of disadvantaged communities and intercultural membership recruitment. The activities and projects embarked on were aimed at supporting communities but only limited direct activism was evident in both the archival documents and the survey findings. Activism seems to be regarded as unacceptable and dividing membership. Members seemed to be comfortable to support marginalised communities from ‘a distance’ and through the inclusion of like-minded individuals who will use their IC to bring about change. Social change through activism is difficult within social organisations such as RI which is required to stay a-political, focused towards uplifting communities and not towards actively driving policy change. Public relations activities used by RI members to support communities in need seemed to be remedial, and reactive which related to the normative Eurocentric and Western view of public relations during

this period. Only where these activities in themselves unsettled the foundations of apartheid in subtle and hard-to-measure ways can a postmodern, uneven power-play be glimpsed.

In relation to the advancement stages of activism identified by Heath (1997 in Heath and Waymer, 2011), namely, strain, mobilization, confrontation, negotiation and resolution, it seemed that these stages were not evident in this context, where the focus was to identify the role of RI in social change. In this instance it was seen as remedial and not confrontational. RI members identified needs and mobilised their IC to address these within the constraints of the environment.

5. Conclusion

What clearly has emerged from the views expressed by Rotary leaders and the study of Club histories such as Durban is the widely accepted principle that Rotary aims primarily at the upliftment of disadvantaged communities. “This assistance takes no account of political affiliations nor does it seek to bring about social change through vigorous campaigning. Instead it seeks to help those in need as far as it is able” (Questionnaire respondent).

It has been able to achieve this ideal because it has been able to draw on the knowledge and experience of its members who have been drawn largely from the business and professional communities. They have however used their influence to put pressure on the authorities “to do the right thing”. In many instances they themselves have been mayors and councillors, professional advisers, teachers, health specialists and community leaders leading the way in promoting a better life for all. Even in the days of apartheid, when races were separated and it was often difficult to socialise and work together, Rotary South Africa and specifically Durban district encouraged and supported men and women of all races to join the movement and act together for the benefit of all.

Despite the social and economic support given to all communities during the days of apartheid, and its positive implications for political integration, argued for in this paper, it has to be accepted that South Africa’s former political ideology has worked against some of the inclusive democratic non-racial ideals Rotary has stood for in other countries, and in some instances it continues to do so. In the past 21 years since 1994, there has been a resurgence of effort to correct the inequalities of the past by including a more diverse racial membership. However,

as one Rotary leader said “I think the majority of South Africans of all races, whether Rotarian or not, unfortunately carry unique historical baggage. This baggage will probably only be discarded with the passing of time, which could take generations”.

What is to be hoped for therefore is the acceptance of the largest section of the population, namely the African population and in particular the increasingly affluent and influential business community, to take ownership of the movement and give it new leadership and direction. This has been the case in East Africa for example in Kenya and Uganda but the changes in central and southern Africa are still to materialise and Rotary membership within South Africa is on the decline.

More research is therefore needed as to the agency role of social organisations and their direct or indirect influence in policy reforms.

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ABSTRACT

100 Years ago: Official State public relations and propaganda of Germany in World War I

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Especially, modern wars can always be described as a communication events and processes: the production of war enthusiasm of the population, especially through the mass media information, the organization of war bonds and through public campaigns, like the actual media coverage of the war are state dominated. Active public relations and propaganda as well as government censorship must be seen as important structural conditions not only for the information received by the population and the images that are formed from it, but also for the structure and development of the professional field.

This contribution aims at describing the official and government public relations of the First World War. It includes a) general historical aspects, b) PR-historical aspects and c) aspects related to the professional field itself. The general-historical aspect is also due to the fact that the beginning of the First World War 2014 passed just this year 100 years. PR considered historically, the State Public Relations in Germany received a modernization impulse during the 1st World War. As in other countries, such as the United States, the expansion of state public relations in Germany has had important consequences for the development of the professional field of PR: quantitative acceleration, but also improvements of the quality and professionalization of the field. The article aims to a) provide an organizational sketch of the development of official public relations 1914-1918, b) discuss some of the communication-related consequences for the period of the Weimar Republic (1918-1933) and the era of National Socialism (1933-1945) and c) discuss the theoretical challenge to describe similarities and differences of propaganda and public relations.

There was no central government office for public relations in 1914, even if there had been plans already since 1919, to set up such a bureau. An important department was the news department of the Ministry of the Interior, more important was the Press Department of the Foreign Office. This department had only a "handful of employees", whereas when the war ended there were about 400 Employees (Creutz 1996). Even before the war the Prussian War Ministry established an "official news department", head was Major Erhard Deutelmoser. An initial push had been given by a fairly aggressive press coverage during the Balkan wars that often was not in the interest of the national government. The aim of this press office was that this press office should reach a similarly high level of trust, as the press department of the Imperial Naval Office, which was considered very successful. When war broke out important competencies were transferred from governmental press and communication policy to the military. The General Staff thus became the most important institution.

1914, the Central Office for Foreign Service (Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst, ZfA) was founded. The most important reason for establishing this bureau was the centralization of the process. In a survey of Matthias Erzberger (1875-

1921), after not less than 27 offices and departments have been identified, which all had the task of making propaganda abroad. Tasks of the Central Office were, about others, the observation of the Press of the enemy, combating of propaganda lies of the enemy, the demonstration of "enemy atrocities", the development and distribution of information papers to neutral countries, the presentation of German newspapers in Swiss hotels, press trips for journalists from third countries, the use of pictures and films as well as the deployment of cultural workers abroad.

At 14.10. 1914, the *war press office* was set up and subordinated to the General Headquarters (GHQ), head of the office was Erhard Deutelmoser. The war press office was divided into a coordination department, a foreign and a domestic department and an information department. At the same time one of its tasks was play the role of the highest censorship office.

On the background of failures in actual war events, a change in the personal of the Supreme Command occurred in the summer of 1916: Paul von Hindenburg became the new chief of General Staff and Chief of Staff became Erich Ludendorff. It was hoped that this change could reach higher popularity among the population. There was also a change in the communications and Press Policy. Otto Hammann, Chancellor's confidant, who had been the head of the news department of the Foreign Office, had to resign. A group of senior officers made themselves strong for the modernization of the official public relations. The image and movie Office (Bild-und Filmamt, BuFA) and a new graphical department were established. The BuFA directed its activities primarily towards other states, the graphical department was successful in that it was instrumental for the success of the sixth War Loan. Schmidt (2006) distinguishes in the further course between three different groups of PR actors: the *traditionalists* who insisted on an enlightening style and "modern propaganda", the *modernists* who were inspired by mass psychology, relied strongly on visual media propaganda techniques of the Allies as well as contemporary advertising theory. The third group, the reformists, who, however, only in 1918 came up, attached importance to "unity, strength and will".. In addition, another key term: "trust" was strongly discussed. Trust relationship should be established between government and the people.

The discussion between representatives of the three groups led to new impulses for the profession, the professionals reflected on better and worse, more or less professional communication styles and communication strategies, thus laying a basis for the boom of public relations field in the subsequent Weimar Republic, in which the profession throughout the company consolidated and strengthened.

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ABSTRACT

Drawn and Quartered: Woman's Suffrage Cartoons as Early Public Relations

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As historians Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Fitzpatrick (1975) argue in *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States*, suffragists were using new types of argument as well as new ways of making that argument. For decades, the women and men working for woman suffrage had relied upon more traditional and philosophical arguments, ones based on ideas of liberty, democracy, and fairness. By the early 20th century, the emphasis had shifted to more pragmatic arguments, ones based on what women could do to help the country and its residents deal with the problems of mass society and industrial life. How these arguments could be actualized was the question.

Political cartoons were often used as a medium for expressing these opinions and concerns. Until the suffrage battle, women were generally excluded from the world of cartooning. Visual satire was created by men and focused on the world of men. In the U.S., magazines such as *Puck* used humor as social commentary to guide their readers to a particular point of view, mostly male. However, this was about to change. In the introduction to Alice Sheppard's book *cartooning for suffrage* (1994), Elizabeth Israel Perry wrote that women artists like Lou Rogers, Blanche Ames, and Edwina Dumm shaped "a visual rhetoric that helped create a climate more favorable to change in America's gender relations" (Sheppard, p.3).

As women became more involved with the public sphere and redefined their roles in the home, tension grew among those who feared what society would be like with women participating in politics. Men were extremely concerned about women challenging the idea of private and public spheres, and feared that the status of men would change dramatically if women were to gain political equality. Both sides *drew* their positions in cartoons, a respected format for visually portraying points of view, at least since the 18th century.

Almost as soon as the woman's rights movement got underway in the mid-nineteenth century, negative visual images of women activists began to appear in the popular press. Such images typically showed suffrage activists as aggressive, cigar-smoking, pants-wearing shrews who neglected their children and forced their men into domestic drudgery. Men who supported woman suffrage were portrayed as being forced to babysit, cook, or wield a mop, usually making a mess of all these tasks. By conveying the message that women seeking to change traditional gender roles would harm society's moral and political structure, this pictorial rhetoric slowed down the political advance of women. Of course, there was another side to this coin. At the same time, the anti-suffrage campaigners quickly created their own visual propaganda and stereotypes. The challenge for the suffragists was the challenge of subverting anti-suffrage stereotypes which already existed and creating equally compelling new stereotypes which would be recognizable but communicate an opposing message.

Suffrage cartoons are typically catalogued as a *persuasive* art. Gowans (1984) in his article, "Posters as Persuasive Arts in Society," writes: "Instead of the old avant-garde 'What can I do to express myself?' the starting point is more and more 'What needs to be done?'" Such cartoons are created to convince the audience to some ideologies or beliefs. They are referred to by Gowans as "arts that still in fact *do* something" (Gowans, p. 9). Their pictorial

form is eye-catching, the metaphor used in them is clear and easy to understand for everyone. Therefore, this art of conviction has a great possibility to be successful. Medhurst and DeSousa (1981), suggest that political cartoons are a kind of enthymeme, relying on socially-sanctioned presuppositions to produce reasoned belief and action in others. Cartoons, that is, argue for political positions by adducing acceptable (albeit unspoken) reasons to hold those positions. Similarly, for Buchanan (1989), arguments can inhere in things as well as words. When material objects solve problems in a reasonable manner, they are persuasive in the same way that verbal arguments are. If pictures can, in fact, persuade, then the cartoon war over woman's suffrage was certainly one bred of public relations.

Using image sources from the Library of Congress, the Sewall-Belmont House Museum, the Tennessee State Library and Archives, the Lewis & Clark digital archives (among others), and current research on women's images during this period, I will show that the use of cartoons in the late 19th century and early 20th century constitutes more than just propaganda. They represent a nascent and important element of public relations. Visual imagery has long been a component of "modern" public relations, yet its roots extend backward to the motifs of what was originally styled as propaganda and publicity. The woman's suffrage movement, in particular, sought to advantage itself through the use of cartoon images, as did its adversaries. This paper will show how and why these images should be classified as an important part of public relations in its infancy.

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ABSTRACT

Public relations and development campaigns: Postcolonial insurance relations at the global-local nexus

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This subaltern study problematizes ‘development’ and PR’s role in it, by exploring a development campaign at the nexus of global-local economic relations in the postcolonial independence era. During the 1960s and 1970s, development economists were an influential global elite, concerned with economic progress through structural transformation of so-called ‘developing’ economies. Of particular concern to these economists was the role played by foreign insurance companies leveraging long-standing imperial relationships. Foreign insurers were rapidly dominating developing markets, driving serious distortions in these economies by shifting savings from banks to insurers, and by dominating local government bond issues while avoiding investment in local stock markets. The accompanying income drain from local economies to ‘overseas’ balance sheets was deemed harmful to developing countries’ fragile regional and national linkages (Ally 1972; Odle 1972; Ripoll 1974).

The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) made repeated appeals to industrialized nations to redress the imbalance, to no avail. In 1972, UNCTAD took a different approach, passing a resolution targeting *developing* countries instead, urging them to adopt measures to ‘take back’ their insurance sectors in the interest of economic development. Enabled by UNCTAD, a range of developing countries began promotional campaigns to nationalize their insurance sectors. Several stakeholders employed public relations activity toward this end; from international development agencies to regional trade blocs, from national governments to domestic corporate elites. At the local level, campaigns to nationalize insurance sectors had no trace of a global footprint. Nationalization was portrayed as the initiative of newly-sovereign ‘Third World’ nations. However, as Curtin and Gaither (2007) point out, it is not always easy to determine *what* is being represented in international public relations (IPR); what appears ‘local’ may be part of the global. Yet it is possible to trace the global footprint of these nationalization campaigns back to discourses deployed by development economists on the global stage. The critical question is this: Why did industrialized countries offer massive support to UNCTAD’s 1972 resolution? The answer, according to Ripoll (1974) lay in ‘First World’ expectations of continued profits from developing economies, particularly through *reinsurance* relationships with newly nationalized insurers, potentially yielding far more business than ever before.

This paper adopts a postcolonial lens in order to interrogate the interplay of power and control in contemporary IPR, in which global capitalism manipulates the local for the interest of the global (Dutta and Pal 2011, 197). Postcolonial perspectives regard PR practice as rife with tensions between the local and the global, as each clashes and grapples with the other in complex, unpredictable ways (Curtin and Gaither 2007, Dutta and Pal 2011). The paper will draw on historical sociology by reuniting global, regional and local texts (L’Etang 2014) in order to interrogate and disrupt development communication activity, through which industrialized nations successfully bifurcated global relationships by constructing ‘development’ and what it means to be ‘developed’ (Dutta and Pal 2011, 212).

The focus of the study is Jamaica, a small state in the Anglophone Caribbean, a region which, due to its open economies, has been particularly vulnerable to the impact of foreign

insurers. In 1960s Jamaica, life insurance had become the second fastest growing financial service since independence, while dozens of insurers competed to dominate a market of just under three million people (Ally 1972). Foreign-owned insurers (mostly imperial relationships) had made inroads into the Jamaican market with more aggressive selling methods, intensive PR and marketing practices, and more sophisticated administrative and managerial techniques (Williams 1973). The Jamaican government (advised by regional development economists) introduced a nationalization policy which it positioned as a nation-building campaign, drawing on the same rhetoric that had ushered in independence from Britain in 1962. The campaign met with some resistance from Jamaica's private sector, reflecting a history of mistrust between the government and the country's corporate elites.

The historical data selected for this study consists of speeches which serve both as important rhetorical tools as well as policy narratives; illustrating how policy makers and influencers at the top of organizations use narrative to shape the reactions of those in their environment (Abolafia 2010). The selected speeches were delivered at an event denoting the global-local nexus: a seminar staged in 1973 in Kingston, Jamaica by the Society for International Development, a not-for-profit agency with close links to the United Nations. The speeches represent various stakeholder positions in the discursive struggle over nationalization of foreign insurance. The data reveals that, despite the influential views of development economists, and despite the government's stirring patriotic calls to 'build the nation', Jamaica's private sector had serious reservations about casting out foreign insurers, and engaged in its own promotional campaigns to support its competing positions.

It is important to acknowledge the implications of interrogating a 50-year old IPR campaign through a 21st century lens (Calhoun 2003). Jamaica was indeed 'successful' in absorbing foreign insurers into existing domestic firms, some of which would later exhibit their own global aspirations. However, the study ends on a note of skepticism for, in the intervening period, Jamaica's insurance sector has largely reverted to foreign ownership once again. That said, the study's significance lies in unearthing an important national PR campaign and reuniting it with its global context, while simultaneously stripping away the 'ventroliquizing' effects of international agencies, by privileging subaltern voices (McKie and Munshi 2007). The study further uncovers multiple discursive struggles concealed within this particular development campaign; banks vs non-banks, government vs corporate elites, and the global financial architecture vs small states. The study thus contributes to the growing body of work on postcolonial perspectives of PR historiography.

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The emergence of PR and strategic communication in Norway

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1. Three aspects of PR history

This article gives an account of the historical emergence and origins of public relations (PR) in Norway. It discusses which criteria and strategies we should use to determine when the beginning of public relations and strategic communication came about in any given country. I will attempt to provide an outline of when and under which conditions public relations and strategic communication began (c.f. Bentele, 2012). I believe that such an outline will thus provide a better understanding of the events and strategies that the first actors contributed to the development of what we, in retrospect, define as PR and strategic communication. Norway is, in this respect, a case of special interest because major historical changes, such as national independence and economic and democratic transformations, developed through a process of continuation and reforms. In other words, development, transformation and change came about on the basis of public debates and various agents' strategic influence on people in power, rather than through dramatic disruptions and revolutions as in Russia and France (Witoszek, 1998, p. 15).

Several theorists (Lamme & Russell, 2009; Miller, 2000; Lamme, L'Etang & St. John III, 2009) point out that other writers often over-emphasise the role of business communication when writing about the history of PR. It is claimed that business communication overshadows the importance of grass roots organizations, religion, social movements, non-profit organizations, political organizations, special interest groups and governments. This emphasis has limited the dating of the beginning of PR history by many PR historians to around the early 1900s. This deemphasises the fact that business had adopted the techniques and methods used in the other sectors mentioned above. There is also a lack of research on PR work conducted by people for whom PR is not a full-time profession (Miller, 2000, p. 409), and those who do not consider themselves as working in the field of PR or publicity (Lamme, L'Etang and St. John III, 2009, p. 158). K.S. Miller (2000, p. 393) expresses that there is also a lack of emphasis on the historical relationship between business and the political state, when she refers to Culbertson who states that "a nation's political system and culture do help shape its practice of public relations" (Culbertson, 1996, p. 6). Günter Bentele (2012) also emphasises that an account of PR history should be embedded in a framework of social and national history, i.e. "in the context of the larger society" (Miller, 2000, p. 386).

I will therefore propose that an analysis of the principal national discourses can provide a platform for studying PR and strategic communication from a historic perspective. Thus, these discourses involve the most important organisations and groups, not only business communication. The first signs of the institutionalisation of PR and strategic communication may further be found in planned and organized public communication campaigns performed on a large scale. These campaigns are essential to an understanding of the history of PR and strategic communication because of the way in which they defined thinking, and their strategic character which included specific goals, interest groups, media channels and levels of influence. They also may be differentiated from other communication disciplines and

fields, such as marketing and journalism, and the studies of the public sphere in general. The next level of institutionalisation concerns the organisation of communication departments and specific individuals with strategic communication as a full-time vocation. The emergence of PR and strategic communication may therefore be analysed in the context of three aspects. Consequently, I will divide the main research question into three parts:

When and how did PR and strategic communication in Norway emerge...

1. ... as a practise that influenced main national discourses?
2. ... as a means of influencing the public through planned public communication campaigns?
3. ... as a distinct function in an organization with full-time communication workers?

To answer these questions, I will first identify the main discourses in the Norwegian public sphere and identify principal early practitioners and their goals and strategies (RQ1). I will further identify what is defined as the first public communication campaign in Norway (RQ2), and then identify the development of what may be said to be the first information department in Norway (RQ3). A public communication campaign should involve:

purposive attempts to inform or influence behaviors in large audiences within a specified time period using an organized set of communication activities and featuring an array of mediated messages in multiple channels generally to produce non-commercial benefits to individuals and society (Rice & Atkin, 2013, p. 3).

The analysis here is inspired by discourse analysis, in the sense of the search for means and goals in the argumentation: “where the goals of one action, once turned into reality, become the context of action (the circumstances) of further action” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 4). This is especially true when organizations, governments or groups tackle crises or disruptions which call for responses and strategies “which will hopefully restore balance and rationality” (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 3). Logan (2014, p. 663-4) also links the beginning and development of PR (in the US) to the criticism of business and its need for legitimation in the late 19th century. Legitimacy can be defined as “a discursively created sense of acceptance in specific discourses or orders of discourse” (Vaara, Tienari, & Laurila, 2006, p. 793). Public relations practitioners may even “be seen as discourse workers specialising in communication and the presentation of argument and employing rhetorical strategies to achieve managerial aims” (L’Etang, 2009, p. 3). I will also briefly look at how current academic literature identifies the beginnings of Norwegian PR, before I reach further back into history into what I consider as constituting the beginnings of Norwegian PR history.

Some authors link the development of public relations in Norway in the 19th century to the rise of mass media, industrialization, the expansion of voting rights, the emergence of trade unions and the introduction of parliamentarianism in 1884. However, there is limited knowledge and research regarding the link between the industrialization and the rise of democracy in the 19th century on the one hand, and the development of strategic communication on the other (Haug, 1993, p. 71; Ihlen & Rakkenes, 2009, p. 431). Ihlen and Rakkenes suggest “that the establishment of a market economy during the 19th century also led to increased attempts to obtain media coverage” (2009, p. 431), although they do not attempt to examine this relationship in detail. They also mention lobbying in the Norwegian parliament and the process of Norwegian independence from Sweden. They refer to Espeli (1999), but his account of the history of lobbying does not consider events before the establishment of parliamentarianism in Norway in 1884. Other theorists date the history of

Norwegian PR to after World War Two (Horsle, 2011; Mortensen 1996). An exception here is G. Warner-Søderholm and T. Bang (2013, p. 14), who trace PR history back to the early 1930s when “the Labour Party, developed, implemented and launched election campaigns based on principles of modern PR with carefully defined stakeholder groups” (Bang, 2015, p. 113).

2. The main discourse elements in Norwegian history

The period between 1807 and 1814 was perhaps the first time printed propaganda was used to influence public opinion in Norway and other Nordic countries. This was partly due to the fact that a larger part of the population became literate around this time (Frandsen, 2013). It seems therefore reasonable to date the start of Norwegian PR and strategic communication to the beginning of the 19th century, which was a period of crisis in Norway. Norway was under the rule of Denmark; Denmark was allied to the French and Napoleon, and consequently was at war with Great Britain. The British blockaded Denmark and Norway leading to famine due to food shortages (Bjerke, 2009, p. 63). Norway’s future political and economic status was at stake; the defeat of Napoleon meant that Norway could be ceded to Sweden as war booty. This critical situation required a response from the Norwegian elite, culminating in a liberal constitution and the establishment of the Norwegian national state (in union with Sweden). The radical Norwegian constitution also provided a foundation for development towards modernization, including freedom of speech, the establishment of political institutions, democratization and more business freedom. The modern history of Norway after this period may be briefly characterised by industrialization, the establishment of scientific institutions, a more rational public sphere and universal suffrage in 1913 (Dyrvik, 2005; Sørensen, 2001; Hommerstad, 2014).

Public debate in Norway at the beginning of the 19th century was consequently dominated by the relationship to the Danish colonial power. It was then concerned with the development of the Norwegian nation state (in union with Sweden), which involved the processes of independence, the establishment of sovereignty and democracy, and the development and increased awareness of a national identity. This discourse may be viewed as running from the years before the adoption of the Norwegian Constitution in 1814, and up to the dissolution of the Norwegian-Swedish Union in 1905, the vote for women in 1913, and the EU referendums in 1972 and 1994 (Neumann, 2001; Lunden, 1993), and the public debate concerning immigration in the new millennium. This discourse may be identified as *the national identity and independence debate* or *the cultural discourse* (Rokkan, 1966).

The other main discourse in modern Norwegian history may be identified as *the economic discourse on labour and business rights and distribution of resources* (Mykland, 1978; Njåstad, 2011; Rokkan 1966). Farmers and later industrial workers challenged the position of civil servants and the urban population who constituted the political, social and cultural elite at the beginning of the 19th century (Seip, 1998, p.17). The core period for this discourse runs from the establishment of the Norwegian Constitution in 1814 to the establishment of *the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions* (NCTU) in 1899, and the establishment of the Basic Agreement between the NCTU and the *Norwegian Employers’ Confederation* in 1935. Although this discourse continues into the 21st century, with a focus on corporate social responsibility (CSR), the most important developments took place at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century.

3. Discourse element 1: National identity and independence

Towards the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1813, there was a so-called propaganda war aimed at influencing public opinion concerning Norway's future status (Hemstad, 2014, p. 15). Amongst other things, the *Royal Norwegian Society for Development* is said to have played a crucial role in the adoption of the Norwegian constitution in 1814, independence from Denmark, and later the union with Sweden. Many of the society's principal members were involved in the public debates concerning these contemporary changes. The society published a magazine that was an important tool for the dissemination of ideas and attitudes in the crucial years up to 1814 (Dyrvik & Feldbæk, 2005, p. 121; Sørensen, 1981). The society is also viewed as being the first nationwide organisation and institutionalised organ for the expression of Norwegian national interests (Collet, 2009, p.60). From a present-day perspective, the society may be defined as an interest group or NGO that aimed to influence governmental and monarchical policies through the mobilisation of opinion by using strategic relations building and communication, and defined goals.

The pursuit of strategic relations building may be identified as early as the foundation meeting of the society in 1809. The foundation meeting coincided with the farewell ceremony of the president for the Danish government commission in Norway, who was elected to be next on the throne in Sweden. This strategic timing can be related to a possible future union with Sweden, with the late Norwegian governor taking the crown as a joint monarch of the union countries. At the time, there was great discontent in Norway concerning the rule of the Danish absolute government, and two out of three invited guests to the meeting signed up as members of the society (Collet, 2009, p. 45-46). Support was raised for the idea of people's sovereignty, with a constitutional monarchy where the monarch was subject to the decisions of a national assembly: these ideas were inspired by the French revolution. Such ideas were important for the establishment of the first Norwegian constitution in May 1814 and later modified when the Swedish king also became king of Norway in the union at the end of the same year (Njåstad, 2011).

This influence of the elite in the development of Norwegian nationalism in the 1800s may be said to belong to a romantic, pragmatic, and rural enlightenment tradition. During this period from a political perspective, the Norwegian farmer was viewed as being authentic and untainted and the bearer of the spirit of liberty in line with the ideas of the French age of enlightenment with regard to the simple and natural (Njåstad, 2011, p. 215; Sørensen, 2001, p. 20-21). The new constitution gave the farmers as a social group the opportunity to step into the political domain and play an active role in the further development of political rights in the coming years (Hommerstad, 2014, p. 2; Sørensen, 2001, p. 78; Rokkan, 1966, p. 75). Farmers in and outside of parliament worked for civil rights and duties including general conscription, a better education system, a more democratic election system and, finally, local self-government which was established in every municipality in Norway in 1938. Consequently, the political farmers published political catechisms where the aim was to mobilise all men by swearing an oath to the constitution concerning their right to vote. Just after the first extraordinary meeting of parliament in November 1814, a farmer named Niels Bru went on what was probably the first traveling election campaign in Norway, going from one small village to the next and distributing a brief political pamphlet urging people to vote for more farmers in the parliament (Hommerstad, 2014). Just two days after the new constitution was adopted, the farmer and timber trader Ole Aaset distributed a letter in his constituency encouraging people to vote for farmers. His argument was that farmers and merchants were the people who "maintained the other dependent estates, from the King down to the local authorities" (quoted from Hommerstad, 2014, p. 41, my translation).

Opposition newspapers were also established in the years after 1814; these functioned as agitation organs for both the farmers and the critical elite. It is said that the farmers led an especially aggressive agitation at the beginning of the 1830s leading to a parliament in 1833,

which, for the first time in history, constituted of more farmers than civil servants. This activity may be viewed as a reaction to the supernumerary role the farmers were given in the first years after the establishment of the Norwegian constitution (Hommerstad, 2014).

A specific goal of the political farmers was to move political power from the centre to the periphery, from the capital to the rural areas (Njåstad, 2011, p. 233-4). Another goal was to defend traditional rural culture against secular urban culture (Hjellum 2010:59), which has also been one of the two main lines of demarcation in the development of Norwegian party politics since the establishment of the first political party in 1884. The other line of demarcation in Norwegian party politics deals with economic matters related to business and labour rights (Rokkan, 1966).

5. Discourse element 2: Business and labour rights

The Norwegian trade and economy at the beginning of the 19th century was based on shipping, fishing, and copper and iron production (Collet, 2009, p. 15) and not least farming, as the rural farming population represented 90 per cent of the total population (Hommerstad, 2014, p. 4).

In the pre-1814 constitution period, tradesmen played an important role in the development of the new liberal economic order. These businessmen also worked through *The Royal Norwegian Society for Development* which aimed to develop an independent Norwegian economy, with a minimum dependency on foreign imports (Collet, 2009, p. 23). After the famine in 1808, they argued that Norway “should be no more dependent on either Danish grain or English cotton goods in the future” (Bjerke, 2009, p. 63, my translation). The official objective of the society was to promote all aspects of Norwegian trade and production: crafts, industry and farming (Bjerke, 2009, p. 61).

Some farmers also contributed to the development of the new constitution, which also favoured some of their activities; for instance, after the implementation of the constitution the timber trade became more accessible (Njåstad, 2011, p. 233). During the post-constitutional period, the political farmers further argued for lower taxes, lower governmental costs, and the abolishment of privileges that inhibited freedom of trade (Hommerstad, 2014, p. 85). The farmers carried on such an anti-governmental line, which was far more aggressive and went much further than the civil servants’ and the bourgeois tradesmen’s ideal of a passive state. The strategy succeeded in reducing governmental taxes, higher taxes on imported food, and reduced governmental expenses for the establishment of the first Norwegian university (Njåstad, 2011, p. 233).

Norway was severely affected by unemployment and poverty in the middle of the century, due to an increased population and international crises. In 1848, the editor Marcus Thrane founded the first extensive political movement in Norway, mobilizing workers and other groups who sympathized with their fight for equality and justice. Approximately 30,000 men joined the movement, which counted for seven per cent of the total Norwegian male population over the age of 20 years (Nielsen, 2011, p. 127; Pryser, 1993, p. 169). Since Thrane organised people without the right to vote, he worked through extra-parliamentary means. Inspired by the British Chartism, they veered away from ideas of revolution and adopted various strategies such as signed petitions (Sejersted, 1978, p. 422; Seip, 1997). For instance, in 1850, the organisation submitted a *petition* to the Swedish king that had been signed by 13,000 men. The petition contained demands for universal suffrage, improved living standards for cotters, restrictions on the sale of alcohol, and improved public schools. However, the claims were totally rejected by the king, and consequently the movement then took on a more socialist and radical profile (Hansen, 1998, p. 383; Pryser, 1993, p. 169-170).

In Thrane's speech to the first annual national meeting in 1850 he talked about "the rights of man" referring to the French revolution (Thrane 1998). In response to this agitation, the government established *The Society for the Promotion of Enlightenment of the People*, worked for improved public education and the dissemination of knowledge. Information and ideas were mediated through a magazine called *The Friend of the People* and public lectures (Try, 1979, p. 387; Seip, 1997, p. 191). However, in the government's view, the *Thranite Movement* became too radical, and was consequently banned in 1851. The government initiated proceedings against Thrane and many of his followers, resulting in their arrest and imprisonment (Pryser, 1993, p. 170).

The first trade unions established in the 1870s were dominated by industrial workers. However, it is likely that the establishment of these labour movements was delayed by governmental actions against the *Thranite Movement* and the imprisonment of its principal leaders (Pryser, 1993, p. 171).

6. Discourse element 3: Public communication campaigns

The first public information campaign in Norway was launched in 1889, in the sense of a purposive attempt to influence behaviours in large audiences using a "set of communication activities and featuring an array of mediated messages in multiple channels" (Rice & Atkin, 2013, p. 3).

Throughout the nineteenth century, Europe was plagued by numerous infectious diseases and epidemics, posing a serious threat to general health. This situation challenged governments to gather information, formulate laws, build institutions, and disseminate information and knowledge. In particular, measures against tuberculosis demanded drastic changes in people's habits. This understanding triggered a public information campaign, which is claimed to have had a considerable effect on young people in the first decades of the 20th century (Nielsen, 2011, p. 16-27).

In 1889, the *Norwegian Medical Association* approved the so-called *Tuberculosis-poster* which advocated ten measures against the disease (Blom, 1998, p. 14); the main points were the isolation of those infected and disinfection (Harbitz, 2014, p. 134). 10,000 copies of the poster were printed and hung in public places around the country (National Archives of Norway, 2003). Information was also provided regarding the importance of hygiene with clear messages such as, "Wash your hands!" and "Do not spit on the floor!" Much of the preventive work targeted children and young people. The first posters were posted in public schools in 1889, and systematic information was given to the pupils concerning diseases and infection risks (Nielsen, 2011, p. 26).

The Norwegian National Association against Tuberculosis arranged hundreds of lectures around the country each year. A number of doctors produced written information that provided thorough knowledge of the disease, and the tuberculosis association distributed 174,000 brochures in 1912, and between 20,000 and 50,000 in the following years. The organization's magazine *Notices (Norwegian: Meddelelser)* also had a large circulation to doctors, vets, priests, teachers, midwives, and so on. The magazine contained stories on the latest achievements in the fight against tuberculosis and advice on how to avoid the disease. Daily newspapers were also encouraged to print content from the magazine. However, the association's management were aware that many people either did not attend lectures or read their articles and brochures. Educated nurses and some midwives were therefore appointed to travel the country to visit families that needed information concerning hygiene (Blom, 2002, p. 74). The main target audience was defined in an instruction note to the itinerant teachers, where it was said that they should "seek to reach those who are unable to attend lectures or read brochures and who are thus most in need of information and advice"

(<http://www.arkivverket.no/arkivverket/Bruk-arkivet/Nettutstillinger/Kampen-mot-tuberkulosen/Instruks-for-vandrelaerere>, my translation).

However, some of the information was targeted at more specific groups. Additional efforts were made to provide information to the male population concerning the dangers of spitting, which represented a great infection risk. Housewives were encouraged to teach their children not to spit and to provide older men with spittoons, so they also could learn where to spit safely. They were also encouraged to improve cleanliness and nutrition (Blom, 2002, p. 74), where the target is clearly stated in a working plan from *The Norwegian National Association against Tuberculosis* in 1910:

It is the foundation and preservation of a home without tuberculosis that will finally prevent the spread of tuberculosis and lead to its extermination (quoted from Blom, 2002, p. 74, my translation).

However, there is no conclusive indication concerning the results of this persistent campaigning, but towards the end of the 1930s, the most weighty articles concerning the dangers of spitting and the lack of hygiene were no longer featured in the tuberculosis association's magazine. The main focus of the magazine at this time was on information concerning the experiments with tuberculin tests and vaccine (Blom, 2002, p. 75).

7. Discourse element 4: The institutionalisation of PR and strategic communication

The first Norwegian information department may be said to be the governmental press office that came under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), which was in operation after the dissolution of the union with Sweden in 1905. The first attempt to establish a press office was carried out in 1909 on the basis of what was regarded as disparaging and incorrect information in the foreign press about Norway. This may be viewed in relation to the perception of how effectively Sweden had developed their press service, which was able to influence foreign newspapers to adopting a sympathetic view towards Sweden concerning relations between Sweden and Norway (Omang, 1959, 49).

The Norwegian foreign minister summoned key press workers to a meeting in March 1909. According to the minutes of the meeting "it was pointed out that activities concerning foreign relations in 1905 had proved the importance of influencing the foreign press and public at a given time" (quoted in Omang, 1959, p. 50, my translation). The participants at the meeting recommended unanimously that an official in the ministry should be commissioned to lead what they called an intelligence service. One of the editors at the meeting claimed that MFA's journalist abroad should conceal his relationship to the Norwegian government, and the participants concluded that information concerning the existence of the press service should not be given to the public or the foreign press (Omang, 1959, p. 47-50).

Consequently, a journalist was secretly employed in Berlin in August 1909, and another was appointed at the MFA in an office which they attempted to conceal. However, the arrangement was hard to conceal after questions were asked in the Norwegian parliament about the secret grants that followed, and a press release from the MFA made the press service public 26th May 1910. The workers union's paper *the Social-Democrat* (who had their representative at the first meeting) called the press office a failed institution and revealed information concerning the secret agreement with the journalist in Berlin. Thus, it was no longer possible to keep a secret press service abroad and the foreign correspondent was dismissed on 30th December, 1910. One year later the journalist at the MFA office met the same fate (Omang, 1959, p. 53-55; *Parliament Proposition no. 62*, 1919:1).

The dramatic circumstances surrounding the outbreak of the First World War once more put the need for a press service on the agenda. In September 1917, the MFA advertised for “an experienced journalist with proficiency in languages” (*Parliament Proposition no. 62*, 1919, my translation). The advertisement stimulated a renewal of the debate in the press on these matters, and the MFA answered that the service was to be developed in consultation with *the Norwegian Press Association*. However, the matter was dropped once again because they “were unsuccessful in finding a competent candidate for the position” (*Parliament Proposition nr. 62:1*, 1919, my translation).

The question was raised again by the foreign minister in 1919. The idea was now based on an understanding of “the important influence of the press” (*Parliament Proposition nr. 140*, 1919, p. 1, my translation) and a belief that “Norwegian interests have been harmed by the lack of knowledge concerning Norwegian conditions” (*ibid.*, my translation). On this occasion, the MFA contacted *the Norwegian Press Association* in advance and “requested them to nominate two journalists who would be willing to develop such a plan together with one of the ministry officials” (*Parliament Proposition nr. 62*, 1919, p. 2, my translation). The Swedish press service became the role model for the MFA in 1909; the Danish equivalent seems to be of more importance in 1919, and the idea concerning a secret press service was now abandoned. Still, there seems to be no debate concerning the press’ responsibility as a critical and independent voice regarding Norwegian foreign interests. Both parts gave more emphasis to building a closer relationship stating that “the experience gained by press attachés will provide an excellent education, which must be presumed will keep the doors open for good positions in the daily newspapers” (*Parliament Proposition nr. 140*, 1919, p. 4, my translation). It was also emphasized that it would “be of importance for the Norwegian press’ ability to serve Norwegian interests abroad” (*ibid.*, my translation). The mutual interests and close relationship were supported by the chairman of *the Norwegian News Agency*, which was a private corporation owned by Norwegian newspapers. The chairman referred in a letter to *the Parliamentary Constitution Committee* how England and Austria cooperated with their news agencies during World War One:

(...) certainly, we should learn from experiences gained by other countries through their extensive propaganda activities during the war. In most cases, this propaganda was not carried out by official press agents, but by correspondents of the respective countries’ news agencies. In reality, these agents belonged to the respective foreign ministries; indeed, they have been correspondents for the news agencies (Thommessen 1919, my translation).

In his letter, the chairman concludes that they are “completely willing to participate in the execution of such an arrangement” (Thommessen 1919, my translation). The press office was established in October 1919, and the term “press attachés” was replaced by “correspondents”; they had offices in Berlin, London, Paris, and Washington. In January 1920, the guidelines for the correspondents were officially approved by the Foreign Minister. The correspondents were to refute any claims that were misleading or harmful for Norwegian interests in the foreign press. They were also expected to promote articles and notices in the newspapers that promoted Norwegian interests (Omang, 1959, p. 332). These may be said to be guidelines that are concurrent with modern PR activities today.

8. The relationships between the discourse elements

The four above-mentioned discourse elements may be followed further through the growth of PR and strategic communication in Norway. In the business and labour rights

discourse element we find the first Norwegian, popular, political movement, which was established in 1848, and later the trade unions, and finally the *Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions* (NCTU) in 1899. Within the Norwegian public sphere, these movements and unions highlighted economic differences between social classes and raised awareness regarding the problem of poverty (Olstad, 2009, p. 16). Partly due to this raised awareness concerning economic inequalities in Norway, the beginning of the twentieth century was characterised by strikes, lockouts, conflicts and public debates on working conditions (Sogner, 2014, p. 311-312). These conflicts may be said to be a main contributing factor to the development of the *Basic Agreement* between NCTU and the *Norwegian Employers' Confederation* in 1935. The Basic Agreement formed the basis for the corporate state, where many of the following debates on labour rights took place behind closed doors (Hjellum, 2010; Rokkan, 1966). The corporate state and the Basic Agreement may also be linked to modern CSR strategies (Ihlen, 2011), which certainly may be said to be linked to an institutionalization of the PR function, through PR and communication departments and PR agencies, as agents for businesses legitimation (cf. Logan, p. 662-663).

A cultural discourse developed regarding the division between the centre and the periphery in the post-1814 period, between farmers' interests on the one hand, the urban bourgeoisie and civil servants on the other hand. The rural, peripheral Norway represented the driving force behind independency from the Swedish monarch and Danish institutions, the power of the civil servants, and also changes regarding the Norwegian language. Important topics in the public debate included questions regarding parliamentarianism, the right to vote, urban culture, manners and moral influenced by impulses from abroad. In the public debate, the traditional urban elite were often described as not having national interests at heart in the political strife regarding the union with Sweden - from the 1860s onwards (Seip, 1998, p. 21; Rokkan, 1966, p. 74-77). The tension between the so-called "authentic" national interests and the relationship to Europe is a reoccurring controversy in the reconstruction of Norwegian nationality (Seip, 1998, p. 21). Ideas in this sphere recurred in the debates before the two EU referendums, where the Norwegian people voted no to joining the ECC/EU in 1972 and 1994 respectively (Lunden, 1993; Neumann 2001).

Opposition to Swedish dominance in the union between Sweden and Norway may also be said to have contributed to the institutionalisation of PR in Norway. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) considered it necessary to inform the public and governments in other countries regarding the circumstances concerning the dissolution of the union with Sweden in 1905. The unsuccessful attempt to establish a press club in 1909 and its final establishment in 1919 were inspired by corresponding press clubs in Sweden and Denmark (Omang, 1959). The first PR association in Norway and the development of the profession and information departments after World War Two may also possibly be linked to the MFA's Press Office. *The Norwegian Public Relations Club* was established in 1949 and the first president was the head of the MFA press service at that time and he was also the head of the Norwegian Information Service in USA during World War Two (Mørk, 1994, p. 8-9). There is also a possible link between the tuberculosis campaigns between 1889 and 1940, the first governmental information campaigns after 1956, *The Central Government Information Centre* established in 1965 (Lindholm, 2014, p. 256), and the national public health campaigns and national crises communication of today, where civil society still plays an important role.

9. Some conclusions and further research

Defining some of the main trends of a nation's PR history may seem to be a fruitful strategy for organising PR history and prioritising core events related to PR and

communication in a nation's historical development. In the case of Norway, there are two main public discourses in the modern history of the country: one relates to economic factors, and the other concerns identity, culture, and democracy. These two discourses, together with the development of public communication campaigns and institutionalisation of the PR function, provide a good overview of the early organisations and the main structures of the history of PR and strategic communication in Norway. We have seen that the most important communication measures were responses to changes and crises, where the goals were to re-establish equilibrium and a new improved society.

The basis for the two main public discourses in modern Norwegian history is to a great extent related to the relationship to Denmark as a colonial power. In a time of crisis, war and famine, the future of the Norwegian political and economic status was at stake, which called for a response from influential people in Norway. The principal individuals in these discourses belonged to the Norwegian elite who were educated in Copenhagen, where they encountered modern European thoughts about liberty, constitutional governments and enlightenment inspired by the French revolution (Seip, 1998, p. 15). By advocating a liberal constitution, their strategies mark the beginnings of the process towards modernisation of Norwegian society. Paradoxically, the Norwegian establishment seemed to oppose that the lower classes and the Thranite Movement embraced ideas about liberty, human rights and enlightenment, although they believed these essential for establishing harmony in society (Seip, 1997, pp. 190-191; Hjellum, 2010, p. 62).

By pushing for a liberal constitution, their strategies mark the beginning of the process towards modernisation of the Norwegian society. But the ideas about liberty, human rights and enlightenment were still rejected by the Norwegian establishment, when it came from below, through *the Thranite movement* (Hjellum 2010:62), even if enlightenment and knowledge was believed among the elite to bring the society back to harmony (Seip 1997:190-1)

It is claimed that modern "public relations is a product of modernity" (Raaz & Whemeier, 2011, p. 256-257). Modernisation also entails a society based on knowledge, information and rationality, which is the basis for the development of public communication campaigns and strategic communication as we have seen in the tuberculosis campaigns and the early attempts of media management by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. These are examples of the beliefs and attempts to disseminate what is viewed as being a truthful and accurate description of the world, in line with a rational, modernistic ideology and as a response to crises and uncertainties. We have seen the MFA press office's reasoning to prevent and correct what is denoted as incorrect information in the foreign press about Norway (*Parliament Proposition nr. 140*, 1919, p. 1). A modernisation of society has also led to attempts to control nature through research and science. We have seen that the tuberculosis campaigns disseminated scientific knowledge to people around the country, which enabled them to take control of matters during a public health crisis.

The ideas and establishment of the MFA press office may be traced to the Danish and Swedish equivalents, as many of the Norwegian public discourses are involved in and inspired from the discourses in these neighbouring countries. How these ideas and further Norwegian developments coincide and merge with the introduction of the US term PR and knowledge from the 1930s, when the labour movement used "rhetoric inspired by American public relation propaganda", (Warner-Søderholm & Bang, 2013, p. 40) is still an open question for further research.

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25 years of PR in Romanian book sector: A short history of institutionalization and professionalization

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This paper is the first to review the 25 years of PR in the Romanian book sector and establish a typology of most used technics and instruments of book promotion, while revealing the evolution in terms of understanding and practicing PR on a market that is constantly growing and is key to the development of a society. Correlating this with the general development of public relations as new profession and field of study in Romania, this paper allows a deeper discussion on the institutionalization and professionalization of public relations in the Romanian book sector.

Key words: PR for book sector, institutionalization, professionalization, history of PR in Romania

Introduction

During the last decades, there is a growing preoccupation of public relations scholars to go beyond defining public relations and delimitating from related domains, to analyzing in-depth the various practices and specializations that appeared with the development of the profession and of the domain. This led to a multi-level approach on the study of public relations: on the one hand there is a line of research on analyzing the specializations of public relations, that generated the emergence of other areas such as internal communication and public relations, corporate communication, crisis communication, health public relations or government public relations, etc; on the other hand, there is a line of research on how public relations are understood and practiced in other parts of the world (national/domestic vs. international/global), that generated the country focused case studies.

Initially, both lines of research were dominated by the functional approach aiming to answer to the “Effectiveness Question” (why and to what extent public relations increases organizational effectiveness) and to the “Excellence Question” (how public relations must be organized and managed to be able to make the contribution to organizational effectiveness), fundamental in developing the Excellence theory of Grunig and Grunig, which was the dominant theory in public relations in the 1990s.

Later on, scholars started to focus on developing common conceptual frameworks to engage in cross-national comparisons and international studies. It is the case of Krishnamurthy and Verčič, for example, who edited the first Global Public Relations Handbook and pointed out “there is also a dire need to extend our analyses of public relations in different regions by going beyond a couple of conceptual or theoretical underpinnings and also exploring how contextual variables external to the organization (such as culture, political system, economic system, and media system) influence public relations activities in various parts of the world” (2003, p. XXVII).

Such studies that take into account the context of public relations are, in fact, part of the wider socio-cultural turn emerging recently in public relations scholarship (Bentele, 2008, Bentele & Wehmeier 2007, 2008; Edwards 2011, 2012; Ihlen & van Ruler, 2007, 2009; Ihlen

& Verhoeven, 2009; L'Etang, 1996, 2004, 2005, 2009; McKie & Munshi, 2009; Moloney, 2006). Scholars embracing approaches inspired by Critical Theory discuss also about *public space* and *public sphere* and not only about *market*, about *effects* and *impact* of public relations practices and not only about improving the process itself, more about *power issues* in society and various actors and less about *the power of a single, privileged actor*. In order words, they bring forward alternative discourses to complement the dominant managerial discourse in the greater conversation about public relations' current role in society.

It is in this context that this study discusses the gradual institutionalization of public relations within the Romanian book sector after 1990: besides providing a Romanian case study that contributes to the mapping of practicing public relations in various parts of the words, this study can illustrate the social role of public relations in a post-communist society that is undergoing a process of reconstruction on so many levels (institutional, social, identity). Our study focuses on the Romanian book sector, mainly on publishing houses, because their activity and mission imply also a substantial public mandate and have social and cultural impact in society. In addition, this is an interesting case study all the more as the Romanian book sector is particularly different than the other European book sectors – this is a very fragmented market (around 1,400 publishing houses), with only 45 publishing houses issuing more than 100 titles per year. According to the Romanian Editors' Federation, the Romanian book market is estimated at around 90-100 million EURO (including manuals and the kiosk editions sold with newspapers) and, in terms of book consumption, this is equivalent to each Romanian buying 1 book (Romania's population is of over 22 million people), which is 7 times lower than in Western countries (RP, 2014, November 12). Among the causes for the underdevelopment of Romanian book market, the Federation lists the low purchasing power of the population, the existing problems in the distribution system (major decrease of bookstores), lack of governmental strategies and programs in the book sectors, as well as the failure of the educational system to encourage reading. In fact, Romania is constantly placed in the second half of the international hierarchy resulted from the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) scoring low points in reading: in 2012 it ranked 45 out of 65.

These particularities of the Romanian book sector are thus an additional reason for exploring the role of public relations in society, as there is also a need, at social level, for publishing houses to play also a social role.

Theoretical construction of the paper

While discussing the development of the public relations in the Romanian book sector, this paper aims to underline the complementarity of the dominant managerial and of the recent critical approaches in the study of public relations. Romanian publishing houses may have, indeed, a more powerful social mandate and serve public interest due to the existing context of the Romanian society, but after 1990 they are mainly private businesses and therefore the functionalist understanding of public relations as business practice cannot be ignored: “public relations always served as an instrument of the liberal economy and private business, being meant to assess the business performance in society or in particular public spheres (by means of different types of profitability: financial, social, relational etc.)” (Rogojinaru, 2013).

In turn, scholars who assume a critical approach to public relations privilege the social and economic context of public relations, rather than the practice: “the systems theories like those proposed by Grunig and his colleagues are incomplete since they ignore the context of public relations in terms of its origin in, and impact on, existing power relations in society. Generally, critical theorists argue that public relations practitioners perpetuate the ability of both corporations and government to maintain a privileged position in society, usually by dominating the news agenda and excluding minority voices from public debate” (Edwards,

2006). Therefore, the critical approach to public relations not only changes the focus from organizations' point of view to society at large, but also introduces other elements of analysis, such as the variety of actors acting in society and the status they have. The relationship to be established, the negotiation and agreement to shared meanings is no longer a process only between an organization and its publics: it is a process taking place in society where various actors (organizations, governments, media) with various agendas are active and participate in a dialogue that has become not only a public dialogue, but a public debate, which means of public interest. It is in this broad context that the research questions in critical public relations change from "how public relations help organizations be efficient" to reflexive questions concerned about "what is the role of public relations in society".

Critical approaches represent clearly a paradigm shift from understanding and analyzing public relations in terms of management theory that was indeed taken-for-granted in public relations research with Excellent/Symmetry theory becoming a "dominant paradigm" (Botan and Taylor, 2004), to understanding public relations as a social force or social activity in society. Thus, public relations research has broadened both in terms of methodologies and approaches, as illustrated by the in-depth inventory made by L' Etang (2005): "there has been a major discursive turn within the field (Mickey, 2003; Surma, 2005; Weaver, Motion, & Ro per, 2005); a re-orientation away from the U.S. towards other cultures and histories (L'Etang, 2004; Sriramesh and Verčič, 2003; Tilson & Alozie, 2004); and a merging with media sociology (Moloney, 2000). There has also been some published research from media sociologists of various critical (in both senses) persuasions (Davis, 2002; McNair, 1996; Miller & Dinan, 2000). Careful work on theoretical frameworks—Pieczka's (1996) forensic essay critiquing systems theory remains a classic—and key concepts, such as Leitch and Neilson's (1997) deconstruction of "public," and some polemical pieces, such as McKie (1997, 2001)—have begun to provide a richer field. Berger's (2005) recent insights into public relations at the managerial level explode the concept of "dominant coalition," to reveal the chaotic, partial and political world of management practice." (p. 522).

This shows a trend towards a consistent European body of research in public relations that challenges the US approach to public relations focused on management theory: "Contrary to most public relations approaches, a socially oriented view is not oriented toward management problems, but rather toward the relationship that public relations has with the societies in which it is produced and with the social systems it coproduces. However, we argue that sociological approaches to public relations can also give meaning to practices at the mesolevel of organizations and the microlevel of individual practitioners" (Ihlen & van Ruler, 2009, p. 3).

This paper draws particularly on the seminal work of Berger & Luckmann (1966) focusing on the concept of *institutionalization* that emerges from the *habitualization* of practices: "institutionalization occurs whenever there is a reciprocal typification of habitualized actions by types of actors. Put differently, any such typification is an institution. What must be stressed is the reciprocity of institutional typifications and the typicality of not only the actions but also the actors in institutions. The typifications of habitualized actions that constitute institutions are always shared ones. They are available to all the members of the particular social group in question, and the institution itself typifies individual actors as well as individual actions. The institution posits that actions of type X will be performed by actors of type X." (p. 81). Therefore, social activities that repeat and tend to follow a certain pattern lead to the emergence and further development of practices associated with these activities and, through typification, reciprocity and habitualization, they will follow in time a gradual process of institutionalization. And this happens also because a symbolic meaning, of

what that practices entail, has been socially constructed and shared by the ones who practice them.

The concept of institutionalization is useful in understanding how public relations practices have developed in time and lead to the emergence of institutions and not only. Institutionalization stands for the emergence of a profession, of a professional body of practitioners, of education and schools to form the future professional body and, of course, institutions. At the same time, since public relations itself is a dynamic process in which social actors interact and construct new definitions, meanings and interpretations, these can eventually generate new structures and institutions which, in turn, bring new significations and interpretations about public relations.

Historicity is another key concept used in this paper, especially since the analysis traces the development of public relations in Romanian book sector for a period of 25 years. As Berger and Luckmann underline, once the institutions established, they “imply historicity and control. Reciprocal typifications of actions are built up in the course of a shared history. They cannot be created instantaneously. Institutions always have a history, of which they are the products. It is impossible to understand an institution adequately without an understanding of the historical process in which it was produced.” (p. 82). At the same time, they emphasize that “institutions also, by the very fact of their existence, control human conduct by setting up predefined patterns of conduct, which channel it in one direction as against the many other directions that would theoretically be possible. It is important to stress that this controlling character is inherent in institutionalization as such, prior to or apart from any mechanisms of sanctions specifically set up to support an institution” (ibid.). In other words, the institutionalized practices impose the norms that guide human behavior and this is how control is exerted. It is a control by social norm, not by coercion and sanction that appear once laws are in force.

Summing up, this paper looks at the development of public relations in the Romanian book sector from both a functionalist and critical perspective, needed in order to describe the way it is practiced but also placed within a larger social context, so that it ultimately serves not only the purpose of the publishing houses, but also that of the society at large.

Methodology

This longitudinal study aims to trace the main stages in the evolution of public relations in the Romanian book during a period of 25 years, as well as to identify the current practices and understanding of the very role of public relations within a sample of publishing houses. It builds on the key statements of constructivism, therefore it looks at the *early post-communist activities* of promoting books, to identify a certain *pattern* that leads to the emergence and development of certain *practices* of public relations associated with these activities. It is argued that, in time, through *reciprocal typification* and *habitualization*, these result in *institutionalization*.

We used the three phases identified by Rogojinaru (2009) in the development of public relations in Romania to identify practices, actors and structures of public relations specific to each of these stages during the last 25 years in the Romanian book sector. Thus, Rogojinaru (2009) distinguished between the pioneer phase of the early 1990s (1991–1995) based on an amalgam practices of media, publicity and promotional events, the exploratory phase in the second half of 1990s (1995–2000/2001) Introductory for public relations studies and transient in practice, the consolidation phase from 2001 and ongoing (p. 553).

We continued with an analysis of three publishing houses (Humanitas, Nemira and Vellant) considered representative for the Romanian book sector against three criteria: dimension, financial capacity and consumer perception of reputation. Humanitas Publishing House is part of a greater holding including, among others, a bookstores network, a

multimedia and a digital branch. Founded in 1990, immediately after the 1990 Revolution, through the privatization of a state-owned publishing house (Political Publishing House), Humanitas is currently the leader of the Romanian book market (in 2013 it reported a turnover of 7.35 million euros and an increase by 8.4% in profits as compared to the previous fiscal year). Nemira Publishing House was founded in 1991 by a Romanian writer and is currently owned and managed by his family. Nemira also integrates a national distribution chain, with seven Nemira bookstores in the biggest towns of Romania. For 2013 it reported a turnover of almost 1.5 million euros. Vellant Publishing House is a very young publishing house, founded in 2008, with a turnover of almost 93.950 euros in 2013.

The research was carried out between June and October 2014, on a corpus made up of the public communication of the publishing houses (websites, blogs, social media pages and accounts on Facebook and Twitter, press releases and statements of their representatives), the internal documents and the organizational charts, the websites and press releases of the Romanian Editors' Federation and of the main book fair in Romania (Gaudeamus). In terms of methodology, this study uses a mix method design combining (1) participatory observation (one of the authors established the PR department of another top 10 publishing house and ran it for during 2007-2009, gather data about the entire book sector and its development), (2) content analysis of social documents and (3) in-depth interviews with the representatives in charge of communication within the three selected publishing houses.

The interviews investigated: 1) the type of activities carried out by the PR department, the categories of assignments performed (as identified by Cutlip *et al.*, 2006, pp. 34–35) and the identification of practitioners' two major dominant roles that occur in practice: public relations technician and public relations manager (p. 42); 2) the perceived value of PR by the specialist towards internal audiences, the management or the dominant coalition (Grunig & Dozier, 2002); 3) the evaluation of organizational visibility and reputation (and measures taken in order to improve them). This first stage uses the model of excellence in PR (Grunig & Dozier, 2002) as a reference point, evaluating internal communication departments according to several success factors structured on four levels: program level (the object of their evaluation), departmental level, organizational level and evaluation level (named „effects of Excellent PR”). We adapted this schema as follows: we replaced the program with an overall illustration of the communication dimensions and activities that are carried out by the department or by the responsible in charge of PR. At departmental level, we considered relevant to our study the institutional capacity of integrating public relations, which includes the development of PR programs, the institutional relationship between PR and marketing, the levels of subordination, the strategic value of research and the quality of the human resources. At organizational level, we looked at the proactive dimension of PR, the strategic integration of PR in the decision making process, the strategic use of evaluation and the capacity to incorporate specific issues of book sector.

To complement these, we also analyzed the online communication of the three publishing houses looking particularly at interactivity defined as number of positive reactions to a post, the number of replies and the number of comments. In order to operationalize it, we applied a *functional benchmarking* to obtain an overview of the corporate *conversational* competence of the publishing houses in dealing with critical issues for the Romanian book sector. We used an assessment grid (first developed and used by Rogojinaru, Zaharia, Moise, 2013) including *quantitative* indicators that increase and enhance organizational *visibility* (the number of positive reactions to a post, the number of replies and the number of comments), as well as *qualitative* indicators to measure the degree of *innovation* in PR processes (strategic vision, complexity of tactics, the influence of involved entities, the appropriateness of channels), and also the *reputational* strengths of the company (brand equities, level of public trust and publics' closeness to organization, etc.).

Findings and discussions

Gradual institutionalization of PR within the book sector during 25 years

In the first phase of public relations development in Romania (1990-1995), the pioneer phase, there were few publishing houses and only one had an activity also before 1990 (Cartea Românească was founded in 1919). Their main collaborators in spreading the news about the new titles were the journalists working for state owned media. In terms of practices, publishing houses used to promote their books by buying advertorials, sending the new titles to key journalists so that they could write a review and the arrangement of few isolated interviews. There were few events: some book launches and, as of 1994, a national book fair where readers could come, meet their authors and buy discounted books. This is another specificity of the Romanian book sector as in other countries the book fair are places where editors and authors meet to discuss potential collaborations. In turn, in Romania, due to the gradual closing of bookstores, the book fairs are the main points of contact between readers and publishing houses which ultimately results in opportunities for the first to buy many discounted books and the later to score high sales (an important percentage of the annual turnover is obtained during the fair).

In the second period (1995-2001), considered the exploratory phase of public relations in Romania, the actors in the field multiply: new publishing houses are established, private owned newspapers and TV stations are founded and the first professional associations emerge in the industry. As a result, the practices become more diverse ranging from ads, interviews with authors, events and book launches, while the book fairs become more numerous. Since an industry is slowly developing, some incipient structure appear within the publishing houses: the people responsible, simultaneously, for communication, marketing and sales. This illustrates a limited understanding of the public relations role within the publishing houses that usually have one single person handling all these different tasks.

It is only **after 2001**, when the consolidation phase of public relations beings, that the role and functions of public relations start to be practiced to a wider extent. Publishing houses start developing strategic campaign of integrated communication that include interviews, media campaigns, launches and public lectures & readings, meeting with authors in big public spaces outside the traditional book fairs or bookstores. This is the time when the publishing houses start creating websites and blogs and also have their first contact with social media. However, that's the period with the most rapid transformations, also due to the technological and internet advent in Romania and this resulted in viral campaigns in social media and even corporate social responsibility programs. The book fairs also multiply and are organized twice a year (one in late spring - Bookfest, one in late autumn – Gaudeamus) and even regional book fairs are organized in major cities of Romania.

A real competitive book market starts also consolidating in this period, with lots of publishing houses (some thousands) that have now more and more audiences: besides journalists, bloggers grow in importance and influence in online media. The professional associations are also more diverse and three entities are competing with “winning” publishing houses as members: the Editors’ Associations, the Society of Romanian Editors’, the Association of Distributors and Editors).

As a consequence, the publishing houses start to establish communication and public relations departments (e.g. Humanitas, Curtea Veche, Polirom) to manage their communication with external audiences and to organize the increasing number of events. A major change towards the previous period is that people in charge of communication have a degree in communication and/or public relations and/or media and they start the process of gaining internal legitimacy for public relations so that it is considered as separate function from marketing and sales. In this quest, the communication representatives of the publishing

houses join the professional organization in communication – the Romanian Public Relations Association, where peers were carrying out the same battle within their organizations. However, in other sectors and domains, the institutionalization and professionalization of public relations was far more quicker also due to the dynamics of the markets (e.g. Fast Moving Consumer Goods market - many multinational companies have established branches and “exported” also communication know-how).

Even so, after 2007, the year when Romania joined the European Union, the book sector had a development book and this was translated into numerous communication campaigns as books had become interesting products that could be turned into “cool” brands. Consequently, for the first time, communication campaigns for books are acknowledged and win prizes in the national competition Romanian PR Award (in 2008, Curtea Veche Publishing received a Silver Award for Excellence in corporate communication section for “Everybody comes to PAMUK” campaign aimed to engage the audiences to attend the events organized to celebrate the visit of the Nobel prize winner, Orhan Pamuk, in Romania; in 2009, Polirom also received a Silver Award for Excellence for the campaign “Ask me about Firmin”). This is the period when private companies begin to find attractive and beneficial for their image the association with particular books (because the message reinforced their corporate messages or the author had a close managerial perspective to theirs or promoted a particular management vision) and become sponsors of publishing houses or of their events.

Although the economic crisis from 2009 impacted also the Romanian book sector, heavily affected by the dropping of sales, the market remained a very competitive one as several media companies started to develop kiosk editions to be distributed with newspapers in a strategy to increase newspaper consumption. This had as direct effect the financing of publishing houses that found an alternative way of selling books.

In 2012, the first public relations agency dedicated entirely to the book sector (Headsome Communication) was established by the former PR Director of Polirom Publishing House. The agency continues up to date to contribute to the professionalization of the book sector and of public relations within the book sector, initiating dedicated events that became annual: “Approved for Printing. The Gala of the Romanian Book sector” and “The International Literature Festival from Bucharest”.

Last but not least, publishing houses have started to develop long term corporate social responsibility programs to increase the reading habits of young Romanians. Such a campaign is the one of Curtea Veche Publishing, „Childhood books”, carried out in partnership with the Romanian Royal House, that aims to provide books to children all over the country: they organize several events to raise funds such as cyclist tours or meetings with the Royal Family.

Current practices - Mixture of instrumental and strategic public relations

Our analysis of the communication management of the three selected publishing houses shows Humanitas incorporated the strategic value and role of PR, Nemira assumed a tactical and integrated marketing communication, while Vellant has a strictly tactical, yet creative understanding of public relations.

In the case of Humanitas Holding, the dominant coalition is formed by the general director, the directors of each independent entity (Publishing house, Humanitas fiction, Humanitas Media, Humanitas Digital and Humanitas Bookstores) and the director responsible with the organization’s publicity and promotion. The later coordinates a team of four Public Relations officers in charge of each entity and the flow of transmitting decisions respects a particular hierarchy and verticality: the dominant coalition establishes the marketing objectives and the titles that should be promoted, the director of publicity and

promotion conceives a program to sustain the objectives and then transmits it to each PR officer, for implementation. The communication activities developed by the Humanitas PR network of specialists are tactical (writing and editing, media relations and placement, organizing special events, production of materials, website administration, internal communication) and strategic (CSR campaigns, online communication, institutional representation at the national and international books awards competitions).

Nemira Publishing House has a Department of Communication and Marketing with two employees: one employee is the PR specialist and one is a responsible for digital and online media. The PR specialist has both a technical role: media relations, special event management (book launches, targeted workshops, reading sessions, autograph signatures sessions, book fairs; talent management) and a strategic one: conceiving and implementing campaigns, sustaining the relational capital of the publishing house and is part of the decision making in the dominant coalition. She also added to her portfolio crisis communication, counseling, research, speaking. Her formal responsibilities are PR, but she also has to sustain marketing activities. The level of institutionalization of public relations in these small and medium organizations like Nemira is not profound, even if the pressures from external audiences are high. In the case of Nemira, the dominant coalition is not aware of the disciplinary differences between PR and Marketing: for management head, the PR specialist does „everything it has to do with promotion and organizational image” (Al. Florescu, PR Specialist Nemira).

Vellant has a PR specialist in charge of mainly technical and methodological tasks, focused on implementation, but without a broader strategy: writing and editing, media relations and placement, organizing special events, production of materials, website administration, internal communication, online communication.

A common key finding for all three organization is that research is used mainly with the purpose to evaluate the efficiency of communication programs already implemented and less used to support the dominant coalition in their business decision. As a large company with multiple sub-entities, Humanitas has an internal structure highly vertical and bureaucratic which limits initiative, while Nemira has a more horizontal internal structure and flow of decision and Vellant lacks a strategic approach of communication.

Another finding reveals the degree of institutionalizing PR within the organization: Humanitas has developed a formal flow of communication between its PR specialists, has introduced norms and regulations and, also the daily activities are highly standardized. In turn, Nemira and Vellant are currently developing a formal and organizational *savoir-faire*, legitimizing the value of public relations. These differences have a direct influence on the way publishing houses conduct issues management and address them, aspects that will be described in the following sections.

Current practices - Branding as strategic and integrated dimension of communication

Humanitas combines various branding strategies: sometimes it emphasizes the organization as corporate brand (authors rejoice success once they become Humanitas authors), other times it builds upon its well-known translators. Bogdan Baciu, PR Specialist Humanitas Bookstores told us that „we address our audiences (existent and potential) through our consolidated image, because Humanitas is, for everyone who comes to our bookstores, a brand.” (personal interview).

Nemira Publishing House prefers a positioning through a process of creating niched collections (fantasy, adult, science-fiction etc) and branding them as such, while publishing translations of famous novels and bestsellers. The branding strategy is an organizational learning function, as Alexandra Florescu told us: „for Nemira, the long term strategy is

clearly defined by branding. We try to maintain our identity for our existent clients, to emphasize the already consecrated collections, but also to try to address new audiences for those collections less visible (universal literature, young adults and Jungian psychology).” (extract of interview). On middle term, the objective is the process of branding the Jungian psychology collection, starting from building a visual identity to a positioning strategy on the market and complementary coherent online publicity.

Vellant, as a very young publishing house declares itself as being different from the others; it develops currently an organizational branding, by strengthening the image of marginal publishing house, as its representatives declared („encouraging excentricities” – extract of interview with Elena Marcu, PR & events coordinator).

The PR specialists interviewed mentioned as a priority for the dominant coalition the strategic dimension of branding and that their key-role is to counsel the members of the dominant coalition, based on their constant evaluation. If consecrated brands, such as Humanitas use a very complex and nuanced branding strategy, middle-sized businesses, such as Nemira, integrate only some components and instruments to address their audiences. Small-sized enterprises can only sustain technical level functions.

Current practices - Online communication: reputation and visibility

During the interviews, the PR specialists revealed the importance of online for the practice of PR, both in terms of audiences and organizational objectives. When giving examples of strategic communication programs, all three mentioned online communication as being extremely relevant for their audiences. “Almost all promotion programs we conceive and implement use the online and, mostly, the digital. We could identify during our annual research and during the implementation of certain engagement techniques that it was so much more relevant for our audiences to interact with us online and not directly. That doesn’t mean we don’t organize anymore special book events, like book launches or autographs sessions, but we always add to these traditional techniques special programs in online that could help us interact with our audiences” (Al. Florescu, Nemira PR Specialist).

Consolidating the reputation. Humanitas owns and manages an impressive online network: three websites and 14 Facebook pages: the online newsroom of Humanitas Holding, each sub-entity of Humanitas Holding addresses digital audiences in a segmented way (Humanitas Publishing House, Humanitas Fiction, Humanitas Multimedia, Humanitas Bookstores), almost every Humanitas bookstore has a Facebook page. This impressive number of Facebook pages owned and managed by PR specialists would generate the impression of a focus on conversation in their digital communication. However, the organization develops a monologue communication, lacking conversation and engagement of e-publics.

Humanitas builds its organizational reputation upon the image of its director, Gabriel Liiceanu, a reputed and consecrated philosopher, writer and intellectual. In 1990, he founded together with other Romanian intellectuals, the first independent NGO (the Group for Social Dialogue) to sustain the function of critical societal thinking and action. This capital transferred to the organizational reputation of Humanitas, all the more as Liiceanu has consolidated the image of an intellectual publicly involved and engaged, believing in his social role as a model for others. Humanitas is based on humanities and philosophical translations and publications and currently gathers a school of thinking in the Romanian cultural field. Gabriel Liiceanu’s continuous presence in the public sphere raised the organization’s credibility, visibility and positioned it as a model of business in the book sector.

The Facebook pages sustain this vision and type of organizational culture: the posts are not mainly informative, but formative and educational (either quotes from books or well-known authors or fragments of media interviews that authors or translators had in cultural mass-media). The digital communication uses the symbolic dimension of individual prestige in order to generate and enhance organizational reputation.

Building a reputation. Nemira was also founded by a known writer of theater plays who also was the general director of the national television, Valentin Nicolau. The organization did not use the reputational capital of his owner in a public manner, but with the purpose of attracting valuable Romanian writers, already consecrated or promising debutants. At Nemira, since its foundation, well reputed Romanian writers and intellectuals have started their career. Currently, it developed a business strategy that is based on specialized collections, aiming niched audiences, therefore it has an impressive portfolio of websites and blogs: the main websites are designed as marketing tools, as virtual or electronic bookstores. Instead, Nemira owns and manages a media website, an online newsroom separate from the main websites, which creates a certain confusion at the level of interested audiences. The network of blogs comes to develop a constant interaction with the readers, creating therefore virtual spaces where the readers and the fans of a certain literary genre already form communities. This strategy is extremely efficient; the organization realized that it can facilitate, through a specific online space, the interaction and socialization between the fans of a certain literary genre (like science-fiction) or of a certain title (like the translated bestseller *Game of Thrones*). The positive effects are to be seen, as PR specialist of Nemira pointed out, in the presence of consumers at their book launches or at the book club that the publishing house organizes for its readers.

Facebook pages sustain the same high level of interaction and engagement with their digital publics. Just as Humanitas, Nemira also owns and manages an impressive number of Facebook pages: the organizational one, the online newsroom, the Facebook accounts of some of the Nemira bookstores and the Facebook account of Nemira community of readers (the book club). The main format of the digital communication is very different in terms of interaction and engagement of audiences: the content is adapted to audiences' needs of information or socialization. The informative function is present, as in the case of Humanitas, many posts bringing information about collections, promotions or book launches. This informative communication is always completed and improved by a highly interactive and community driven accent: many posts are focusing on finding consumers' opinions about certain titles or authors, or even involving audiences in the process of decision-making regarding the cover for a title.

Even if Nemira does not manage a Twitter account, the communities of fans of certain titles and literary genres who interact on Nemira blogs or Facebook pages represent, as Rogojinaru considers, probably one of the most effective form of digital endorsement and can be subcategorized in «top fans», «promoters» or «evangelists» (Comm & Burge, 2003: 125). In the campaigns of branding a collection or a title, the publishing house also addresses to bloggers and the blog «visitors». Another type of audiences, maybe the most relevant for the relational marketing approach, is «I» public who define and promote their own profile, write for massive audiences, solitary people sharing the illusion of being heard by vast populations in the virtual space.

The PR specialist confirmed during the in depth interview that consumers do perceive as being dominant in their case the marketing focus (promotions and discounts), so the organization was conceiving a communication strategy that would include social and educational dimensions, through campaigns of encouraging young people to read.

Positioning on the market. Vellant positions itself as marginal and encouraging marginal culture and reading interests; its dominant communication is basic marketing,

lacking relational or interaction options. The publishing house translates books that encounter a diversity of reading interests and it didn't develop a focused strategy of branding titles or collections. It is more relevant because it also publishes young Romanian writers and, therefore, it addresses young consumers. Its online communication is based on the organizational website, which functions exclusively as a virtual bookstore, a Facebook page where the news about promotions and discounts are dominant and a Twitter account where the communication is not adapted, the content being almost identical to Facebook content.

Concluding thoughts

This paper has reflected on the gradual institutionalization and professionalization of public relations within the Romanian book sector after 1990 and up to 2015, correlating it with the general evolution of public relations as a new profession and field of study in Romania in the same period. It showed its evolution from the promotion of books through promotional practices (sending new titles to journalists so that they could write reviews) and events (the traditional book fairs and launches) to the use of the entire toolbox of public relations (e.g. building media relations, using new media, adopting corporate social responsibility programs) and strategic planning of communication and integrated campaigns.

At the same time, this study illustrated the emergence of structures within the publishing houses: from a person in charge of promoting the new titles to a graduate of communication and public relations in charge of communication and up to the establishment of a communication department. This is linked also to the constant effort of public relations practitioners to legitimize public relations within the publishing houses and distinguish its practice from mere marketing or sales. It is in this context that they adhere to professional association in public relations.

The final section discusses in-depth the current practices of public relations that have been standardized and regulated within publishing houses, a normal outcome of the institutionalization process. However, with few exceptions related to some exceptional events, there is a predominant technical and instrumental understanding of public relations: in other words, the publishing houses are still focused on a rather uni-directional, top-down approach in their relationship building with various audiences, as reflected particularly in the analysis on their online presence.

As the book sector is still underdeveloped in Romania, they miss the opportunity to engage with the younger audiences and to elaborate on the key role of books in re-building a society. Understanding public relations as a social activity would have facilitated this endeavor. In turn, in Critical Theory terms, they preferred to use public relations in order to preserve their power position and to serve their commercial interests, ultimately excluding alternative voices from the conversation, including their audiences.

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ABSTRACT

The History of Capitol Hill's Press Secretaries: Helping Members of the U.S. Congress "Look Good" for Almost 50 Years

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Few in the United States (and across the world) realize virtually every Member of the U.S. Congress employs his or her own press secretary, a person dedicated to meticulously crafting and delivering that politician's image. Their well-honed and artfully packaged messages affect our thinking; they angle our opinions. The nation's laws, as well as its domestic and foreign policies, are built on their communications. Attempting to influence those within and outside the United States, they work behind the scenes, with a singular goal: to make their boss--the Member of Congress they serve--"look good" before the public.

This paper ties together the history of Congress' press secretaries, starting in the early 1970s, when the position came to fruition. By 1974 some 16% of the U.S. House of Representatives' offices employed a full-time "press person." By 1986 that number increased to 76%. (Cook 1989). Today's Congressional staff directories show virtually every Member of Congress employs a full-time press secretary, although more prestigious titles such as "communications director" have evolved.

No published history of Congress' press secretaries exists. With this in mind, the paper brings together historical references to the press secretaries contained within the only two published empirical analyzes, other than the author's, in which the press secretaries have served as units of analysis (Hess 1991, Cook 1989). It also shares historical insights into the position contained within six studies the author has presented or published, namely: "The (Very Deep) Evolution of the Congressional Press Secretary and the Importance (or Lack Thereof) of an Informed Democracy" (2014); "The Evolution of the Congressional Press Secretary...As Public Relations Practitioner?" (2014); "The Early Spin-Doctors--The Troubadours: Touting Love, Lamenting Loss, and 'Spinning' Songs." (2012); "Lincoln, the Old Oligarch...and the Congressional Press Secretary" (2011); "An Examination of the Congressional Press Secretary as a (Potential) Public Relations Professional" (1998); and *The Theories in the Heads of Capitol Hill's Press Secretaries*. (1995).

To help to address the dearth of historical literature on the evolution of Congress' press secretaries, the paper references a series of analyses on the evolution of the White House press secretary. Doing so, it draws parallels between the social, political, economic, technological and cultural "happenings" as the position of White House press secretary evolved concurrent with those same happenings as the position of the Congressional press secretary evolved.

The paper concludes with commentary on how the position of Congressional press secretary, in recent years, has progressed—as new/social/alternative media permeate Capitol Hill. Doing so it suggests that, despite the diffusion and adoption of new computer-based technologies permeating Congress' communication management systems, much related to the press secretaries' roles, motivations, and procedures remains the same as it did when the position was born almost 50 years ago.

ABSTRACT

Theory building in public relations/communication management in South Africa: Development of the Pretoria School of Thought

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According to Collins (1996:10) “theory is shaped by and shapes the social context within which it is situated”.

This research stems from the need for theory building in a developing disciplinary field. In South Africa the CEO’s role expectations of the contribution of the communication professional have changed from the traditional role of public relations technician to an increased focus on management and strategic leadership and consultancy. In the robust and changing external environment which also places emphasis on non-business focused issues such as political, societal and environmental demands, CEOs, Board members and other stakeholders need a reliable internal source of communication and strategic guidance on issues relating to the complexities introduced by the triple context. The communication professional is ideally suited to fulfil this role, providing that training and curriculum development keep pace with the changes in corporate expectations. An on-going research stream at the University of Pretoria is working to develop novel theories and curricula in delivering to the workplace, professionals that have the required business knowledge and communication skills to meet these expectations.

The purpose of the research is to investigate theory building in the growing disciplinary field of communication management. This will be attempted through tracking all previous research at the University of Pretoria in South Africa over the past 18 years, thereby providing a viewpoint on the continuous development of the Pretoria School of Thought.

The findings are based on administrative research and the analysis of historical data to track the iterative theory building cycle that contributed to the development of the Pretoria School of Thought. The research included in this cycle shows the influences from the USA and Europe, as well as research conducted in the South African context.

The research provides a summary of the work of key contributors to the development of the Pretoria School of Thought, as well as a suggested expansion of the theoretical framework to include a meta-theoretical/philosophical layer of grand theories. Steyn (2000) and De Beer (2014) provided detailed research to contribute to the substantive and formal layers of theory as described by Glazier and Grover (2002). These contributions with their influences from previous research in the USA and Europe is documented and analysed as a unique School of Thought that explicates the Strategic Communication Management Paradigm as it developed in the South African context. An analysis of research by Arnoldi-van der Walt (2000) provided an added meta-theoretical dimension interlinking with influences from the Reflective Paradigm (Holmström, 1997, 2005, 2007) and Luhman (In

Holmström, 2007) to form the grand theoretical level of abstraction as described by Glazier and Grover (2002) and Llewellyn (2003).

The framework suggested in this paper rests on previous research projects that included empirical testing of each of the building blocks, but as a complete framework it still needs to be tested in further research.

Expositions of the development of the Pretoria School of Thought are documented by Sriramesh, Zerfass & Kim (2013) and discussed in various articles by De Beer (2014), Steyn (2000 & 2014) and Rensburg (2013). This paper, however, provides the first complete discussion of the contributions and influences that shaped the said school of thought. It expands on the existing body of knowledge by suggesting further building blocks in the construction of a theoretical framework that incorporates the business philosophy and social meta-theories to portray more accurately the business-society relationship. The paper further reflects the multi-disciplinary nature of the communication interactions required to adequately service this relationship.

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ABSTRACT

Electrifying Public Relations: How a Canadian Company Created Brazil's First Corporate Public Relations Department

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With great celebration, the public relations industry in Brazil celebrated its 100th anniversary, recognizing the establishment of the first corporate public relations department at the Brazilian Traction, Light and Power Company (BTLP) in 1914. However little is understood on how this historic development came to being established by a company that was considered to be Canada's largest overseas corporation at the time.

In fact most of the historical references to the creation of this first public relations department are incorrect: Freitag and Stokes (2009) and Molleda, Athaydes and Hirsch (2009) both quote noted Brazilian public relations scholar Margarida Kunsch who stated that it was the Sao Paulo Tramway, Light and Power Company while Ferrari (2013) states that it was at the Canadian Light Company in Sao Paulo.

According to Morrison (1989), the Sao Paulo Tramway, Light and Power Company was incorporated in Toronto on 7 April 1899 and five years later, the Rio de Janeiro Tramway, Light & Power Company was established on 9 July 1904 (para 22). After experiencing tremendous growth, both systems were merged in 1912 into the BTLP (para 31).

While the practice of public relations had taken root in some Canadian private corporations in the 1880s (Cardin & McMullan, 2015), it wasn't until the early 20th century that "Institutions such as Canadian-owned railroads, banks and telephone companies had hired publicity specialists and were conducting publicity, promotion and public affairs campaigns" (Likely, 2009, p. 656). Canadian companies such as Massey Manufacturing, Bell Canada, and the Canadian Pacific Railway were early adopters of internal communications, promotionalism, publicity and public relations activities (Johansen, 2013)

While the Canadian founders of BTLP may have had some experience with public relations from their previous railroad endeavours or knowledge of some of the new practices being established at the headquarters of other Toronto-based companies, a conflict between BTLP and a wealthy Brazilian family "was widely publicized and had a profound effect on

the development of tramways in Brazil and on the attitudes of Brazilians towards the foreigners who ran them” (Morrison, 1989, para 25).

The need for public relations may have been due to the ongoing conflict with the Guinles family which led a national campaign against foreign ownership of public utilities causing service disruptions across the country. “Tram service temporarily improved, but public relations ultimately deteriorated. The conflict between the Guinles and the Canadians spread throughout Brazil and Yankee imperialism became the favorite target of the Brazilian left. Students in Piracicaba burned a tram to its wheels. Rio Light took its English name off its cars” (Morrison, 1989, para 53).

This paper will examine the history of the development of BTLP and the creation of its first public relations department, while examining the conditions in both Canada and Brazil that may have led to the need for this new and historic initiative. This paper will contribute new knowledge to the history of Canadian public relations as well as provide a more detailed and new understanding of this important development in the history of Brazilian public relations.

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ABSTRACT

A history of the feminization of public relations in the United States: Stalking the truth

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Since the publication of *The velvet ghetto: The impact of the increasing percentage of women in public relations and business communication* in 1986 (Toth, Turk, Walters, Johnson, & Smith), the feminization of public relations has been a popular topic of scholars and the professional trade press of public relations. Among the issues that have been the focus of these publications are the numbers of male and female practitioners, gender distributions among public relations technicians and public relations managers, and salary differentials.

The majority of these publications have relied upon data from professional associations and their members. Hazleton and Sha (2012) published research that calls into question the validity of research dependent upon responses from members of professional associations. Comparing PRSA membership data to Bureau of Labor data they found that women were over represented in PRSA. Of equal importance they found that men belonging to PRSA were less likely to participate in survey research than women and that more experienced professionals were less likely to participate in research than less experienced professionals. This suggests that a history of the feminization of public relations based on published scholarly research and the trade press might in fact draw an inaccurate and misleading picture of what has actually occurred.

This study first examines the research and variety of claims made in the scholarly literature and professional trade literature. Second historical data from the U.S. Bureau of labor on the numbers of male and female practitioners, gender distributions among public relations technicians and public relations managers, and salary differentials is reported.

Results are interpreted in two ways. First concerns about feminization articulated in the velvet ghetto report are addressed. Second, the results are considered in a broader context of social change in terms of women participating in the work force and higher education.

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The History of Disaster Communication: The Untold Story

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Crisis communication is a popular topic in public relations research journals. However, historical research of crisis communication, especially prior to 1900, when public relations was first recognized as a profession in the United States (Lamme & Russell, 2010), is lacking from this field of research. In particular, research of disaster communication, a closely related aspect of crisis communication, remains an unexplored topic in public relations history. This meta-analysis of historical research in disaster communication is an effort to start a research agenda to uncover these untold stories.

This paper finds that while research specific to disaster communication in the latter half of the 19th century is rare, there is evidence of communication strategies and tactics found in historical accounts of natural disaster events and in the development of the emergency management field. This also includes the communication channels and technology that was available for disaster communication dissemination during this time period. This review of the literature offers new directions for primary historical research in this field.

Therefore, the goal of this study was threefold: First, to lay a foundation for research in the history of disaster communication; second, to draw meaningful connections between the emergency management and public relations fields; and third, to stimulate research topics in this undeveloped element of public relations history.

Disaster Communication

Disaster communication is a blend of public relations and disaster management. A disaster has been defined as:

actual or threatened accidental or uncontrollable events that are concerned in time and space, in which a society, or a relatively self-sufficient subdivision of a society undergoes severe danger, and incurs such losses to its members and physical appurtenances that the social structure is disrupted and the fulfillment of all or some of the essential functions of the society, or its subdivision, is prevented. (Fischer III, 2008, pp. 2-3)

For the purposes of this study, I have narrowed the definition to only include natural disasters, thus omitting accidents such as industrial explosions or other threats such as acts of war or terrorism. However, much of modern disaster management emerged from wartime, such as Clara Barton's work during the American Civil War before she launched the American Red Cross in 1881 (Jones, 2013).

In today's disaster management, the public relations professional, usually referred to as the public information officer, has the task of communicating urgent and potentially life-saving information to the media, the affected community, and to other stakeholders, such as donors, volunteers, first responders, concerned friends and families, and partnering nonprofit and governmental organizations involved in the disaster response efforts. In addition, the PIO also works to manage his or her organization's reputation during the disaster response. Poor public image can harm the organization's efforts when the stakeholders don't trust it to complete its mission (Tierney, 2002). Understanding how these tasks were performed prior to the professionalization of public relations around 1900 (Cutlip, 1994) and by whom would begin to tell the story of how disaster response organizations communicated with stakeholders in the 1800s.

State of the Research in Communication and Disaster Management

I conducted a literature review of historical research pertaining to the development of emergency management organizations and identified the public communication components to ascertain how mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery were communicated during the last half of the 19th century. I chose this timeframe because it coincided with the origins of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Switzerland in 1863 and the American Red Cross in 1881 (Pryor, 1987). This global movement set the stage for better organized humanitarian disaster response initiatives.

Public Relations Literature

The absence of disaster communication research from all time periods in the communication, business, and public relations literature has been evident in previous meta-analyses of the literature. Cutlip's (1995) in-depth history of public relations from the 17th to 20th centuries describes how nonprofit organizations used public relations strategies and tactics to raise funds and to promote social causes. However, there is no discussion of how organizations provided public information during disasters. In their review of crisis communication research published between 1991-2009, Avery et al. (2010) analyzed 66 articles that employed image restoration theory or situational crisis communication theory. All of the studies examined crisis events from contemporary times, while only one discussed disaster communication. This article examined media relations during the 2004 Indonesian tsunami (Strömbäck & Nord, 2006). A study of 30 years of research published in top public relations journals found historical method was never used in the 57 articles on crisis communication (An & Cheng, 2010).

Lamme and Russell's (2010) monograph on the history of the development of public relations touched on disaster events in terms of advocacy, publicity, and fundraising efforts by the American Red Cross during the Civil War, Johnstown Floods in 1889, and structural fires. While the tactics that the authors derived from public relations research gave some indications as to the potential scope of public relations strategies the organization employed, it did not include the disaster communication categories of mitigating information, preparedness information, public information during the disaster response, or recovery information. In addition, an examination of the history of crisis communication research begins in the 1970s with rhetorical reputation studies (Palenchar, 2009). As in other literature reviews, historical approaches were not addressed. Examination of these communication strategies prior to the 1900s would fill gaps in the disaster communication body of research.

Disaster Management Literature

To help fill these gaps, it is necessary to turn to disaster and emergency management literature. Unfortunately, historical disaster management research has not been much more prolific than historical disaster communication research. As with crisis communication, there was practically no historical disaster management research published prior to the 1970s (Scanlon, 2002). However, the historical research examples that Scanlon cites is based on events in the 1900s, and much of that research was conducted within a few years of the event, not after several decades. One exception to the time lag was Scanlon's research on the 1917 explosion in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada, when a French ship collided with a Norwegian ship carrying fuel and explosives, destroying the harbor and burning most of the town. Scanlon published the research in 1994 and used newspaper coverage, fiction and nonfiction books written about the event, public archives in Nova Scotia as well as other Canadian locales, government records, and interviews with living survivors and with families of the

deceased. Scanlon generated a web of information that he was able to cross-reference with other sources to validate the facts in this case.

Skarbek (2014) offers a unique look into disaster management history with her examination of the Chicago Relief and Aid Society's response to the Chicago fire of 1871. Skarbek examined primary documents to determine how the society worked with partnering organizations and local government to raise funds for those affected by the massive fires and publicize the need for assistance. The society's members coordinated the immediate response and the long-term recovery needs for nearly 157,000 individuals in the two years following the fires. While the author did not focus on communication strategies, she explained that the society used fliers and press statements to tell people how to get or give help during this disaster, including one press statement that announced they needed no more donations. The case study is significant because it offers a glimpse at how local citizen-led organizations managed disaster response in the 1870s before centralized, government-led disaster response agencies were created.

An historical review of disaster communication technology before the proliferation of computers offered insight into how the public and government agencies learned about disasters (Farnham, 2006). Invention of the telegraph in 1835 provided reliable and expedient communications for the remainder of the 19th century. Telephone technology was launched in 1875, and the first train robbery reported by phone took place in 1907, leading to apprehension of the suspects. The first wireless radio signal crossed the English channel in 1899, which would later come into play during the Titanic disaster of 1912.

A review of disaster research published in 225 studies between 1981 and 2004 found that 24% (54) of the articles were about events that took place prior to 1988, but the author did not provide the complete range of years (Norris, 2006). Half of the events were classified as natural disasters, while 42.6% were technological accidents, and 7.4% were mass violence events. Among the individuals included in the research studies, only 13% were rescue and recovery workers, while the remainder were classified as survivors. Just over half (52%) of the disaster research was conducted in the United States. This review only included quantitative studies and did not mention historical analysis of disasters.

Similarly, a review of disaster management research between 1980 and 2006 found that the majority of the research in 31 articles concerned the phases of the disaster management process (Lettieri, Masella, & Radaelli, 2009). This literature review was the first in my search to include articles that examined the roles of media and disaster management officials, including their successes and failures in communicating disasters. It still appears, however, that the research focused on contemporary disaster events.

In summary, reviews of the current state of research in crisis communication and disaster management indicate that no significant attention has been given to studying disasters prior to 1900 from a disaster communication perspective.

Building a Foundation for Historical Disaster Communication Research

In the mid to late 1800s, there was no disaster management organization in the United States. During this time period, the Americans fought a civil war, ended slavery, and reunited the states. Clara Barton, a teacher, Civil War battlefield nurse, and humanitarian, began working with the International Red Cross in 1877 in efforts to launch the Red Cross in America. She urged Congress and sitting presidents to sign the much-delayed Geneva Convention, knowing that would give more credence to the need to have an American Red Cross. She also argued that the American Red Cross should go beyond wartime relief efforts and establish a disaster relief mission to help with the wide varieties of natural disasters and illnesses that were prevalent in her time. Without political support to join the Geneva Convention, Barton decided to change her strategy to enlist public support by promoting the

need for the Red Cross. Using publicity, combined with political pressure to sign the treaty, Barton finally succeeded in recruiting 22 charter members of the American Red Cross and signing the organization's constitution on May 21, 1881. By the time the United States joined the Geneva Convention in 1884, Barton had become an international celebrity who was publicly praised for bringing the United States to Geneva. While there were a total of five female representatives at the convention, Barton was the only one who participated equally with the men (Pryor, 1987).

Once Barton established the American Red Cross, she used her celebrity status to help generate publicity and donations for large-scale disaster responses. The amount of news coverage for a disaster event directly affected how successful her fund raising efforts could be, and the media attention rose significantly when she arrived on the scene of a relief mission. Barton would order copies of news stories to send to her donor base around the country and to other newspapers. She also mastered the art of human-interest news as she recounted stories about children holding fundraising projects to benefit disaster victims. The stories appeared in local newspapers and gave her more material to share with her supporters nationwide. Barton went beyond newspaper reprints, however, as she spent countless hours working in donor relations. She wrote thank you letters to donors that included anecdotes about how the funds were used and what the current needs were. Her personalized communication often resulted in additional donations of money and goods to sustain the disaster relief efforts (Jones, 2013).

Barton served as president of the American Red Cross until her resignation in 1904 (Pryor, 1987). Her tenure with this fledgling disaster relief organization offers rich data to understand how she used disaster communication beyond her publicity efforts and fundraising prowess. The founding of the American Red Cross, in combination with the work of the International Red Cross, offers global research opportunities for historical analysis of disaster communication in the late 1800s. Barton established the mission of the American Red Cross to assist in the four phases of disaster management: mitigation, preparation, response, and recovery. Her use of public relations strategies and tactics to raise funds, recruit volunteers, provide public information, and promote the overall mission of the Red Cross are remarkable considering that she did this as an unmarried female before suffrage for American women. She was empowered not only by her desire to help those in need, but by communication tactics and strategies that she employed in political, philanthropic, and humanitarian circles.

Conducting research on the public relations strategies that Barton and the early American Red Cross used would be instrumental to launching a research agenda in historical disaster communication. Secondary research is available in Barton's biographies, notably (Irwin, 2013; Jones, 2013) and in contemporary newspaper coverage. In addition, there are ample primary sources available in archives that have been untapped in terms of this topic.

The Clara Barton National Historic Site, located at Glen Echo, Maryland, was Barton's home for the last 15 years of her life (National Park Service, 2015). The house, which was also the first headquarters of the American Red Cross, is open to the public. The website offers some links to primary information sources. The Library of Congress has archived Barton's papers, which contain "correspondence, diaries, reports, legal and financial papers, organizational records, lectures, writings, scrapbooks, printed matter, memorabilia, and other papers relating to Barton's work to provide relief services during the Civil War and the Franco-Prussian War, the work of the American National Red Cross which she founded, and the National First Aid Association of America" (Library of Congress, n.d.). The Special Collections at the University of Maryland Libraries have also archived Barton's papers, some of which are available online (University of Maryland Libraries, n.d.). Additional documents

and photographs that were formerly held by the American National Red Cross headquarters in Washington, D.C., are now housed by the National Archives (Clingerman, 2011).

In Europe, the International Committee of the Red Cross headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, houses vast archives of documents dated from 1840. Many of the documents are in French and are available to the public (International Committee of the Red Cross, n.d.). The *International Review of the Red Cross*, a journal published by the ICRC since 1869, covers topics related to humanitarian issues, is available in several languages through Cambridge University press (International Committee of the Red Cross, n.d.). These sources would offer opportunities to learn how the ICRC influenced Barton's early work with the Red Cross as well as to explore disaster communication strategies in different cultures and political systems.

The primary sources for an exploration into the Red Cross's disaster communication efforts are widely available and will likely reveal new information to fill the prevailing gaps in the history of disaster communication. While there is currently a scarcity of historical research in disaster communication, there are abundant opportunities to learn from the founders of modern disaster relief organizations and to better understand how these organizations sustained their work for more than a century.

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ABSTRACT

Developing a public interest theory for public relations: Origins and directions

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There is no definitive account, no precise time in history, when 'the public interest' emerged as a philosophical, political or economic concept. This may in part be due to its lack of agreed definition. Some see it synonymously with Aristotle's 'common interest', or St Thomas Aquinas' 'common good' or Locke's 'public good'. While its association with the common good is a widely held synonymy, it is also argued that it grew as a political *alternative* to the common good in medieval times; a collective response by individuals to the government and the crown's interests which dominated, at a time when there was little attention paid to individual or self-interest. As such, Douglass (1980) suggests its distinction from the common good emerged out of a liberal and democratic revolt against the demands of royalty. Still others see its origins within economic regulation of medieval times, as a support for those industries considered too important to be left to the vagaries of the market. This included doctors, innkeepers, bakers, communications and other utilities, recognised in law and custom as businesses and services entrusted with a public interest (McQuail, 1992).

Most commonly associated with politics, the law and the media in contemporary society, but also examined since the 1950s and '60s from economic, public policy, regulatory and historical perspectives, the public interest has attracted limited attention within public relations scholarship (for some exceptions see Bivins 1993; Weaver, Motion & Roper 2006; Messina 2007). Yet, a close examination of the public interest suggests it has much to commend it to the field. This paper examines the complex, mercurial nature of the public interest, versions of its origins, its rejection by 20th century empiricists, and considers its paradigmatic application to public relations scholarship and practice. The paper is part of a wider theoretical examination of the public interest as both a normative and critical approach to the field of public relations.

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**Sidney Rittenberg and the History of Public Relations
Between Modern China and the West: 1945-to-Present**

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Introduction

This paper examines the history and evolution of public relations in the People's Republic of China (1945-2014) through the work of Sidney Rittenberg, an American author, public relations counselor, speaker, business consultant, an China expert, who, at age 93, continues his long personal campaign to build understanding by connecting American journalists, politicians and other key opinion leaders to the Chinese people and their leaders.

Drasnin (2012) asserts that Rittenberg fits into a long tradition of “interpreters” of China for the West, like Matteo Ricci, who first translated Confucius into Latin. In fact, he is perhaps the last living member of a small group of western journalists and intellectuals, including Edgar Snow, and Anna Louise Strong, who were drawn to China and became friends of China in the 1930s and 40s. Sidney Rittenberg remains the only living American to join the Communist Party of China (CPC).

In 1945, the US Army sent Rittenberg, a 24-year-old student from the University of North Carolina, to learn Chinese at the Army's foreign language school at Stanford University, then to China, where he initially worked as an interpreter, according to Wu (2011). Rittenberg quickly adapted to the Chinese language, culture and people and, when the war ended, he stayed on in People's Republic of China until 1980, determined, as Wu said in 2011 to build a bridge from the Chinese people to the American people.

Wu attests in 2011 Rittenberg began working in translation and transmission of official communications for Mao Zedong in Yan'an, Shaanxi Province (1945-49) and helped establish the English Broadcast at Xinhua Radio Station and trained the first English broadcasters in China, and later ran an office of China Radio International in Beijing during the Cultural Revolution.

Drasnin (2012) said Rittenberg's life in China was marked by two widely documented terms in solitary confinement in a Chinese prison for alleged political crimes. His first prison term was for suspected espionage (1949-1955); his second term was for political mistakes he made as a foreigner during the Cultural Revolution (1968-1979). Rittenberg returned to the United States in 1980 with his Chinese-born wife, Wang Yulin, and their four children.

To paraphrase Rivlin (2004), Rittenberg, then 60 years old, carved out a niche in the new landscape of US-China business, as a US-based China consultant, providing information about China and contacts for western companies wanting to do business in China. He and his wife established Rittenberg & Associates, now headquartered at their home on Fox Island, in Washington's Puget Sound. Their clients include Microsoft, Intel and Boeing and dozens of others. Rivlin (2004) said Rittenberg was instrumental in helping Mike Wallace get an interview with Chinese leader Deng Xiao Ping that was telecast on CBS 60 Minutes in 1987.

One need only search the Internet to verify that Rittenberg is still a master of public relations, promoting his American corporate clients as well as his lifelong relationship with China's people, through numerous worldwide print and broadcast interviews, Youtube videos and a TEDx Talk. In 2012 he starred in "The Revolutionary," a 92-minute autobiographical documentary film, and has penned at least two autobiographies, one in English and one in Chinese.

Wen (2013) asserts that because he worked alongside China's first generation of leaders — including Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai — lived through the chaotic Cultural Revolution, and later helped American companies develop business in China, "Rittenberg has a longer view and deeper understanding of China's changes today than most anyone."

Fallows in 2013 called him "the world's best Old China Hand." His books are filled with photos of Rittenberg with his friends, Bill Clinton, Al Gore, Henry Kissinger and Mike Wallace, as well as Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, evidencing Rittenberg's rich past as a communications counselor to the top policy makers of the US and China. And this is what makes Sidney Rittenberg important to the study of public relations history: he witnessed more than 65 years of Chinese life from a unique perspective as a self-taught public relations professional who spoke both English and Chinese.

As Rivlin wrote in 2004, Rittenberg's "compelling tale can perhaps best be understood as a story, writ small, of modern-day China itself. His metamorphosis from isolated expatriate to high-priced global go-between mirrors the country's own shift—from a closed-door Communist state to a freewheeling money-making society, with a new class of entrepreneurs who dream the same dreams that dance in the heads of people in places like Silicon Valley."

Although this study found no evidence that Rittenberg had ever studied journalism or public relations or worked in either field prior to joining the CCP at Yan'an, it is clear that Rittenberg understands today's social media environment and, judging from the sheer volume of material on the Internet, he is a master at working social media for effective public relations.

Sidney Rittenberg's contribution to the history of public relations in modern China is that he participated in, often holding a central role, in each of these historical stages. His life and work provides a window into the history of public relations in China and how it influences the formation of US public policy toward China.

Method

Research for this paper is based upon existing articles, books, video interviews, and a documentary film.

For the method of research, the history and evolution of public relations in Modern China since 1945 was divided into the following four periods.

1. The Chinese Civil War: 1945-1949
2. The Mass Line: 1950-1965
3. The Cultural Revolution: 1966-76
4. The Opening: 1973-Present

Rittenberg's biographical data from the source material was then analyzed in relationship to the historical timeline to make observations and draw conclusions about his contribution to the history of US-China public relations.

Result

The Chinese Civil War: 1945-1949

Chinoy in 2012 (b) proved that Sidney Rittenberg's role in the Chinese Civil War is well documented by American journalists who covered the war and knew he was working for the CCP. Chinoy (2012b) presented an argument central to the history of China-US public relations, because Chinese Nationalist Party, the Kuomintang, (KMT) led by Generalissimo Jiang Kai Shek, and the Communist Party of China (CPC), led by Mao Zedong, followed two distinct and opposing PR strategies in dealing with the US government: To paraphrase Chinoy (2012b), Jiang Kai Shek's strategy was to convince reporters that the KMT was winning, and he was on the verge of totally annihilating the Chinese Communist Party. Mao Zedong's strategy was to invite prominent journalists to Yan'an, where he would talk candidly, projecting the CPC's inevitable victory, and offer the US a mutually beneficial relationship when the CPC won.

But the Nationalists were the legitimate regime and they had firm control of the American press; Chinoy reported in 2012(b) KMT PR consisted of inviting the small community of foreign journalists, diplomats and military advisors to lavish parties and banquets, yet as Chinoy (2012b) portrayed the situation, journalists could clearly see that common people were starving to death in the streets of Nanjing and Shanghai and began to admire the Communists for out-fighting the Nationalists, and gaining the upper hand on the battlefield.

Chinoy (2012b) also related that American journalists felt Jiang Kai-Shek made a fatal PR mistake. According to Time correspondent Roy Rowan, Jiang refused to give interviews. He continued ignoring the CPC, and stonewalling all official acknowledgement that the Communists were winning.

Chinoy reported in 2012(b) that through Chinese leader Zhou Enlai, the Communists began inviting American reporters to the Communist headquarters in Yan'an starting in 1946, and they used issued regular statements translated into English over a secret high-energy radio transmitter that reached the West Coast of America, where it was picked by the Associated Press monitor in San Francisco.

According to Chinoy (2012b), Sidney Rittenberg said the CPC leaders were open to America and Americans at that time. He said they were interested in conversations with the United States government. The point they were making to all and sundry was the legitimacy of their regime," Rittenberg said. "They had more than 180 million population scattered all over China, mostly in the north, he said."

Weinraub (1979) relates one evening, over dinner with a Communist commander, Rittenberg was asked if he would be willing to work for the new Communist radio system. "They were starting an English-language broadcast beamed at the U.S.," he explains. "They had no one who wrote fluent English, and I was very happy to do it. That put me in the New China News Agency."

Drasnin in 2012 quoted Rittenberg as saying: "The Chinese leaders told me what we really need here is someone with English as his mother tongue to help us present our policies to America, because, they said, Americans in China, whether diplomats or military, basically

know our policies, but Americans in Washington do not. And we want to get that message over in good English. So we need somebody. So I thought, 'I'm fulfilling a need.' I felt I had his finger on the pulse of history."

Chinoy reported in 2012(b) that Rittenberg said he translated and sent a message in 1946 from Mao Zedong saying the CPC wanted to have good relations with the United States for two reasons: 1) We are going to need loans to rebuild China, which had been wracked by war for over 100 years; and 2) we do not want to be unilaterally dependent up the Soviet Union. We want to be able to deal with East and West. China and the Soviet Union, said Mao Zedong, are both Communist, but we have our own viewpoint and don't agree with the Russians on many issues."

Chinoy reported in 2012(b) that John Roderick, Associated Press correspondent, verified this assessment. Roderick was sent to spend six months in Yan'an, where he had almost in daily contact with Mao Zedong.

Chinoy (2012b) shows Roderick in an interview saying Mao signaled many times a desire for good relations with the USA. Roderick said Mao once posed the question: "Would somebody like Montgomery Ward or Sears be interested in starting a mail order business in China? Mao said China was such a big country with such poor roads that he thought mail-order would be a very good thing to do."

Seymour Topping, then writing for the International News Service said when Roderick was in Yan'an, Mao Zedong was eager to make an arrangement with the US, but, Topping said, "there was so much anti-Communist feeling in the USA that when Roderick's big story—the efficacy of Mao's Communist regime and his overtures to American business—fell on deaf ears." Chinoy (2012b)

Chinoy reported in 2012(b) that the American journalists had correctly predicted the outcome of the Chinese Civil War. It was won by the CPC, yet Ma Zedong's public relations strategy to work with America was ultimately put on hold until Nixon arrived in 1972. Chinoy (2012b).

Drasin reported in 2012, on the edge of the Red victory, Rittenberg was accused of being a spy and began his first six-year prison term in January 1949. Drasin (2012) documented that Rittenberg was in solitary confinement October 1, 1949, when Mao Zedong proclaimed the Peoples Republic of China, then pulled down the "Bamboo Curtain" that all but cut off US-China news and PR for the next 20 years.

The Mass Line: 1950-1965

According to Xinhua (2013) the "Mass line" refers to a guideline under which CPC officials and members are required to prioritize the interests of the people and persist in exercising power for them. Historically, the Mass Line was derived from Mao Zedong's concept that propaganda was necessary to educate the masses and make the party cadres focus on the benefit of the people.

As Mao defined The Mass Line in 1966: "We should learn from the masses, synthesize their experience into better, articulated principles and methods, then do propaganda and call on them to put these principles and methods into practice to solve their problems and help them achieve liberation and happiness."

Wen (2013) recorded that Rittenberg himself said the CPC wants to preserve political cohesion and to preside over a lively, democratic society based on consultation and on

training leaders in the “Mass Line” – listening to the demands of the people, and responding to them with appropriate policies.

In Drasnin (2012) said Mass Line propaganda was a total campaign using any mass communication technology available, including entertainment channels, to persuade people to accept the legitimacy of the government. It was backed up by Mao’s idea of “criticism and self-criticism,” which included techniques of locking people in solitary confinement to make people “better Communists,” according to Rittenberg, in Drasnin (2012.)

Drasnin (2012) states that Rittenberg was released from solitary confinement and pardoned in 1956. Reinstated as a party member in good standing, Rittenberg embraced Mao Zedong’s policy of Mass Line education/propaganda for the Chinese people and embarked on his second period of East-West public relations in the English broadcast service of Beijing Radio International, which Drasnin (2012) called the official voice of the CPC worldwide.

According to Wu (2011) Rittenberg soon started his new job working in the Broadcast Administration of the Central Broadcast Bureau as a foreign expert in charge of editing articles to be sent or published abroad.

Wu wrote in 2011, Rittenberg became a member of the translation committee for Mao Zedong's selected works in the 1960s and that Rittenberg also married Wang Yulin. Rittenberg (2006) said they enjoyed a happy life during this time.

Margolis (2013) described Rittenberg in early 1960s as a “leading party propagandist, PR man, top-level translator and liaison with foreign journalists and dignitaries, a kind of media-friendly revolutionary without portfolio.” Margolis (2013) added that the Rittenbergs lived in luxury and Sidney was better paid than Mao. Wu (2011) clarified that Rittenberg’s monthly salary was 600 yuan (\$92) per month, seven times that of his colleagues. “Even Chairman Mao received only 404 yuan a month,” Wu said in 2011.

The Cultural Revolution: 1966-76

Drasnin (2012) reported Sidney Rittenberg “rose to a political position unheard of for a foreigner in the Peoples’ Republic of China,” taking over leadership of Radio in 1966-67 at a time when radio broadcasting was a key battleground because of its immense power to reach and influence the masses.

Drasnin reported in (2012) that Rittenberg was very much in demand as a speaker at Red Guard rallies and universities. Rittenberg said he spoke to more than 100,000 students in Tianjin, and more than 10,000 leaders in the Great Hall of the People in Beijing.

In Drasnin (2012) Rittenberg describes himself as an American who spoke fluent Chinese and had been named by Mao as “an international Communist fighter.” He was called to write many newspaper articles in support of the Cultural Revolution. In the process, he became a celebrity, said Drasin (2012). But when political maneuverings went wrong in 1968, his celebrity ended.

Wu reports in 2011 that for the second time Rittenberg was wrongly jailed as a suspected “American spy” in 1968.

The Opening: 1972-Present

Chinoy (2012a) put forth the thesis that Nixon’s 1972 trip to China was more than just a normalizing of US-China relations; it provided a great reawakening of public relations

between the two countries—America’s first look inside China’s closed society in 20 years. Chinoy (2012b) said the networks broadcast details of the trip nightly into America’s living room for a week and though it was good publicity for Nixon, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai made certain it was better publicity for China. In fact, Nixon’s trip gave the Chinese leadership its first opportunity to renew its US-China public relations strategy.

Ironically, Sidney Rittenberg was still in prison during the great event that Nixon called “the Week That Changed the World.” Wu reports in 2011, he was not released until 1977. Rittenberg was finally absolved of all charges in 1982, and hailed as having made “contributions to the revolutionary course of Chinese people.”

Frammolino (2004) said the Rittenbergs returned to America in 1979. Rittenberg apparently didn’t waste any time introducing himself as a China expert. His first interview about his life in China, appeared in June of that year in People Magazine. Wienraub (1979.)

Meanwhile, Mao's successor, Deng Xiaoping, initiated reforms that began the shift to a market-driven economy. Frammolino (2004) and quotes Rittenberg, saying: "As soon as we got back, we were sort of in demand by American businesspeople who wanted to talk about China."

According to Rivlin (2004) with hundreds of American companies beginning to consider their first moves into China, “Rittenberg’s long experience dealing with the country's leaders was a powerful draw.

Frammolino (2004) said Rittenberg’s first client was the U.S. Information Agency, which needed advice on how to put on the first American trade exhibition in Beijing, and after working for ComputerLand and a few other companies, he and his wife formed Rittenberg Associates in 1986.

From Rivlin (2004) and Frammolino (2004) it can be assumed that Rittenberg’s business strategy contained a strong element of public relations. The fact that The L.A. Times and The New York Times covered the Mao to Microsoft Rittenberg story within a month hints that Rittenberg was regularly putting out press releases to promote his consultancy.

Rittenberg wrote his own analyses and opinions. Rivlin in 2004 quotes Mark R. Anderson, publisher of The Strategic News Service, a weekly business intelligence digest that featured Mr. Rittenberg's thoughts on China: "For a long while, Sidney was this very well-kept secret that only the top people in technology seemed to know about," Anderson said. "But word has really started to get out over the past two years."

Rivlin also reported in 2004 that Rittenberg's writings were avidly followed by “the likes of Bill Gates, the chairman of Microsoft, and Michael S. Dell,” CEO of Dell Inc. “Executives at Prudential, eager to sell insurance to the Chinese, recently sought him out for advice. Last month, Mr. Rittenberg chaperoned Craig O. McCaw, a cellphone industry pioneer, on Mr. McCaw's first trip to China,” said Rivlin (2004).

Wu (2011) presents strong evidence that much of Rittenberg’s business is based purely on public relations strategies and techniques, especially the time-honored craft of media relations The best example of this comes from Wu (2011) who said Rittenberg and Mike Wallace forged a deep friendship that led to Rittenberg facilitating Wallace's CBS 60 Minutes interview with Deng Xiaoping in 1986.

Rivlin (2004) provided this quote: "(Rittenberg) He's an enthusiastic, lovely, sensitive friend," Mr. Wallace said. "I trust this former Communist implicitly."

Discussion

Western public relations educators generally hold that public relations is the two-way communication between an organization and its many publics, while propaganda is a one-way form of communication between an organization and its public, often bolstered by brutality to enforce belief. While propaganda exists in China, this study shows that true public relations existed in 1945 and was practiced by Sidney Rittenberg as part of a CPC public relations strategy devised by Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai to entice the American government to support them in their cause.

Obviously, from a western perspective, public relations depends on certain First Amendment rights, including the right to free speech, free press and the right to petition the government to for a redress of grievances--rights that do not exist in China.

State ownership of the media and lack of press freedom is especially problematic to the practice of Western public relations. Rules or laws often prevent the most basic public relations tasks, such distributing a press release or inviting Chinese journalists to a press conference.

In the west, public relations is also considered the unpaid use of the media by an organization to influence public opinion--particularly to effect change of government policies, which is considered illegal activity in China, so it is difficult for us to imagine western-style public relations in China. Yet, western-style public relations is successfully practiced by a large and growing number of international PR firms in Beijing, Shanghai, and Shenzhen.

Finally, this paper contends that most of Rittenberg's work for Chinese communists and American capitalists alike was, and is, self-taught, time-honored American-style public relations. The result of this research has led to certain observations about East West public relations in modern China:

1) Public relations as a form of communication can and does exist separately from the propaganda between the Chinese government and the population in its own sphere of influence. In fact, messages may originate in Beijing, but appear in Western media and are aimed at favorably influencing public opinion outside China.

2) Public relations usually has a connection to groups or publics outside China, or it may be initiated by foreign organizations, such as American universities, NGOs, or other cultural exchange organizations with headquarters outside China; however, it may be banned, outlawed, criticized, censored, ridiculed, counterbalanced, and, occasionally, welcomed by the Chinese government inside China;

3) Perhaps the most important distinction between propaganda and public relations, is that public relations is factual communication that allows, even encourages, a public to form its own perceptions or opinions based on the information communicated in China or in the West. This apparently Laissez Faire attitude toward certain types of product publicity is now widely accepted—especially for information about non-political subjects, like fashion and sports.

4) Public relations depends upon having “independent media” or at least media that is independent enough inside China to allow placement of stories (often with placement fees

paid by organizations to the newspaper or magazine); however, the recent growth of Chinese public relations has not been from the US to China. It has been the growth of Chinese media into the US for the purpose of shaping favorable public opinion toward China—just as Sidney Rittenberg and Mao Zedong envisioned it in 1945.

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ABSTRACT

A Historical Analysis of Public Relations Education and Its Impact on the Professionalization of the Industry: Malaysian Annals

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A. Aims of the paper:

1. This paper examines the milestones in the development of public relations education in Malaysia, initially in the context of mass communication studies and later as an independent fully-fledged programme in universities from the early 1970s, and analyses how PR education has impacted on the public relations career and the professionalization of the public relations industry in both the government and private sectors.
2. It will also examine the development and contribution of informal PR education initiated by the industry's first national professional body, Institute of Public Relations Malaysia or IPRM, to the professionalisation of the industry.
3. The paper will close with an analysis of industry expectations of PR education in the light of accreditation efforts by all three PR professional bodies of its members as well as the proposed IPRM Public Relations Act, which is supported by the government information department for all government public relations and information officers.

B. Research methods:

1. Document analysis - for objectives, content and outcomes
 - a) of public and private university communication and public relations programmes to examine the public relations knowledge and skills components in the syllabus;
 - b) of Ministry of Education Plans and objectives for communication, media and public relations programmes;
 - c) of informal education programmes that have been offered by the national PR professional body, IPRM.
2. Qualitative Interviews with educators from public and private universities in Malaysia
3. Qualitative Interviews with industry practitioners in the government and private sectors as well as with the three professional bodies - IPRM, PR Consultants of Malaysia, and IABC Malaysian Chapter.

C. Discussion

The paper includes a thematic analysis from a historical perspective of the factors contributing to the growth of public relations education and the professionalisation of the public relations industry in the context of development of knowledge and skills necessary for the practice of strategic and effective communication that leads to realising national goals.

The above can be seen through a brief discussion also of the goals of four main stakeholders:

- Government National Education aspirations, we want to be an industrialized nation by 2020; we want to be globalized, PR has a role to play
- Industry expectations - we want technicians

- Educators' passion - we want to create thinkers not technicians
- Students' perceptions - we want to be a part of the "glamour" industry (there are still a number of prospective students who have such thoughts).

The paper analyses the diverse organizational aspects related to public relations and how PR education has developed to ensure a more professional practice in these various aspects over time through effective engagement with diverse stakeholders. This will also be analysed through Bentele's (2012) functional-integrative strata model.

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Lobbying Politicians – new tricks or an old trade?

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Lobbying and Public Affairs is today a much commented-on aspect of the UK political environment. Concern about the influence of lobbyists was voiced prior to the 2010 election by the Conservative leader David Cameron who said that MP s received around 100 lobbying contacts each week. . Estimates from *Powerbase* (admittedly not a pro-lobbying organisation) put the extent of the industry in the UK at around 1.9 billion pounds. Concern about influence peddling was raised by Cave and Rowell in *A Quiet Word* (2014). And the lobbying profession came under the regulatory spotlight the same year with the passage of the 2014 Third Party Campaigning laws (Transparency of Lobbying, Non-Party Campaigning and Trade Union Administration Act).

Any figures for the lobbying “industry” will in fact under-state the activity. While it is reasonably easy to study established Public Affairs companies such as *Burson-Marsteller*, it is harder to put a figure, in terms of money, staff , time spent or influence, on the lobbying activity carried out by in- house practitioners, particularly those in the voluntary sector. And lobbying is also carried out by volunteers, either in local community groups or more commonly on behalf of national voluntary organisations and causes.

The author of this paper has been involved in lobbying activity as part of national voluntary organisations. She has also been an elected politician (and therefore part of the target public for some lobbying) as well as a political candidate (another target audience). Most recently she has advised members of the UK’s National Council for Voluntary Organisations and the UK’s Scout Association on how to lobby more effectively. She is also currently researching the methods by which Parliamentary Candidates are lobbied, using the General Election 2015 as a case study. This means that some of the comments in this paper are based on real-life experience as a practitioner or politician.

Lobbying techniques are often hard to study. While activities such as petition drives, mass lobbies, media stunts, write-in campaigns and presence at party conferences are all highly visible, some of what lobbyists do is not. Lobbyists and lobbying campaigns also rarely publish their strategies and decision making. There are obvious reasons for this. Given that lobbying is about attempting to persuade a decision-maker to adopt a particular course of action, there are often opposing lobbies pushing in the other direction. In these cases it is clearly in neither side’s interest to show their hand. Even if there is no opposition, the target public of decision-makers is not likely to react well to seeing themselves appear in published persuasion plans (with the exception of those taking on a quasi-advocacy role). This level of secrecy means we usually need to make assumptions about lobbying campaigns based on outputs such as letters to the press, parliamentary questions, Early Day Motions, amendments and so on.

As in Public Relations we have no single agreed definition, so there is no agreement about how to define “Lobbying”. Zetter (2011) gives us “the process of seeking to influence government and its institutions by informing the public policy agenda. It is also, of course, the art of political persuasion”. While Thomson and John (2006) say that there are four basic reasons to lobby. These are to protect an organisation, to help identify new opportunities, to

help build support and to raise profile. The key point is that the activity revolves around influencing someone or a group of people who are in a position to take a decision. This might be through direct contact or through secondary audiences (for example members of a political party may put pressure on that party's elected representatives which in turn makes party members a useful secondary audience for some lobbyists).

Much lobbying in the political sphere is in fact around issues of regulations and how these are written or lifted. The minority concerns itself directly with major legislative change or votes in public. But it is this minority part of the activity that gives the best chance to study techniques in action.

The attention paid to a series of lobbying scandals in the UK in the late 20th and early 21st Centuries can give the impression that the practice of organised lobbying is reasonably recent. And as it is difficult to find someone describing themselves as a Public Relations practitioner prior to Lee and Bernays, it is even harder to find early examples of individuals claiming or admitting to be lobbyists.

Yet it is clear, from campaigns in the UK against the Corn Laws, Capital Punishment and Slavery, that lobbying of decision-makers was taking place considerably earlier than this.

The high profile of some lobbying campaigns, most recently that by UK organisation 38 degrees around European Parliament votes on the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) can give the impression that today's lobbyists may succeed because they have a range of "new tricks" that can do the job of influencing.

Yet earlier campaigns show that while today's lobbying may use different channels (after all Pitt the Younger, Prime Minister during part of the reign of George III, was not on Twitter), the techniques used are from an "old trade" that is not the less effective because of its age.

This paper looks at an early example of lobbying to change the law and compares the techniques used then to those used today in a typical modern-day UK voluntary sector campaign. The example of early lobbying chosen is the campaign to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts. The minutes from the campaign committee and sub-committee meetings, are now all available on-line via www.british-history.ac.uk. This means that committee decisions around strategy and tactics can be read alongside contemporary media coverage and extracts from Hansard (the official record of proceedings in the UK Parliament). The minutes also include copies of letters sent to supporters or potential supporters, which illustrate chosen key messages for the campaign.

The campaign will be analysed and the stages mapped against what a lobbying campaign today consists of.

It is first important to understand the nature of the legislative change requested and the environment in which decisions were being made. The Test and Corporation Acts placed restrictions, and some potential heavy penalties, on members of the Catholic faith and those Protestants who were non-conformists or "Dissenters" in England. Brought in in 1661 and 1673, and then extended in 1678, the main effect was to prohibit anyone who was not a member of the Church of England, or not willing to take the sacrament in a C of E Church, from taking on certain roles and positions. One provision for example specified that someone taking up a public role would need to take communion in a C of E Church within a set period of time. Newspaper coverage from the 1700s shows cases of legal action against those who

had failed to do this, including action against the Mayor of Nottingham. These laws however, by the late 1700s, were not strictly enforced and an annual Indemnity Act effectively postponed action against individuals. The legislation was however capable of being enforced and was seen as persecuting people because of their religion. It was also beginning to be seen as counterproductive. Supporters of repeal argued that the provisions had the effect of preventing able people taking up roles of benefit to the public simply because of the fear of what might follow and of effectively risking some public services closing. In one example it was stated that strict enforcement would remove the majority of soldiers in a particular regiment!

The Test and Corporation Acts were repealed in 1828. However committee minutes show an organised campaign for repeal from at least 1786 with a series of Parliamentary motions being defeated. The published minutes show activities by a committee from 1786 to 1790 and then again, with a reformed committee and a changed cast, in 1827 and 1828. There are few differences in technique between the first and second committees. This paper will concentrate mainly on the second while using examples from the first to illustrate some points.

The minutes of campaign committee meetings and the accounts of various conversations show a lobbying campaign which, in terms of technique, would match anything mounted today by a national voluntary organisation or by a campaign coalition. The paper will explore a range of techniques, including the “case for support”, the use of media relations, the use of advocates and surrogates, the use of third-party endorsement, coalition building and the development of messages based on the identification of public support in specific areas. The paper will also draw on examples from other campaigns, such as the failed Victorian campaign to abolish capital punishment. The “campaign plans” will be mapped against the typical “running order” of a modern-day lobbying campaign to ask whether today’s approach is more advanced or in fact whether lobbying will always be an “old trade”.

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ABSTRACT

From Nation Building to Crisis Calming: The BBC's Public Relations Tug of War

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The purpose of this study is to track the history of public relations used by and on behalf of the BBC, as explicated below. The study will contextualize the Corporation's public relations strategies and tactics within public relations theory and literature. It will also discuss if, and how, the strategies and tactics implemented by the BBC and its support groups are consistent with that of effective public relations, and extrapolate the relevance of these practices for institutions in public and other sectors cross-culturally, in both democratic and transitional nations.

The methodology for the study will be primarily in-depth interviews. It will also triangulate the data collection through a review of corporate and other literatures, Web-based and archival documents, and unobtrusive methods. The study will rely heavily on qualitative data but will also involve content analysis. It is an original study of a U.K. institution. The author is likely to be somewhat limited by proprietary constraints of the BBC (access to some information of a sensitive and/or controversial nature) and distance. This limitation will be offset, to an extent, by the author's knowledge of the Corporation and ability to tap a network of informants, whose overview of the Corporation is even more extensive and spans much of its history.

Historically, the BBC has been a national icon charged with nation building. This paper will explore how the Corporation's public relations, and the channels by which it has been employed, have changed over time. Since the BBC's inception in the 1920s, under the direction of Sir John Reith, its founding father and first Director General, the Corporation has often had to perform its nation-building tasks concurrent with routine responsibilities for a broadcaster. In addition, though, it has also had to respond to its publics when "under siege," and as a result of various crises or pressure from activist groups concerned with policy or programming issues. In recent years, numerous critical issues with potentially severe legal, financial, political, or other repercussions for the BBC have arisen.

This study will look at the public relations strategies used by the broadcaster itself. In addition, it will explore the strategies used by activist groups and coalitions to support the BBC and to assure its continuity as a public service broadcaster supported by public funds. It will examine how internal and external (publics') strategies and tactics have been modified as a result of new technologies, shifting priorities, and crises.

The BBC's task was to first construct and then to maintain the U.K.'s shifting "national identity," as boundaries and composite ethnicities and cultures changed. Although designed to be a consensus-building process, nation building has often engendered hostilities and competing rivalries. In addition, the practicalities of having to "smooth feathers" during turbulent times have caused considerable stress (One such turbulent example would be during Ireland's transition from independence in 1922 to its full withdrawal from the British monarchy in 1948).

Initially, effective public relations bolstered the BBC's reputation for accurate information and journalists' pursuit of truth. During the heyday of radio, the broadcaster was

a unifying force (e.g., its world-renowned reporting during the Blitz and other highlights of WWII), supported and sustained by its internal and external publics. It engaged those publics as a responsible public service broadcaster, representing a public good (free airwaves) that was always accessible, and with presenters, fully prepared and attentive to their audiences, navigating through crises and early technological advances.

With the advent of television, the BBC garnered praise for the quality of its arts, documentaries, and education programs in the face of mounting pressures from competing, commercial ITV. Overall, the license-fee-supported BBC had the loyal allegiance of viewing and listening audiences and its Public Affairs departments were able to echo this supportive, popular sentiment. Further technological developments facilitated the BBC's public relations and public affairs presence, its ability to mobilize its viewers and listeners, and the support services and help lines that its Web site provided.

A confluence of variables challenged the notion of one nation and national identity, given ongoing demographic and cultural shifts stemming from heavy migration to the UK in the 1970s and thereafter. Racial and industrial unrest, the advent of the Thatcherite measures that sought "Value for Money," and pushed the BBC into competitive business units, and other factors necessitated a new public relations approach. It was repeatedly forced to justify its receipt of and accountability for public funds in the form of the license fee. This necessitated not only its own vigorous public relations campaigns but also those of supportive viewer and listener groups, such as Voice of the Listener and Viewer and Public Voice, to appeal to Parliament and the Select Committee on the BBC's behalf.

Tensions had existed within the BBC and between the organization and its constituent publics from the early years onwards. Beginning in the 1950s, though, and particularly after 2000, they became increasingly frequent and often severe. At that juncture, they were better termed crises than tensions or issues. In addition to ongoing angst over the license fee, a bevy of accusations ranged from drug use by presenters, to failure to investigate and report sexual abuse of minors, to disclosing information that led to a suicide, and the resignations of Directors Generals.

As public media outlets often deal with issues that threaten their viability, this retrospective/overview could prove useful to other institutions that produce and distribute programs and rely on public approbation and support. It could prove especially useful to such outlets in other countries, whose professionals may not yet have employed such public relations to elicit democratic public deliberation, rally support, engineer consensus, or cope with a crisis. The BBC's public relations history may be a template for these countries' professional practices.

ABSTRACT

‘It’s always been a sexless trade’; ‘There’s very little velvet curtain’: gender and public relations in post-Second World War Britain

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This paper addresses the question: how did gender affect early practitioners in Britain, its occupational culture and professional discourse? Drawing on 27 oral history interviews (each around 2 hours long) and archival research (Chartered Institute of Public Relations archive, History of Advertising Trust, and media sources such as *The Times* and *The Guardian*) this paper explores gender formations in 1950s and 1960s Britain. Critical incidents are contextualised with broader historical sources to explain the socio-cultural and political context of the era that shaped both the emergent occupational culture and a longer-lasting legacy. The voices and thoughts of male and female practitioners of the era under review are given space and provide insight into public relations in relation to the social history of the era prior to the emergence of the women’s liberation movement or ‘second wave feminism’ in the middle and later 1960s. The paper presents witness accounts and key moments alongside analysis of occupational discourses contextualised with historical narrative and sources. Key themes include inter-personal and inter-professional relationships, occupational self-images, impression management, representation, public performance and private lives. The paper interrogates the commonplace values and assumptions of British practitioners in the post-war era at a time when women were being ushered back into the domestic sphere.

The paper acknowledges the contributions made to feminist scholarship in public relations (Cline et al, 1986; Toth & Cline, 1989; Grunig, Toth & Hon, 2001; Frohlich & Peters, 2007; Wrigley, 2010; Daymon & Demetrious, 2014; Yeomans, 2014) and those historians who have highlighted the role of women (Henry, 1989; Cutlip, 1994, 1995; L’Etang, 2006; Yaxley, 2013; Fitch & Third, 2014). It seeks to add fresh insights about how and why women started to entering PR, the challenges they faced and the way in which gender affected male and female practitioners’ recruitment and promotion. Experiences of the first female members of the Institute of Public Relations (IPR) are recorded bringing to light previously unheard perspectives. The slow but steady increase in the numbers of women working in public relations is noted, and an argument developed as to the reasons why this happened in the social and economic climate and conditions of the 1950s.

The empirical evidence presented in the paper demonstrates that opportunities for women in public relations 1950s were generally limited to areas regarded as gender appropriate. Specifically, these skills were secretarial, administrative and clerical and to some extent these contributions were rendered invisible. In contrast the demands and expectations placed on male entrants were somewhat vague. Despite this some male and female research participants experienced questions around gender as puzzling or unproblematic, as one male explained, PR was a ‘sexless trade’. Consistent with this position was a denial of any sexist practices despite quantitative evidence of discriminatory pay practices (though this was common practice in the UK until the Equal Pay Act of 1970). Nevertheless, public relations’ non-professional status offered opportunities for women that were not available elsewhere, and the reasons for this are explored.

A conflicting picture emerges in relation to the male gaze and the way men viewed women, since there were currents of hetero-normative sexual frisson in relation to a ‘dolly-

bird' image alongside some fear of women perceived as successful. Sex, sexuality and harassment were terms absent from archive and transcript texts but hinted at in places in relation to relationships with clients and journalists. Despite their disadvantaged position and the fact that PR was not unionized there was little effort made by women in PR to organise themselves. The Association of Women in Public Relations was an American import and an elite concept with a restricted invitation-only membership of 30 regarded by some with ambivalence.

The paper, which has not been previously presented, offers fresh historical data on gender issues in British PR history drawn from primary sources and an explanation as to why and how women entered public relations in increasing numbers during the post-war era. In a period in which women's work was largely that of domestic labour, and given that British PR practice subsequently became feminised and that the majority of practitioners are women in the contemporary era, a study focused on gender in the early years of professionalism seemed overdue and fills a gap in the literature.

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ABSTRACT

‘Who’s afraid of Rollo Swaveley, Webster Dabble and Rusty Conway?’ The Society for the Discouragement of Public Relations – British eccentricity, irony and media critiques

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This paper explores the emergence of critical discourse among journalists and social commentators in relation to the development and expansion of public relations after World War II. It is based on empirical research comprising oral history interviews and archival research (Chartered Institute of Public Relations archive, History of Advertising Trust, media sources and archives including the BBC and *The Spectator*) in addition to other commentaries, articles and books that criticised public relations in the period under review (Kisch, 1964; Tunstall, 1964; West, 1963) including some fictional and satirical writing (Barnett, 1957; Brooke-Rose, 1961).

The paper begins with a short overview of the early relations between public relations and the media to give a backdrop to post-war developments. It then sketches the emerging pattern of relationships through the lens of the Institute of Public Relations journal *Public Relations* and from the memories of witnesses. A story emerges of early co-operative relationships and mutual respect deteriorating in the post-war era and particularly during the 1960s, a decade in which broadcast media expanded and TV audiences escalated.

Within this broad scope lies the emblematic story of The Society for the Discouragement of Public Relations, a loosely knit informal grouping of influential London journalists including Nicholas Tomalin, Robert Robinson, Bernard Levin, Cyril Ray and Michael Frayn (L’Etang, 2004: 136). The discussion of the Society, its formation, rationale and apparent effects on public relations culture, is based on interviews with participants and close observers of the Fleet Street scene. The empirical evidence is supported by literary examples to show that criticism of public relations was not purely a political, territorial and functional conflict over whether journalists or public relations maintained jurisdictional control over news-making, but a more profound and deeper socio-cultural critique. Such critiques have had a long footprint and the line of inheritance is lightly tracked to demonstrate the consistency of these arguments and the assumptions on which they are based, and indeed, some of their flaws.

A feature of this paper is its blend of empirical and literary sources that illustrate that challenges to public relations were not solely focused on occupational/professional conflicts over boundaries, jurisdiction and power; neither were they only about ethics, but about a visceral revulsion and to some extent fear of a practice that had emerged partially as a consequence of democratization and mass communications but also due to post-World War II consumerism and the growth of advertising and marketing. The critiques also say something very telling and distinct about British cultural response and its deployment of comedy through techniques of satire, irony and lampoonery.

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Pioneering Business-to-Business Public Relations in the U.S.: The Rhetorical Strategies of the Norfolk & Western Railway Co

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Introduction

For many organizations public relations practice does not primarily involve communicating with members of the general public, although that constitutes a substantial part of public relations scholarship and research. For many businesses from a variety of industries – automotive, finance, information technology, and food service for example – the most important public of public relations is other businesses. For this reason it is useful to explore the origins of business-to-business public relations. This paper does so by examining the persuasive efforts of the Norfolk & Western Railway Co., predecessor of today's Norfolk Southern Company, a leader in the U.S. freight transportation industry, and a pioneer of business-to-business public relations.

Research on the origins of corporate public relations in the U.S. has often focused on the crisis of corporate legitimacy, and it has also explored various configurations of organization-to-public relationships with the public framed as consumers, protestors, ill-informed masses and so on (Bernays, 1928; Cutlip, 1995; Lamme & Russell, 2010; Marchand, 1998; Olasky, 1987). While important insights were derived from this scholarship, what kinds of theoretical and practical insights can be gleaned from a more direct engagement with business-to-business public relations history? Addressing this question is the primary purpose of this paper.

Business-to-business public relations typically includes using persuasive communications to build trusted relationships by establishing organizational credibility, engaging influencers, educating appropriate audiences, and emphasizing the quality of the company as a prerequisite to selling its products and services (Rutzou, 2014; Tench & Yeomans, 2009; Theaker, 2004). In the U.S., railroads were leading pioneers of business-to-business public relations practices (Heath, 2013; Hiebert, 1966), and their guidebooks were among the first public relations tools. Guidebooks were important because they provided information capable of persuading organizations to do business with a railroad directly or indirectly by launching businesses along its rail lines.

To explore early business-to-business public relations practices in the U.S., the context in which they emerged, and their implications, this paper includes a case study of the *Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905*. This guidebook was selected for case study analysis because of the Norfolk & Western's longstanding leadership position in the freight transportation industry (as a predecessor of today's Norfolk Southern Corporation) and because of the unique communicative challenges faced by Civil War era railroads, especially in the South. Unlike Northern, Western or Midwestern railroads, Southern railroads, especially the assets of the Norfolk & Western were severely damaged during the war. Post-Civil War, the Virginia-based Norfolk & Western Railway Co. faced the daunting task of persuading potential investors and business customers that their railroad company could still support the business needs of organizations.

The purpose of this paper is to identify and explicate the rhetorical strategies employed by the railroad to publicize its value and virtues to potential customers.

A rhetorical analysis (Heath, Toth & Waymer, 2009; Ihlen, 2010), focusing on the relationship between language, meaning, truth and power (Bourdieu, 2009; Foucault, 1980; Ihlen, 2009; Motion & Leitch, 2009), guides the case study and analysis of the *Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905*. This methodological approach facilitates an understanding of the key rhetorical strategies the railroad employed to discursively build strategic business relationships with other organizations, position the Norfolk & Western as beneficial to other businesses and to society as a whole, and ultimately to persuade organizations to do business with the railway company.

This paper begins with a brief overview of the history of the Norfolk & Western Railway Co. A discussion of business-to-business public relations concepts and practices follows. Next comes a description of the theoretical framework used to guide the case study of the *Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905*, a rare public relations artifact. The theoretical framework, a combination of social and rhetorical theory, lays the groundwork for the case study of the guidebook. The paper concludes by emphasizing the contemporary value of studying business-to-business public relations from a historical perspective. Ultimately, the paper aims to offer insights that yield useful lessons from the corporate public relations practices of a railroad pioneer as it also strives to contribute to public relations scholarship by addressing the under-theorized area of business-to-business public relations history.

The Norfolk & Western: A Brief History of Railroad Development in Virginia

The Norfolk & Western Railway Co. is a predecessor of today's rail giant, the Norfolk Southern Corporation. Based in Atlanta, Georgia, the Norfolk Southern Corporation operates over approximately 36,000 miles of track, holds nearly \$33 billion in total assets, employs approximately 30,000 employees, and is among the most successful corporations in the U.S. (Norfolk Southern Corporation, 2015).

Before the Norfolk Southern Corporation became a leading freight transportation company, it was merely an idea. More specifically, it was the idea of a railroad engineer turned Confederate army general, turned railroad president, turned black-rights activist in the post-Civil War American south, turned Virginia state senator – William Mahone. Mahone was a controversial historical figure who was as much maligned as he was beloved (Eller, 1982; Striplin, 1997; Woodward, 1951).

As a railroad man, Mahone had a vision of consolidating several different and disconnected railroad lines to create a unified, connected rail system based in Virginia and positioned for expansion and growth beyond the commonwealth. Since the first rail line began operations in Chesterfield, Virginia in 1831 (Graham, 2012), Virginia's railroads consisted mostly of a series of disparate, inchoate railroads that served their own local communities. This made it easy to travel short distances, but did not alleviate the problems associated with moving people and freight long distances, efficiently, across Virginia and into other states. By the mid-1800s, Mahone's goal was to integrate several Virginia railroads, including the Virginia & Tennessee Railroad, the Orange and Alexandria, Southside Railroad and the Norfolk and Petersburg, which are the predecessors of the Norfolk & Western Railways Co.

Mahone's consolidation and expansion efforts were curtailed by the Civil War, 1861-1865. During the war, Mahone left his railroad position to join the Confederacy where he rose to the rank of General (Smith, 1949). The Civil War had a devastating impact on

Virginia's railroads (Striplin, 1997), especially for the nascent lines of the Norfolk & Western, which suffered heavy attack. President Lincoln even called the Virginia & Tennessee railroad "the gut of the Confederacy" (Striplin, 1997, p. 22) and aimed to treat it as such. After the war, with much of the railroad infrastructure in need of expensive repairs, Mahone returned to his plans of consolidation and expansion with a renewed conviction that integrating the railroads into one larger system was the key to a successful future.

To strengthen the economic viability of the railroads under his purview, Mahone secured financial backing from several sources from New York City to Europe. He brokered one deal with an English financial group that agreed to purchase the first mortgage on the rail system and, in return, Mahone agreed to buy their English iron for his tracks, bridges and other company property. He also worked to promote direct trade with Europe as well as European immigration to Virginia, and he advocated the colonization of the South by Europeans. These late nineteenth century flows of capital, information and people were precursors of the processes of globalization that would define the twentieth and twenty-first century (Appauradi, 1996).

Mahone's successor, Frederick Kimball, continued the tradition of railroad consolidation and expansion. Kimball also continued Mahone's efforts to court English investors. He traveled to England on more than one occasion to deliver presentations touting the benefits of Norfolk & Western's assets to investors. According to Striplin (1997):

Much of Kimball's success in expanding the Norfolk and Western was due to his popularity with English investors who financed much of the millions in loans or mortgage spent during the first decade of the N&W's existence. The London *Financial Times* in 1891 noted, 'Mr. Kimball is the sort of president that English investors like. He is much more after the style of our own railway chairmen than most of his (American) associates. He identifies himself with one road and gives his whole life to it. As a railroad man and financier, he has no thought or interest apart from Norfolk and Western. Whatever promises to build it up and hasten its expansion into a great Southern system commands his unwearied devotion. Another peculiarity about him is that he is always glad to furnish information either to shareholders or to the press. All the threads of (the N&W's) widespread ramifications are in his hands and he holds them firmly.' (p. 39)

Perhaps Kimball was so successful in garnering the favor of English investors because he understood what they expected of him and the Norfolk & Western. Earlier on in his career, Kimball spent two years working in rail shops in England. This was a formative moment in his career. English railroads often were far better constructed than U.S. railroads and Kimball was able to apply what he learned in England to the Norfolk & Western operation he would one day oversee in Virginia, helping it to become one of the most well constructed lines in the U.S. But in order to compete with other U.S. rail interests such as the Baltimore & Ohio and the Pennsylvania railroads, the Norfolk & Western would have to show potential business customers that it was not only still viable, but that it had product differentiators that would help potential customers improve their businesses in ways its competitors could not. The need for public relations was undeniable and propelled the Norfolk & Western into becoming one of the early pioneers of business-to-business public relations.

Business-to-Business Public Relations

According to Greene (2015), "B2B PR is a specialized field that perhaps lacks the level of advice and attention that B2C PR gets," (para. 1). Research on the historical origins of business-to-business public relations is relatively scant. There is a need for more scholarly

research on business-to-business public relations, in general, precisely because the primary public and customer for many organizations is other businesses. In fact by the year 2020, the business-to-business ecommerce market is expected to be worth \$6.7 trillion (Singh, 2014), and public relations will play an important role in helping business-to-business organizations communicate their messages effectively.

Much information about the business-to-business sector of public relations practice is found in textbooks, public relations trade publications and industry blogs. Some scholars have, however, made important contributions in this area by illuminating the key features of business-to-business public relations. For example, Kelly (2009) explains:

The starting point for business-to-business (B2B) PR is a detailed understanding of the specific marketplace, the application of the products or services in question and an appreciation of the dynamics of the buying process. This reflects the traditional emphasis on supporting sales and the very real need for PR activity to present the benefits of particular products and services. (p. 427)

To present the benefits of an organization's products and services to the proper audiences in ways that generate sales, business-to-business public relations professionals rely heavily on media relations. Media relations is a core function of business-to-business public relations practices (Greene, 2015; Kelly, 2009). Typical news angles for business-to-business editorials or advertorials may include topics such as: "New senior, technical and managerial appointments; new products and services; new technology processes; new contracts; unusual or problem-solving contracts and applications; new premises; market diversification or convergence; partnerships, associations, mergers, takeovers" (Kelly, 2009, p. 433). These news angles may be delivered via news release, pitched to reporters, launched on social media, presented via case study, emphasized at a trade show, or delivered via in-person briefings (Kelly, 2009) as both Mahone and Kimball did to secure English investors.

Although business-to-business public relations bears some similarities to business-to-consumer public relations, there are some important differences. For example, while traditional public relations primarily focuses on mainstream and consumer media outlets, business-to-business public relations generally focuses its media relations efforts on trade or industry press. Unlike traditional public relations practices, which typically concentrate on building good relationships with the public, the primary goal of business-to-business public relations is to foster sales. As Theaker writes, "PR here creates the atmosphere in which items can be sold" (Theaker, 2004, p. 250). Unlike in traditional, business-to-consumer public relations, buying decisions in the business-to-business sector are professional, not personal (Theaker, 2004).

Because the public of business-to-business public relations is often smaller, comprised of customers with very specific needs and trade media who have deep industry knowledge, business-to-business public relations professionals must have an in-depth understanding of their company, its products and services, and of their industry and its marketplace dynamics (Kelly, 2009; Theaker, 2004). This high level of subject matter expertise enables practitioners to operate with significant kairotic efficacy: delivering the right messages to the right organizational audiences at the right time using the right communication tools and also while using appropriate language that meaningfully positions the public relations practitioner's organization (including its products and services) as the solution to the customer's or prospect's problems.

While the strategies, tactics and tools of business-to-business public relations have evolved over the years to now include digital and social media, the main goal of these public relations efforts has not. Generating sales remains the primary purpose and using language

effectively (e.g. persuasively) to do so remains the primary method. The various descriptions of business-to-business public relations facilitate the conceptualization of the definition I offer here: Business-to-business public relations can be understood as the strategic communication processes and products designed to maximize an organization's positive reputation and build meaningful relationships with its key organizational publics in ways that create conditions conducive to sales and position the organization as the supplier of choice in its industry. With a conceptual framework of business-to-business public relations in place, directing attention to the theoretical framework that will guide the case study and analysis of the 1905 Norfolk & Western guidebook is next.

Rhetoric & Social Theory as a Theoretical Framework

Because the organizational publics of business-to-business public relations efforts are typically small and very well informed, business-to-business public relations professionals must display a high level of organizational knowledge and public relations acumen. They must be able to clearly and concisely answer questions like, "Who are we?" "What are our goals?" and "How should we reach our goals?" (Ihlen & van Ruler, 2009, p. 1) for their organizations, customers and the media. Business-to-business public relations professionals also need to be able to clearly articulate how their company can help customers reach their organizational goals as well as how they, as public relations professionals, can help the media reach its informational goals. In short, business-to-business public relations professionals must be aware of how public relations works and what it does in, to, through and for organizations (Ihlen & van Ruler, 2009).

Business-to-business public relations is important because organizations are constantly engaged in a struggle to compete for a position of primacy in their industry where they must use forms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), which includes the knowledge, skills and praxis of their public relations professionals. The purpose of corporate public relations practice is to help organizations achieve their goals, and practitioners do this through the artful use of language. Language is of central importance because it structures human understanding of the world and it is the medium through which meaning is created in social and organizational contexts (Bourdieu, 1991). Language is also important because of its undeniable relationship to power, knowledge and truth (Foucault, 1980). Just as language is the vehicle through which symbolic capital – understood as prestige and honor (Bourdieu, 1991; Ihlen, 2009) – is garnered and meaning derived, it is also a primary vehicle through which power emerges and functions to produce forms of knowledge and truth that contest other meanings for dominance in the discursive marketplace of ideas.

Rhetoric intervenes in the discursive marketplace of ideas amidst matters of importance that are yet to be decided – for example, when a company is seeking a new supplier. Rhetoric helps individuals and organizations evaluate their options to arrive at an enlightened choice. Rhetoric can also help a supplier or organization determine the best communication strategies to employ when trying to attract new business or retain existing customers. Because of its origins in providing sound arguments with persuasive efficacy, rhetoric can serve as a valuable tool to public relations professionals, especially in the business-to-business realm, where the stakes can be very high. Describing the value the principles of rhetoric can have in public relations practice Heath (2000) writes,

Rhetoric, as conceived by ancient Greeks and Romans, can underpin the values of public relations as being those of the good organization communicating well. Central to this discussion is the timeless issue of the epistemic, axiological, and ontological roles of rhetoric. Does it help society to use discourse to obtain better versions of truth

(epistemology), value (axiology), and policy (ontology), or are these matters vested in the lofty judgments of some individual or group (Cherwitz & Hikins, 1986)? The essence of rhetoric is the assumption that all facts, values, and policies (in the marketplace and the public policy arena) are subject to advocacy and counteradvocacy, a debate that has the potential for achieving better visions of reality and ourselves—collectively and individually. (p. 70)

Organizations are social actors who struggle and compete to position themselves as leaders in their respective industries (Bourdieu, 1991; Heath, et. al, 2009; Ihlen, 2010; 2009). In doing so, organizational rhetors, or public relations people, advocate for their employers often while facing the counteradvocacy of competitors. This struggle between ideas and organizations – for customers and industry dominance – enables competing organizations to offer their own visions of truth to publics for consideration. This discursive process empowers the public – or in the case of business-to-business public relations potential customers – with the information necessary to make informed, enlightened business decisions (Heath, 2000; 2006).

Rhetoric also offers those in the public relations field significant benefits as Ihlen (2010) points out:

The rhetorical tradition offers public relations scholars, managers, and practitioners a resource that helps them understand organizational discourse, its effects, and its role in society. Rhetoric helps to explain the ways in which organizations attempt to achieve specific political or economic goals, or build relationships with their stakeholders. (p. 59)

For corporate rhetors, especially business-to-business public relations practitioners, the relationship between language, meaning, and action is critical because they deal with a small universe of well-informed and influential publics.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the Norfolk & Western Railway Co. faced significant rhetorical challenges in their efforts to persuade other businesses to patronize them because of the devastation caused by the Civil War. Because Northern, Midwestern and Western railroads did not suffer the same level of damage as Southern railroads during the war, professionals performing public relations duties on behalf of the Norfolk & Western were tasked with creating communications capable of fostering sales – the primary purpose of business-to-business public relations – in a highly competitive environment where their symbolic and material capital had been compromised. The *Norfolk & Western Railways Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905* was one tool in their fight. The forthcoming case study focuses on the key rhetorical strategies the Norfolk & Western Railway Co. used in its guidebook to rhetorically construct certain truths that positioned the railway company as beneficial for prospects and customers in an effort to generate sales.

Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905 Case Study & Analysis

Overview

At the turn-of-the twentieth century, the Norfolk & Western Railway Co. was a prolific corporate communicator. Its executives delivered speeches domestically and abroad. The company produced its own magazine, *Norfolk & Western*. The company also produced many pamphlets and various kinds of books, and was even a pioneer of tourism public relations by publishing books to publicize the many resorts, springs and summer vacation homes that ran

from Virginia's eastern coastal towns to its mountainous regions in the west. Issued by the General Freight Department and overseen by vice president, WM G. MacDowell, the *Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905* is a leather-bound, silver-etched, 300-plus page communications tool that is impressive at first glance, especially within the historical context of its emergence at a time when professional printing and publishing technologies were still developing.

The Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905 provides a wealth of information about the railroads, cars, and cities and towns through which the Norfolk & Western railway ran between Virginia and Ohio. The guidebook includes information about the region's agricultural and industrial assets including advertisements from local businesses and advertorials from educational institutions. Through the articles, summaries, photographs, renderings and advertisements, the guidebook shows potential customers and investors that the region is home to profitable minerals such as iron, ore, coal and clays and it provides information about the timber, water power, shipping and labor resources along its lines.

There are many ways in which this case study could proceed. One approach is to focus on key themes, which is the approach taken here. Two themes were especially salient throughout the guidebook and were therefore selected for explication and analysis including: information as a conduit for organizational credibility and organizational infrastructure as a competitive advantage. The case study will explore these themes to show how language is used to produce certain truths that reinforce the organizational power of the Norfolk & Western Railway Co. in an effort to rhetorically create conditions conducive to sales and position the railroad as the supplier of choice.

Information as a conduit for organizational credibility

From the beginning of the guidebook, information is employed as a persuasive asset to reinforce the organization's credibility. Upon opening the guidebook, a potential prospect or customer would learn where and how to find key company officials. He or she would see that the chairman of the board, Henry Fink, was based in New York City. Readers would learn that the president, L.E. Johnson, was based in Roanoke, which would reassure readers of high-level oversight at the local level. The audience for the guidebook would also see names and contact information for key staff in the Operating Department, Traffic Department, Purchasing and Claim Department, Agricultural and Industrial Department, and for General and Traveling Agents.

The immediate presentation of the organization's structure and contact information creates the impression that the reader can easily locate the company official needed to meet his or her needs and solve any potential issues. This level of visibility and transparency functions to frame the Norfolk & Western as a responsible company made up of executives and employees who are available and accountable to their organizational publics.

Shortly after the organizational structure and contact information is presented, the preface to the guidebook is featured and the goals of the publication are clearly explicated.

This publication is issued with the following objects in view, viz.: First, for the purpose of furnishing such facts, pertaining to the material resources, as may enable prospective investors and manufacturers to form an intelligent opinion of the advantages that will accrue from investments in enterprises on the line. Second, as general information for the use of the Company's patrons. Third, for the purpose of furnishing such information as will bring the buyer and seller in direct communication.... If this result be accomplished we shall feel fully compensated for the expense involved and the labor expended in the preparation and compilation of

this work. Several months have been consumed in obtaining the data at hand, and notwithstanding this fact, it must of necessity be but an abridgement of the history of a territory so bountifully endowed by nature. (p. 5).

The company clearly articulates the business-to-business public relations objectives of the guidebook. It is intended to provide facts about the resources at Norfolk & Western's disposal and to show potential investors how their money will grow through an affiliation with the company. This persuasive language functions rhetorically to enhance the Norfolk & Western's reputation and build meaningful business relationships ways that will generate sales.

The preface's mention of the time and effort involved in producing the guidebook also does important rhetorical work. The language frames the Norfolk & Western as a company that willingly invests in all of its assets, including in communication tools such as the guidebook. The rhetorical sleight of hand lay in the hope that, potentially and ideally, the quality of the guidebook would positively influence the reader's perception of the quality of the Norfolk & Western's products and services, ultimately persuading them to invest.

The company's rhetorical discourse also functions to support the idea that the information contained within the guidebook's pages is not opinion but is instead a collection of data-driven facts that, while certainly useful, are incapable of fully capturing the true beauty and bounty of the land along the Norfolk & Western railway lines. Thus, the language produces a form of truth about the organization that invites further inquiry. The enthymematic language the company employs does important rhetorical work by stimulating curiosity and steering the reader toward the conclusion that he or she simply must see this bountiful land with his or her own eyes. If the reader acts on this curiosity, then this potential customer would move along in the sales cycle from passive reader to active visitor, creating the opportunity for the company to close a new deal.

The language in the preface is emblematic of language used throughout the guidebook: it creates presence (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969) for the Norfolk & Western's strengths, despite past setbacks; employs strategies of identification (Burke, 1989) by linking Norfolk & Western's organizational goals with its prospects' and customers' goals; and by positioning the Norfolk & Western's power as a conduit of power for other businesses, the language rhetorically constructs the railway as a catalyst for multifaceted business and profit growth.

Infrastructure as a competitive advantage

The Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905 is full of photographs of its railway lines, railcars, coal mine assets, company buildings and agricultural bounties to substantiate what the guidebook's text describes. Where there are no photographs, artist renderings provide visual representations of the company's assertions. One article included in the guidebook titled, "Opportunities for the investor and settler: Information pertinent to the agricultural, mining, manufacturing and commercial advantages of the territory traversed by the Norfolk & Western Railway," by Walter Houston Henderson declares:

The best steaming and coking coal in America is that found along the lines of the Norfolk and Western Railway Company. This coal is known to the uttermost confines of the globe. There are in these coal fields more than 150 mining operations, and upwards of 12,000 coke ovens. About 1,000 additional coke ovens are now under construction. No grander sight can be found than an after-dark view from a train passing these coke ovens. (p. 13)

Walter's words are woven between photographs of coalfields, freight trains carrying cars full with coal, beautiful mountains, fertile valleys, mineral-rich landscapes, timber, horses, cattle and laborers that together create the image of a massive infrastructure for the Norfolk & Western.

Access to labor was a critical part of the company's infrastructure. In the guidebook, labor was largely depicted in racialized terms. Photographs of presumably poor, black cotton farmers, peanut farmers, chicken farmers, and mine workers functioned as a form of visual rhetoric, throughout the publication, showcasing an available labor force to potential investors and customers.

On one page, a photograph of black, oyster shuckers working in what were likely less than pleasant conditions in Norfolk, Virginia sits alongside a one-page photo spread of costal, beachfront resort towns and vacation properties. For the intended audience of the guidebook, this two-page spread performs dual rhetorical work. The page picturing the pristine coastline and yacht club shows the reader "the good life" while the opposite page featuring the black workers depicts the vehicle by which the good life might be reached. The juxtaposition of these images simultaneously reveals the racialized benefits and drawbacks of the transformation to industrialized capitalism in the post-Civil War south. The paradox inherent in this two-page spread of iconic images forming a visual rhetoric (Lucaites & Harimann, 2001) of success would likely not have been intelligible to the intended audience of the guidebook who would most likely have read both the resorts and the laborers unproblematically as examples infrastructure.

Infrastructure was of vital concern to the Norfolk & Western Railways Co. and to those considering investing in or doing business with it. A hallmark of the company's infrastructure, including its industrial strength and influence, was the city of Roanoke, its headquarters. The guidebook described it as follows:

ROANOKE, VA., A "City of Enterprise, Energy and Progress," is situated in the Roanoke Valley of Virginia between the Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountains, the Roanoke River flowing along its southern border, and is one thousand feet above sea level. The temperature rarely goes above 90 degrees and then only for a few days in midsummer. The winters are mild, and a severe frost is a rare occurrence. (p. 65)

The passage goes on to explain that the tax rate is low, the educational system is exceptional, and the city is described in glowing terms.

Roanoke is steadily increasing in importance as a distributing point for all classes of merchandise and manufactured articles. Situated at the gateway of southwest Virginia, in close proximity and in direct railway communication with Virginia and West Virginia coal fields, and the territory served by radiating lines to the west, north and east and south the wholesale merchants of Roanoke are thus afforded exceptional advantages. Roanoke takes pride in the character of its stores, and it is doubtful whether many cities of like size can boast of as complete and varied an assortment of high-class merchandise as is carried by its retailers. During the past several years there has been a marked increase in the industrial development of the city, due to a large extent to the progressive and business-like policy of the recently organized Chamber of Commerce. (p. 67)

Here, the guidebook uses a "best of both worlds" strategy that rhetorically frames Roanoke in ideal terms as a burgeoning city with enough infrastructure to satisfy the finest of tastes nestled within a region ripe for investment and growth.

The 1905 Norfolk & Western guidebook's depiction of the company's railways, freight cars, industrial assets, agricultural bounty, labor force, and cities shows how the company's language produced an image of a powerful, well-organized, capable organization with a massive infrastructure ready to serve customers and create ROI. This rhetorical positioning of the Norfolk & Western's organizational infrastructure alongside the information it transparently offered readers reinforced its image as a credible company and functioned to persuade investors and prospects that doing business with Norfolk & Western would make good business sense.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to assess the value of studying business-to-business public relations history in order to determine what sorts of insights might emerge from such an endeavor and be useful to public relations scholars, students and practitioners. To do so, the paper embarked on a rhetorical analysis of the *Norfolk & Western Railway Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905*. This historical document revealed two major themes that have contemporary relevance including: information as a conduit for organizational credibility and organizational infrastructure as a competitive advantage.

While the technological tools of business-to-business public relations may evolve, the organization's need to ensure the information it produces about itself positions it in the most credible way will not change. This is especially so within the context of digital and social media proliferation when a corporation no longer has full control over information produced about it. Similarly, because business-to-business public relations professionals communicate with smaller, well informed publics of influencers, they will have to continue to be adept at highlighting their company's products and services as forms of infrastructure that empower their clients by giving those clients competitive advantages that other organizations cannot match. Unlike nineteenth and twentieth century business-to-business public relations professionals, however, those of today will have to be sensitive to the role played by race, gender, class, and the intersectional complexities of social identity that characterize our increasingly dynamic and diversifying worlds.

This study is limited in that it focuses primarily on one railway, one public relations artifact, and it only focuses on business-to-business public relations from the corporate sector and not from the agency perspective. Its conclusions are therefore not generalizable. Because, however, Virginia railroads, their artifacts, and business-to-business public relations are all infrequently studied, this paper offers informative insights as well as illuminates the need for ongoing research.

Acknowledgements: The author is grateful to Virginia Tech University Libraries and the College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences Visible Scholarship Initiative grant for funding this research. The author also wishes to thank Marc Brodsky of Virginia Tech University Libraries Special Collections and Virginia Tech students, Candace Rutherford and Kevin Williams for their efforts on this project.

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ABSTRACT

The Great War, Military Recruitment and Public Relations: The Case of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1914-15

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When Britain declared war on Germany on August 4th 1914, a ‘rising tide of patriotism’ swept through the country (1). Crowds that had gathered outside the Foreign Office responded to the announcement with ‘loud cheering’ and ‘patriotic demonstrations’ which, according to a report in the *Times*, ‘continued until an early hour [in the] morning’ (2), and the outburst of popular enthusiasm extended well beyond the capital to the northern and western reaches of the British Isles. Within a matter of days, several authors had begun to draft ‘histories’ of the war that sought to justify and vindicate Britain’s role in it, (3) and by the end of the month more than a hundred thousand men had demonstrated their commitment to the cause by enlisting in the first of the New Armies set up by the Liberal government of Herbert Henry Asquith.

By the time conscription was enforced a little over a year later, just shy of 2.5 million men had volunteered to serve in the fighting forces. Their reasons for doing so have formed the basis of countless studies, with some historians suggesting that a widespread pre-war belief in the ‘impending, inevitable conflict of nations’ helped to lay the ground for 1914-18 (4) and others drawing attention to the myriad attempts by official and unofficial propagandists alike to coerce ordinary citizens into supporting the war. (5) Given the scale of wartime propaganda work, it is not hard to see why a connection has been drawn between the culture of ‘war enthusiasm’ that apparently prevailed in Britain in the early stages of the war and the institutions that had been formed to cultivate and sustain such enthusiasm. Between August 1914 and March 1918, no less than five major propaganda agencies were set up to increase public support for the war, with one of these bodies, the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC), concerned entirely with boosting enlistment.(6)

Though it campaigned for less than a year, the output of the PRC was nothing short of remarkable if its own records are anything to go by. In a nine month period from September 1914 to July 1915, it produced 54,260,500 posters, leaflets and other printed ephemera, organised 12,705 public meetings and 21,400 speeches, and arranged scores of public events such as recruiting rallies and special exhibitions.(7) Roy Douglas, Nicholas Hiley, Phillip Dutton and James Aulich have each explored different aspects of the PRC’s work in recent years,(8) and the social historian Jay Winter has described its campaign as the ‘most spectacular’ ever witnessed on British soil.(9) Passing references to the organisation have also appeared in several major histories of the period,(10) but a number of areas remain unexplored. Most of the existing commentary on the PRC has focused on its poster campaign, which in turn has diverted attention from other forms of promotion developed by the organisation, and no study has sought to explore those aspects of its campaign that could be considered today (but were not known at the time) as a form of public relations.

The absence of a dedicated historical study of the public relations activities of the PRC is even more surprising when one considers the kind of work it carried out in the nine months that elapsed from September, 1914. Though it contained a Publications Sub-

Department that produced posters and other forms of conventional 'paid-for' advertising, the PRC also maintained a Publicity Sub-Department that managed relations with the press and tried to influence media coverage of the recruitment campaign, a Householders Return and Information Sub-Department that gathered information on the public designed to aid recruiters, and a Meetings Sub-Department that was responsible for organising a series of public meetings and rallies.

Media relations, information gathering and events management, typically regarded as mainstays of the public relations profession, have received ample attention in the historiography, most notably in the work of Jacquie L'Etang and Scott Anthony.⁽¹¹⁾ Yet little is known about their use and application in Britain during the First World War. Indeed, while both L'Etang and Anthony have highlighted the significance of the war in the development of the public relations profession in Britain, neither author has devoted any space to the PRC in their account of the subject. In this paper, a case is made for an understanding of the PRC as an early public relations practitioner that boasted some of the features, and embodied much of the spirit, of later ventures in the field. Tracing the origins of the PRC to the campaign organisations of the major political parties, I consider those aspects of its wartime work that have tended to receive little attention in the literature, and in so doing aim to shed light on the role the PRC played in the broader social and political climate of the period.

Notes

¹ Peter Simkins, *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2007): 49.

² 'Awaiting the Declaration: The Scene at the Foreign Office', *Times* (August 5th, 1914): pg. 2.

³ Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000): 111.

⁴ Brian Bond, *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970* (Guernsey: Sutton, 1998): 72.

⁵ Cate Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977) and Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: Literature as Propaganda 1914-18 and After* (London: BT Batsford, 1989).

⁶ Apart from the PRC, the government set up the War Propaganda Bureau, the National War Aims Committee and the Department (and later Ministry) of Information.

⁷ WO 106/367: *Parliamentary Recruiting Committee* (National Archives, 1915-16).

⁸ Douglas, 'Voluntary Enlistment in the First World War and the Work of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee', *Journal of Modern History* (vol. 42: no. 4, 1970); Hiley, "'Kitchener Wants You'" and "Daddy, What Did You Do in the Great War?": The Myth of British Recruiting Posters', *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 11, 1997); Dutton, 'Moving Images? The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee's Poster Campaign, 1914-1916', *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 4, 1989) and Aulich, 'The First World War', *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007).

⁹ 'Propaganda and the Mobilisation of Consent', in Hew Strachan (ed.) *Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1998): 216.

¹⁰ See, for example, Nicoletta Gullace, *The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

¹¹ L'Etang, 'State Propaganda and Bureaucratic Intelligence: The Creation of Public Relations in 20th Century Britain', *Public Relations Review* (vol. 24: no. 4, 1998) and Anthony, *Public Relations and the Making of Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2012).

Facing Peace and War: Israel's Government Press Office, 1948–2014

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1. Introduction

From its inception in the 19th century, the Zionist Movement ascribed critical importance to public opinion (Mann, 2010; Toledano, 2005), clearly understanding that influencing publics and stakeholders and creating a favorable climate were crucial for realizing the Zionist idea (Mann, 2012). Various organizations were established in the young State of Israel for the purpose of propaganda, both domestic and foreign (Medzini, 1974). Since the nation's outset, an advocacy mechanism was created that included the Prime Minister's Office, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Israel Defense Forces (IDF) spokespersons and other institutions. While this mechanism has changed throughout the state's history, in its very early years, the roots of Israel's public diplomacy were planted.

In the past two decades, we have witnessed an increase in researchers' interest in Israel's public diplomacy (Guttmann, 2005; Sheaffer & Gabay, 2009) which can be attributed to Israel's protracted conflicts with the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank and with its other neighbors in the Middle East (Ben Meir, 2011; Inbar & Shamir, 2014; Kober, 2008; Schleifer, 2006). These ongoing conflicts have forced Israel to cope with terrorism, military operations and diplomatic entanglements and have led to both great interest and overexposure among foreign media (Yagar, 1984). Nonetheless, the Government Press Office (GPO), one of the first formal national organizations established for handling the government's press relations with foreign journalists (Nave, 1995), receives very little attention in existing literature. This study's objectives are twofold: to shed light on the history of the GPO and to examine the role of the GPO within the broader context of Israel's public diplomacy mechanism.

2. Literature Review

Public diplomacy, rooted in the Cold War, has become subject to increasing interest in practice and research during the last two decades (Critchelow, 2004; Manheim, 1994; Lyne, 1987). Many researchers have sought to trace the different methods governments employ for promoting favorable policies in the international community (Evans & Steven, 2010; Heiman & Ozer, 2009; Soroka, 2003; Wang, 2006). Powerful and influential countries, as well as developing countries, make frequent use of the different tools public diplomacy offers (Alexander, 2011; Zatepilina, 2009). A common definition of public diplomacy is a 'direct

communication with foreign peoples, with the aim of affecting their thinking and ultimately, that of their governments' (Gilboa, 2006).

The study of the Israeli case has also evolved considerably over the past two decades, during which the geopolitical situation posed many complex challenges in the international arena (Avraham, 2009; Gissin, 2006; Gilboa, 2008; Shai, 1998). Several researchers have raised the fundamental question of whether a country can effectively brand itself in the international arena and strengthen its image while simultaneously handling an ongoing conflict (Hassman, 2008; Ward, 2013). Throughout the state's existence, the structure and content of Israel's public diplomacy has been changing. Focus has shifted, priorities have changed and goals have been altered. Consequently, governmental institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Information and Diaspora, the IDF Spokesperson's Unit and the National Information Directorate have received significant attention in research and have been widely discussed (Lapid, 2009; Tal Saranga, 2012).

The emphasis of the existing literature focuses on the strategies employed by officials of the State of Israel who have often had to address the complex task of explaining Israel to the world (These public diplomacy efforts are known in Hebrew as *Hasbara*). Several publications criticize the weaknesses of the Israeli public diplomacy, and suggest measures for improving it (Cull, 2009; Gilboa, 2006; Shai, 2009). Others seek to argue that it is not the strategic communication that must change, but rather the governmental policy (Anholt, 2009; Toledano & McKie, 2013).

The GPO is one Israeli institution, which has engaged in the country's public diplomacy for approximately eighty years, even prior to the state's existence. Despite the many roles played by GPO over the years, it has received very little attention in research, and in most cases, it is referred to merely casually. Caspi and Limor (1999) outline the GPO's primary role in issuing press cards and various ancillary services to the foreign press. They contend that issuing press cards makes it possible for the GPO to define the profession of journalism in Israel. Yagar (1986) reviews the mechanism of Israeli *Hasbara* from his point of view as both an academic and a practitioner who was an integral part of Israel's public diplomacy for many years. Shai (2013) refers to GPO's activities among other institutions, but does not provide a long-term historical perspective for examining the GPO and its development over the years. Toledano and McKie (2013) criticize the GPO for creating barriers and obstacles for foreign journalists trying to cover the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The literature review reveals a significant lack of historical research about the GPO. This study aims to fill the void by addressing a leading question: What were the main factors that shaped the GPO throughout its existence and determined its role within Israel's public diplomacy?

3. Methodology

The research is based on qualitative content analysis. For the study, interviews were conducted with former and present GPO managers and foreign correspondents. In addition, data were collected from official archives, such as the IDF Archives and the State Archives, as well as from private archives of figures who were involved in Israel's public diplomacy. Supplementary material was collected from other written and electronic materials, court rulings, professional and academic journals, as well as media publications.

4. The GPO: A Historical Perspective

4.1 The First Years: Balancing Internal and External Stakeholders

As early as 1924, Gershon Agronsky (Agron), formerly a journalist and the mayor of Jerusalem, was appointed Commissioner of Press Relations in the Political Department of the Jewish Agency. His main functions were handling relations with the press, supplying tourists with information and advocating for Israel among different audiences. The Press Office, led by Agron, released a weekly joint bulletin of the Zionist Executive and the Jewish National Fund (JNF) named *News from the Land of Israel* and published in Hebrew, English, German, French and Spanish. David Ben Gurion, later Israel's first Prime Minister, was eager to develop a body with the purpose of advancing the agenda of the Jewish Agency and the Labor Party (Mapai) with the Jewish international press (Yagar, 1986). The establishment of the Press Office within the Jewish Agency and the dissemination of weekly publications in various languages demonstrate that the dominant strategy at that time was spreading the Zionist idea and stimulating action by updating Diaspora Jews about current events in the Land of Israel.

On May 14 1948, Ben Gurion declared the establishment of the State of Israel. Immediately afterwards, the War of Independence broke out. In September of 1948, Ben Gurion, who understood the key role of public opinion during the war, decided to appoint Moshe (Moish) Pearlman as the IDF liaison officer (later the IDF Spokesman). Pearlman, a Jewish journalist from Britain, had gained significant experience in covering the Second World War in the British Army, and had won a commendation from the king for his contribution (Pearlman, personal communication, 2014). During the Israeli War of Independence, Lieutenant Colonel Moshe Pearlman headed a joint propaganda department of the Foreign Ministry and the IDF. His deputy, Avraham (Abe) Harman, who later became the Israeli ambassador to United States, was responsible for the foreign press in Israel (Yagar, 1986).

The intensity of reality in the State of Israel from its very inception demanded rapid and ad hoc governmental advocacy solutions, leaving little room for systematic strategic thinking or planning. Providing immediate responses to the challenges was the order of the day. These spontaneous dynamics, which developed during the infancy of Israel's advocacy efforts, will surface many times again in later years. The frequently resulted in duplication of functions in different offices and unclear definitions of each entity's role (Shenar, 2002a). At the time of the War of Independence, at least two main bodies, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Israel Defense Forces liaison reflected this weakness.

At the end of the war in April 1949, the Information Services were established, led by Gershon Agron. Included were subdivisions for internal media, foreign media, broadcasting services, a public opinion research institute, a department of public relations of the Ministry of Defense and the IDF press unit (later the IDF Spokesperson's Unit) (Grevitzki, 1949). However, towards the end of 1950, Agron requested to be released from his position because it lacked independent status (Mann, 2012).

Following the establishment of the State of Israel and the recommendations of the committee designing the young state's institutions, the government decided to set up two offices with responsibility for the government's public affairs. The first was the Local Press Office within the Ministry of the Interior (Limor, Leshem & Mandelzis, 2014), which issued information about governmental offices' activities. This Office disseminated a daily *Summary of the Daily Press*, which was distributed at 9:00 am for all government ministries, Israeli missions abroad and the military. The second body was the Foreign Press Bureau, which handled foreign journalists and was subordinate to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Limor, Leshem & Mandelzis 2014). After a short while, the two bodies were consolidated and transferred to the Prime Minister's Office. This decision reflects Ben Gurion's centralized

political approach (Bar Zohar, 2003; Shai, 2013) and demonstrates his understanding that effectively transmitting messages to different target audiences was essential for meeting his political objectives. He understood that while he was responsible, almost exclusively, for the strategic design of Israel's internal and external policy, on the tactical level, he needed a body to assist in disseminating the messages effectively (Ben Gurion, 1949). From the beginning of the state, there has historically been palpable tension between the Prime Minister's Office and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs over these authorities, with each office aiming to enlarge its role (Yagar, 2005).

In January of 1952, Moshe Pearlman was appointed Director of the GPO, in addition to his position as the IDF liaison (Pearlman, personal communication, 2014). Pearlman was very much the right man at the right time. His British origins, combined with significant journalist experience, his Zionist commitment and his good personal relationship with Ben Gurion, all gave him great advantages in his new role (Zeevi, 1987). In a formal letter Ben Gurion wrote that the main purpose for establishing the GPO's was, 'to endear the state to its citizens' (Mann, 2012). This statement is interesting because it puts the emphasis on the citizens within Israel, as opposed to external audiences or foreign actors. *De facto*, this body sought to appeal to both audiences from the beginning.

4.2 1950s—1970s: Becoming Accustomed to Ongoing Conflict Advocacy

Although Israel so frequently dealt with intense security situations that responding to such challenges became the routine stance, the designated roles of the different public diplomacy institutions remained blurred. During the 1950s and 1960s, several changes were made in the GPO, but they were merely structural and did not address the core dilemma of what exactly should be the GPO's function. It provided the latest information on government activities to Israeli and foreign media, initiated press conferences, organized tours for Israeli journalists and supplied up-to-date information for foreign correspondents. A special department for relations with the foreign press served the needs of approximately 500 journalists, writers and screenwriters annually who were visiting Israel as guests of the government or on their own initiative. Another department, the Information Department, gathered and documented material on the young country's history. The Department of Publications in foreign languages produced daily English translations of leading articles in the Hebrew press as well as promotional materials and Israeli advocacy in English. The Department of Photography had responsibility for photographic documentation of various public events, particularly in connection with the activities of heads of state. The Department of Advertising coordinated governmental advertising campaigns.

In 1956, a threatening security situation, culminating in Operation Sinai, when Israel engaged against Egypt together with Britain and France, led to an intense public debate over Israel's approach to foreign public opinion. On January 9 1957, Israeli Parliament (Knesset) Member Haim Ariav claimed that Israel had not properly prepared itself to provide foreign correspondents with information, thus creating a vacuum and resulting hostile foreign reporting. Prime Minister Ben Gurion responded that due to the confidentiality of the operation that was planned secretly with Israel's European allies, the option of open public discussion had not been applicable. He did, however, admit that after the operation had begun, more could have been done, and adding his reservation: 'It is a naïve illusion to assume that all depends on publicity [...] we cannot explain things to people if they oppose to us for political or economic reasons. Not everything is about public affairs.' He also justified the IDF commanders, explaining that they did not want to be accompanied by journalists. 'Their job was to win,' claimed Ben Gurion, 'not to publicize their victory.' (Knesset, 1956, pp. 713—712). The dilemma of whether to allow reporters access to security zones,

particularly foreign correspondents, remained a central issue between the GPO and the foreign media for many years, and this conflict intensified during sensitive military operations in Gaza, Judea and Samaria (Shai, 2013).

In the 1960s, the young State of Israel became the subject of massive international attention due to two events, which demanded a different set of skills from the GPO. Both events were non-confrontational, unlike Israel's usual security-related problems, and neither related to Israel's long-standing conflict with the Arab world and the Palestinian population. The first occurred in April 1961, when a daring Mossad operation captured the Nazi criminal Adolf Eichmann and brought him to trial in Israel. The trial received widespread coverage from five hundred foreign correspondents. The second significant event occurred in January 1964, when Pope Paul VI arrived in Israel for a one-day visit. Twelve hundred reporters came to Israel to cover this momentous event, all of them needing technical services, then mostly telegrams and telex, to transmit their reports of Pope Paul VI's visit to the Holy Land (Medzini, 2007; Medzini, personal communication, 2014). In both these cases, the GPO served mainly as an administrative service provider.

In the 1960s, foreign correspondents based in Israel made their broadcasts abroad from the GPO's facilities, knowing that Israeli censorship was listening. Background reports were sent by mail or air cargo (Medzini, 2007). All foreign journalists were required to sign a form in which they undertook to show all reports on military matters to the censor in advance of publication, as required by Israeli law. This remained the procedure for many years (Sobelman-Shimon, 2001). The GPO was the main point of contact between the foreign correspondents and the Israeli government, assisting correspondents in acclimating to Israel and providing them with photographic services, translations, briefings, tours and access to heads of state.

Dealing on the one hand with national security events and on the other hand with events of a non-conflictual nature, GPO directors constantly have had to juggle between tactical roles and strategic interference, between ongoing positive relationships with foreign correspondents and clashes with them. In Medzini's era as GPO director (1962–1978), he also served as spokesperson to three Prime Ministers (Medzini, 2007). This created a clear synthesis between the personal agendas of the Prime Ministers (Levy Eshkol, Golda Meir and Yitzhak Rabin) and the GPO director and staff.

In the 1960s, several forums were established to build coordination between the different governmental public diplomacy entities. By meeting on a weekly basis, the different actors raised actual issues that demanded thought and coordination for the sake of unifying the message (Medzini, 2007; Medzini, personal communication, 2014). For a few years, an inter-ministerial committee led by the general manager of the Prime Minister's Office and including representatives from the Information Center, GPO, Israel Broadcast Authority, the Foreign Ministry, the IDF spokesperson and the World Zionist Organization operated to coordinate information. Lacking any authority or budget, this committee was not effective (Yagar, 1986). Despite these attempts, the failure to clearly define the different roles of the various actors continued to be a leading weakness of Israel's public diplomacy.

Further discussions regarding Israel's public diplomacy efforts were held in the 1960s, following the first Arab summit and a major retaliation by the IDF in Samoa, South Mount Hebron in the West Bank in 1966 (Yagar, 1986). In these debates, the GPO was referred to only indirectly, almost in a casual manner, indicating its tactical negligible status in comparison to other public diplomacy actors, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the eve of the Six Day War (1967), there were approximately 50 permanent foreign correspondents in Israel. With the outbreak of hostilities, this changed dramatically. Nearly 800 foreign correspondents came to Israel to cover the war (Ben Gur, 1990), which necessitated swift and extensive preparations by the newly formed national unity government. Due to the recession that preceded the war, resources were limited. However, previous experience dictated that the battle over world public opinion should not be neglected. The GPO had to ensure that the foreign correspondents would have convenient access to international communications channels: telegraph, telephone and telex services, transferring radio signals and dispatching films via planes. During the war, the GPO received substantial reinforcements of volunteers, including translators, couriers, escorts and more. This influx of volunteers reflects the attitude nurtured in Israel then that some contribute to victory in the battlefield and others to strengthening Israel's soft power. The GPO, focused on providing logistical services, received guidance from three institutions: the Prime Minister's Office, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the IDF Spokesperson's Unit.

During the war, a wave of support for Israel swept the free world (Raviv, 1998). The leading tasks of the IDF Spokesperson's Unit and the GPO included informing reporters of the military events, organizing tours in combat zones and arranging meetings with commanders for briefings. Reporters were allowed to move quite freely in combat areas. Two foreign journalists were killed: *Time Life* photographer Paul Shutzer was killed on the southern front with the escort officer of the IDF spokesperson, Lieutenant Dov (Tommy) Porat, and Ted Yates from NBC was killed on the Jordanian side of Jerusalem. Following the war, interest in the Middle East intensified and the numbers of foreign correspondents increased from the 50 stationed in Israel before the war to approximately 200 permanent reporters in 1968 (Medzini, 2007).

The post-war era created a new challenge for Israel's advocacy mechanism. Until 1967, foreign correspondents frequently depicted Israel in a positive light, as a pioneering, young, innovative state (Templeton-Finkelstein, 1966). After the war, the tone and content of the foreign media's coverage gradually changed. The reports came to describe Israel as a militaristic country, tough and arrogant following its victory (Yagar, 2005). Because of this new situation, a committee led by Major General Elad Peled was established in March 1969 to examine Israel's public diplomacy. In its conclusions, Peled's committee noted the importance of 'cultivating relationships with international media outlets and working with their representatives in the country.' (Peled, 1969). The committee recommended establishing a Hasbara ('explaining Israel') office. Foreign Minister Abba Even opposed this recommendation. Once again, the clash between the offices prevented important changes from being implemented.

On April 1 1970, an attempt was made to reorganize Israel's public diplomacy. The Ministry of Education became responsible for the Information Office and the Film and Advertising Services. Responsibility for foreign correspondents visiting in Israel, including holding briefings and assisting foreign volunteers seeking to help Israel explaining its policy abroad was transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Following the reorganization, the GPO was significantly weakened. Removing its central role of maintaining relationships with the foreign correspondents, turned it into a mainly technical service provider, issuing press cards to journalists and translating advocacy materials (Medzini, 2001; Yagar, 1986).

4.3 1970s–1980s: Adaptation to a Foreign Correspondents Community

In October 1973, the Yom Kippur War broke out, intensifying the dam of criticism regarding Israel's public diplomacy. In contrast to the Six Day War, in 1973 foreign correspondents had

far more limited access to the battlefield. This policy was rationalized by the need to maintain the fog of war, but, in fact, it also reflected the desire to conceal failures and irregularities during the first days of fighting (Medzini, 2009). The IDF Spokesperson's Unit found it difficult to prepare for 900 foreign correspondents arriving to cover the war. Correspondents reported vulnerabilities and deficiencies discovered in the areas of organization, public affairs and censorship. On November 5 1973, the Foreign Press Association filed a detailed memo of complaints about the difficulties Israeli officials had created for its members (Yagar, 1986). Following public and political pressure, Prime Minister Golda Meir's government established a Hasbara Ministry, headed by Shimon Peres, in April 1974. After Golda Meir's resignation on June 3 1974, the new Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin appointed General (ret.) Aharon Yariv the Minister of Hasbara. The GPO was then included within the Hasbara Ministry. Yariv began institutionalizing a national advocacy forum for coordination among the government ministries (Gilboa, 2013). However, on January 29 1975, he submitted his resignation after realizing that he could not advance the office with the limited authorities and resources allocated to it, echoing Agron's decision to leave the earlier version of the GPO, the Information Services in 1950. Yariv's frustration can also be attributed to colliding political interests, which created many obstacles to the success of the office (Shai, 2013). As a result, the office was closed only a year after its establishment (Gilboa, 2013). These two cases demonstrate the effects of the clash between political interests, which is one of the great weaknesses of Israeli advocacy (Medzini, 2009). Assisting foreign correspondents once again became the GPO's responsibility within the Prime Minister's Office. During these years, we can recognize a reduced emphasis in the GPO's activities on internal Israeli audiences for the sake of nation building, replaced by a growing emphasis on influencing foreign populations. This shift reflects the changing priorities of the Israeli government and society.

In 1977, for the first time in the state's history, the right-wing party, the Likud, won the elections and took control of the political reins. The new Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, was very aware that the field of information and publicity needed serious attention and sought to establish a paramount authority for public diplomacy. However, just as Abba Eban had opposed the Peled Committee recommendations, Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan rejected the idea and it fell through. Prime Minister Begin appointed Zeev Hefetz as the new GPO director. Hefetz aimed to be more involved in explaining Israel's policies to foreign journalists and began inviting groups of foreign correspondents from the United States and Europe in order to create positive relationships based on mutual trust (Hefetz, personal communication, 2015). Hefetz's era was marked by the historical first steps of the opening of diplomatic relations with Egypt. Hefetz established close relations with the Egyptian media. He was responsible for providing services to over 2,000 foreign correspondents who arrived to cover Egypt's president Anwar Sadat's historical surprise visit to Israel in November 1977, undoubtedly one of the most challenging logistical operations the GPO has ever faced (Hefetz, personal communication, 2015).

However, as Middle East realities frequently dictate, this climate of optimistic change was once again replaced by pressing security issues. In March 1978, the Litany Operation, the largest operation in Lebanon until that time, took place in southern Lebanon. It involved scenes of fighting within civilian populations, which differed fundamentally from earlier wars. Once again, Israel was caught unprepared, without appropriate background materials for use by foreign correspondents. Advocacy was given low priority in the overall tasks of Israel's government (Yagar, 1986). Once again, the intense reality and its unpredictable challenges affected the response and preparation of the governmental systems (Bushinsky, 1981). Theodor Levita (1984), an Israeli foreign correspondent, claimed that the relationships with the foreign correspondents in Israel were severely neglected:

The main relationship with them is done through the limited services of the GPO, which transmits press releases via the 'Golem' (a simultaneous telephone transmitter) [...] A positive image is built in years. Unfortunately, all the advocates wake up only after a negative or particularly critical coverage of Israel is in the media. (Levita, 1980: 152–153).

Jay Bushinsky, who headed the CNN Jerusalem bureau, claimed that the GPO was putting too much emphasis on its service provider function, translating materials and transmitting formal information. He also argued that well-known foreign correspondents visiting Israel received lavish attention from GPO, while the permanent ones were neglected; a tactical mistake for which Israel paid dearly in crisis times (Bushinsky, 1984).

In June 1982, the Peace for Galilee Operation, later known as the first Lebanon War, began. This began a period of 18 years of Israeli presence in Lebanon, which attracted a great deal of attention among foreign correspondents from all over the world (Hefetz, personal communication, 2015). This war also started a new era of confrontation with non-state organizations unlike former state-army confrontations and exposed Israel's public diplomacy to a wave of unprecedented criticism in the international media (Yagar, 2014). The divisions among the authorities engaged in contact with the foreign press made it difficult to manage the situation effectively (Goodman, 1981). During the operational activities in Lebanon, which lasted until May 2000, reporters were allowed to enter the battle zones, on condition that representatives of the IDF Spokesperson Unit accompanied them. Entry was often allowed for one or a few reporters, using a pool system. The foreign correspondents expressed their dissatisfaction with the IDF policy, which limited their free access and mobility. Although the Foreign Press Association and the reporters were protesting IDF policy, their complaints were frequently referred to the GPO.

Often, photogenic events, such as burning tires and throwing stones took place in the presence of TV cameras, while less provocative incidents passed without any TV coverage (Ettinger, personal communication, 2015). It became clear that a 'soft power' battle was becoming a new war zone between the State of Israel and its adversaries. There was a sense of a gradually growing crack in the relationship between Israel and the foreign media. The reporters felt Israeli officials were manipulating information, while these officials felt that reports were many times biased and hostile (Maniv, 1982; Sobelman-Shimon, 2001)

GPO Director Israel Peleg (1986–1988) produced a work plan in which he defined the GPO as the official point of contact between the press and the government. 'It must act according to the needs of the press, professional ethics and rules of mass media,' argued Peleg, continuing that, 'however, it must also absolutely maintain the interest of the government and its policies.' (Peleg, personal communication, 2015). During his term, there were approximately 350 permanent foreign correspondents in Israel and approximately 1000 visiting foreign journalists. Peleg held 17 seminars involving 90 foreign journalists (Peleg, personal communication, 2015; Government Press Office Work Plan, 1985). Peleg's attempt to create platforms for strengthening the relationships with the foreign correspondents indicates his will to stretch the scope of the GPO, while keeping it within its traditional tactical zone.

The Palestinian uprising (Intifada) that began in December 1987, became one of the more turbulent periods in the relations between foreign correspondents and the Israeli government (Chaham, 1990). In 1988, for the first time in the history of the IDF, a deputy was appointed to direct the relationship with the foreign press (Ben Porat, 1989). There were 350 permanent foreign correspondents in the country then and dozens visited monthly to cover the uprising in Judea, Samaria and Gaza. *Media Monitor U.S.* claimed that attempts by

Israel to limit media access in the uprising did not reduce the amount of coverage in any following week, but rather doubled it (Levi, 1988). In one case in 1989, the Foreign Press Association protested strongly about the arrest of three foreign correspondents and confiscation of a film belonging to them during an incident in Hebron (Lapid, personal communication, 2015). A major dilemma, which was discussed within the GPO at the time, was whether to provide press cards to Palestinians working with the foreign media. Taher Shriteh was one of the few journalists in Gaza to whom the GPO granted a press card, since he worked for Reuters and CBS (Toren, 1989). Criticism voiced by journalists was that the very ability to issue or withhold a press card in accordance with Israeli interests substantially restricted freedom of the press.

Another important change that demanded a new approach from the GPO was a gradual shift in the profile of the foreign correspondents. In the earlier years of the state, most of the journalists were Israelis or Jews from abroad who covered Israel for the foreign press in a relatively positive light (Ginai, 1991; Yagar, 1984). This changed due to the shift to a more critical global media, which created a new atmosphere in the relationship between the two sides (Shai, 2001). Several figures who were involved in the interface between Israel's advocacy and its security issues claim that ongoing relationships with foreign correspondents was neglected and were attended to only in times of intense crises (Eiland, 2001; Shai, 2001). The challenge only intensified as the foreign correspondents adopted a more critical investigative mode.

4.4 1990s: The GPO in a Climate of Peace

In 1992, Uri Dromi was appointed GPO Director, as a position of trust under then Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Dromi, formerly an air force pilot and a diplomat in the United States, believed it was essential that the GPO director not be a detached civil servant, but rather one that is deeply involved and associated with the government's policy (Dromi, personal communication, 2014). According to Dromi, in the era of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, the general public diplomacy approach was, 'we are right and that's that.' As a result, the GPO was not encouraged to make active efforts for trying to influence public opinion abroad (Dromi, personal communication, 2014). As GPO director, Dromi decided to focus on international public opinion. 'I was actually the government spokesman for foreign media,' he recalls (Dromi, personal communication, 2014).

Following a government decision in 1992 to deport 400 Palestinian prisoners to Lebanon, Dromi tried to influence Prime Minister Rabin to reduce the number to 100. Dromi thought that 100 people could be flown by plane and not transported by bus, thus creating fewer opportunities for photos and other coverage of the deportees. His suggestion was rejected. Dromi also offered to parachute humanitarian first aid to the deportees for Christmas. Prime Minister Rabin refused after considering the political-security aspects. Dromi, in contrast, was concerned with the public diplomacy aspects. 'I went with him [Rabin] in the hallway and I told him "We have a problem explaining this thing," and he tells me, "No, we have a problem with the advocates." I failed in my attempt to clarify that media actions will eventually lead to a political impact.' (Dromi, personal communication, 2014).

With the declaration of the Oslo initiative in 1993 and the subsequent signing of the agreement with the Palestinians in Washington in 1994, the GPO engaged in strenuous efforts to create positive coverage of the peace initiative with the Palestinians. The signing ceremony of a peace agreement with Jordan in October 1994, presented another major challenge for the GPO (Dromi, personal communication, 2014). Dromi's approach and actions demonstrate how the personal attitude of the GPO director shaped the scope of functions of the institution,

determining whether it served merely as a tactical, service provider or as an institution involved in policy. For example, during 1996 Grapes of Wrath Operation in Lebanon, following an incident at Qana village in which over 100 Lebanese were killed during army shelling on a United Nations post, Dromi rushed to the forefront: 'I was the first to respond [...] I appeared on television and said, "We are sorry." I did not need to ask anyone in the PMO what do you think needs to be said.' (Dromi, personal communication, 2014).

4.5 2000: New Millennium, New Challenges

Dromi's successor, Moshe Fogel, directed the GPO between 1996-2000. He had planned and coordinated media coverage of the visits of the late King Hussein of Jordan in 1997 and United States President Clinton's visit in 1998. The highlights of Fogel's tenure were undoubtedly the major coverage of Pope John Paul II's visit in March 2000 and the withdrawal from Lebanon in May 2000 (Fogel, personal communication, 2015). In December of 2000, Danny Seaman, who served as GPO Director for ten years (2000–2010), replaced Fogel.

The early 2000s marked the beginning of efforts to appoint GPO directors as civil servants and not as personal appointments for position of trust (Fogel, personal communication, 2015). The rationale was that the GPO director should not be the Prime Minister's communication advisor and should be more distant from politics. It was thought that the GPO could then establish an organizational memory and working procedures, which would not be replaced every term (Chen, personal communication, 2014). This argument reflects an important discussion of the need to distinguish between a GPO director as an Israeli prime minister's spokesperson, or as a speaker on behalf of the State of Israel and its citizens.

Seaman began his career at the GPO as Director of the Public Affairs Unit in 1990 under then Director Yossi Olmert. Several major events in his term occupied the foreign media: the Second Intifada (2000), the Second Lebanon War (2006), Operation Cast Lead in Gaza (2008) and the MV Mavi Marmara Turkish ship crisis (2010). At the beginning of the Second Intifada, the brutal lynching of two Israeli reservists in Ramallah and photos of the injured child Muhammad Dura in Gaza received extensive media coverage. The Palestinians understood the role of the international media in shaping and advancing the status of their interests in world public opinion (Shai, 2013). The case of Dura was broadly covered, while the lynch videos release was delayed by the Italian RTI that feared the Palestinians' response (Barnea, 2000). The case of Muhammad Dura became a symbol of the battle over public opinion. Israel raised serious doubts about the authenticity of the 59-second clip, which was filmed by a freelance Palestinian cameraman, Talal Abu Rahma, who worked for the French correspondent Charles Enderlin. Seaman was the first official figure to publicly express doubts about the authenticity of the video (Shai, 2013). He accused Enderlin and his cameraman of a 'modern blood libel' against Israel. 'Without any deep and serious investigation, the global media convicted the State of Israel in the murder of a little boy, and his image remained tattooed and engraved in the collective Arab memory as a symbol for the cruelty of the Zionist nation,' claimed Seaman and he accused Abu Rahma of 'systematic staging of action scenes.' Enderlin retorted that, 'The video is authentic, and we will continue filing libel suits against people who say otherwise' (Kalman, 2007). Despite the 15 years that have passed, the incident remains a controversial event, raising questions from both sides of the conflict (Enderlin, 2015).

During Operation Defensive Shield in 2002, the number of foreign correspondents in Israel increased from 600 to 1300, among them well-known reporters such as Dan Rather, Christiane Amanpour and others. The Israeli government's policy was to close the battle

areas to reporters, Israeli and foreign. The rationale was that their presence in the battle zones would put the journalists at risk. However, the journalists themselves felt it was an attempt to control the messages, and generally got the feeling that they were being manipulated by Israel's different advocacy institutions (Abiri, 2002; Balint, 2000). During this period, the first signs of revolutionary changes in the media and social networks appeared (Shai, 2001). The Palestinians assisted the foreign correspondents with pictures from the scenes easily transmitted by simple technology (Barnea, 2002; Shenar, 2002b).

While Dromi shaped the profile of the GPO director's role by concentrating on diplomacy and universal values, Seaman designed the role of the GPO director with an emphasis on national Zionist values. This approach is reflected in a number of moves and landmark decisions made by Seaman. At the end of 2001, he decided to stop issuing press cards to Palestinian media personnel, as the GPO had been doing since the time of Dromi, and to not extend the validity of those already issued. Seaman's decision was made in light of provocations by Palestinian reporters against Israeli security forces. In several cases, the Shabak (Israel's internal intelligence service) had sensitive information about several reporters who were involved in security issues. Seaman also claimed that many of them had worked as photographers for foreign TV channels in the country and urged the fleet of Israeli photographers to replace them (Seaman, personal communication, 2014). Following Seaman's decision, Israeli Journalist Yoav Limor (2002) wrote in an op-ed: 'Instead of using the opportunity to expose the foreign press (and Western audiences) to Israel's claims, the state, with one hand, established a united front of international media against Israel.'

In 2002, Ahmed Seif and Reuters Israel appealed to Israel's High Court of Justice against the GPO, demanding that the GPO grant them press cards. In April 2003, the High Court accepted the petitioners' argument, stating that each case must be decided on its merits and that the GPO could not set a sweeping arbitrary rule for Palestinian media professionals (Ahmed Seif vs. GPO, 2004).

The new millennium raised new technological issues that the GPO had to address. In September 2007, the Israeli news website *Scoop* appealed to the High Court against the GPO, claiming that the GPO was discriminating against it in favor of traditional media (Rom, 2008). In order to obtain a press card, a candidate must fulfill the criteria established by the GPO. For example, one of the conditions is that a full-time media outlet must employ the media personnel requesting a press card. Another condition is that a news web site must prove that it receives 560,000 hits per month to be included within the definition of a media outlet, while a weekly local newspaper, which has a circulation of only 20,000 copies a month, is nonetheless considered a media outlet (*Scoop Website vs. GPO*, 2007).

The petition claimed that the existing rules discriminate among media outlets. The GPO announced in response that it 'has decided to reexamine the parameters of a press card in the new media,' and began granting press cards to bloggers. Seaman personally believed that it was important to reduce the number of those entitled to press cards, in order to maintain the status of those who actually worked in the field of journalism (Kenan, 2010). Seaman's reasoning was not received well among journalists, who claimed that the GPO was trying to expand its power and become an informal court determining which bloggers could receive a press card.

Seaman was considered a very active and politically involved GPO director. This occasionally caused tension between him and the foreign media (Marmari, 2009). For example, in May of 2010, against the backdrop of claims that there was a humanitarian crisis in Gaza, Seaman issued a formal GPO recommendation to foreign correspondents that they

visit a certain restaurant in Gaza. Seaman sought to show that the claim of humanitarian crisis was unfounded and that the situation in Gaza was not as severe as reported in the media. The foreign correspondents did not appreciate what they considered a cynical gimmick (Persico, 2010). Seaman claims that he refused to bend his truth for the sake of being diplomatically politically correct. He believed that some foreign correspondents took advantage of their position in the international press and became an integral part of the Palestinian propaganda machine (Persico, 2010). The foreign correspondents found it difficult to work with him, as *McClatchy* correspondent Dion Nissenbaum (2009) reported: 'Danny is known for his hostility to journalists. Over the years he struggled with reporters (calling them 'idiots' or worse), and punished media organizations such as Al Jazeera, whom he accused of bias.' Seaman refused to be apologetic about Israel's policy when addressing the foreign media. 'Sometimes it a matter of presenting evidence in a clear, non-defensive, non-apologetic manner [...] People might not like you at the beginning, but eventually you will gain their respect if you stick to this attitude.' (Seaman in Schleifer & Snapper, 2015, p. 62).

In 2010, Oren Helman was appointed as Seaman's successor. The GPO was then within the Ministry of Public Diplomacy and Diaspora Affairs (2009–2013). During Helman's term, the GPO created open access to its governmental photo collection, thus enriching Israel's historical legacy with approximately 200,000 images to be used for documentation, study and research (Johns, 1997; Levi, 2014). Helman also initiated an economic-civil department in the GPO, to deal with stories on Israel's economy, tourism and society. This move demonstrated an attempt to exercise strategic thinking, expand the technical functions of the GPO and enter the field of nation branding by producing information for correspondents showing that there is more to Israel than the usual linkage to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. During Helman's tenure, the GPO deepened its involvement in social networks and online platforms (Bar Zohar, 2011).

In 2011, a public committee was formed by the GPO to update the criteria for granting press cards. The committee included former journalists, academicians, and legal and industrial representatives, who formulated updated criteria. The definition of media was updated to 'a printed newspaper or a digital platform.' The committee decided to change the name of the certificate from Press Card to GPO Card. The change was intended to emphasize that no governmental body could determine who is a journalist, and that the government could only provide individuals access card linked to their profession in the press (Calderon, 2011). However, a different interpretation of this name change supports a contrary argument that the card's new name emphasizes the fact that a governmental entity is behind the granting or denial of a press card (Mor, 2009).

In July 2012, former journalist Nitzan Chen was appointed GPO Director. Chen, who also filled the role of chairperson of the Cable and Satellite Authority, has led several major professional operations. In March 2013, United States President Barack Obama visited Israel, an event that was covered worldwide. Five hundred journalists came especially to cover the visit. A special communications center was set up in Jerusalem, and 20 television vans with 40 cameras accompanied the visiting President (Averbach and Goldenberg, 2013). Another major logistic operation was the short visit of Pope Francis in May of 2014. The operation, which was called 'The White Robe' in GPO headquarters, included a live broadcast (video stream) produced by the GPO from 14 sites across the country. In July of 2014, the GPO received a token of appreciation from the Israel Public Relations Association for this successful media event (Lapid, 2014). During Operation Protective Edge in Gaza in 2014, Israel permitted relatively free mobility to reporters and allowed embedded reporters to

accompany IDF forces, subject to operational limitations. As part of the preparations of the GPO, a communication center was also opened for foreign correspondents in Ashkelon in the south (Katz, 2014).

In several cases, Hamas members closely monitored foreign correspondents in Gaza, and some even served as human shields when rockets were fired at Israel from the Gaza Strip (Bat Adam, 2015). Chen issued a letter to foreign correspondents in Israel, warning them about entering the Gaza Strip and stating that if they were exposed to harm because of their coverage inside Gaza, it would be impossible for Israel to protect them within Gaza. 'Israel may not in any way be held responsible for injury or damage which may be incurred as a result of reports from Gaza,' read the statement. The reporters disapproved of the message, although Chen insisted that his priority was the journalists' safety (Bazz, 2014). That same day, the media reported about a group of foreign correspondents who were trapped in the Gaza Strip by Hamas forces, who were preventing the journalists from returning to Israeli territory (Avraham, 2014).

GPO Director Chen understood the limited impact the GPO had over the years on the strategic level of Israel's public diplomacy. One of his decisions has been to place greater emphasis on internal audiences with respect to government spokespersons. For the first time, a code of ethics for public service spokespersons was established and the GPO became an umbrella organization for the public service spokespersons. Chen gave clear priority to improving the professional status of the governmental spokespersons (Hopstein, 2013; Toker, 2014). 'Today's GPO is changing,' says Chen, 'We see ourselves as mentors to government spokespersons' (Chen, personal communication, 2014).

5. Discussion & Conclusions

The study identifies four key factors, which have shaped the scope and nature of the GPO throughout its existence. The first influential factor is the *geopolitical context* in which the GPO operated. GPO managers coped with different geopolitical situations, which demanded various responses and skills, ranging from the tactical level to increased strategic-policy involvement. Some dealt with a social climate of nation building, others with peacetime or with intense eras of wartime and conflict. In Moshe Pearlman's era, internal audiences were central because the nation was taking its first steps. In Meron Medzini's term in office, he had to juggle between the coverage of Operation Kadesh and Pope Paul VI's visit in the 1960s. Dromi's term was characterized by a new climate in the Middle East.

The second key factor this research uncovers is the *GPO directors' personal attitudes*, which largely shape the functions of the GPO. For example, one may clearly identify the difference between the politically active approach of directors such as Uri Dromi and Danny Seaman and the more official approach of directors such as Zeev Hefetz and Israel Peleg. While the former aimed to be involved in the strategic level as well, the latter focused on providing efficient tactical services to the foreign correspondents and building relationships with them. While some GPO directors emphasized the role of international diplomatic concepts, others had in mind first the internal national interest.

The third factor, which influenced the GPO's nature in the different eras, was the *nature of the appointment of the GPO directors*. Some were clearly political appointments of trust, while others were professional appointments, although there were political considerations involved in these as well. The final factor is the *media environment*. The GPO addressed considerable challenges posed by the technological changes taking place in the media: issuing press cards to bloggers; providing a huge collection of photographs available online to the public; developing technical-logistic capabilities for transferring information;

and acquiring important experience in setting up communication centers for large media events. These activities demonstrate how the GPO tried and is still trying to adapt to unfamiliar challenges created by the new media and the repercussions of these changes. These four major factors of the *geopolitical context*, the *GPO directors' personal attitudes*, the *nature of the appointment of the GPO directors* and the *media environment* shaped the GPO from its inception to the present.

The State of Israel was and remains in the center of an ongoing conflict with its neighbors in the Middle East. As a result, the task of properly addressing the permanent and visiting foreign correspondents has become fundamental in the overall functioning of Israel's public diplomacy. Although the GPO's host within the government has changed throughout the years, the GPO has remained one of the main bodies enjoying frequent interface with foreign correspondents. Throughout its history, the GPO, acting in its capacity as a public diplomacy institution in a small country, has directed numerous media operations on a large international scale, including Eichmann's trial (1961), the Six Day War (1967), the War in Lebanon (1982–2000) and visits of world leaders (the Popes and United States presidents, among others). However, in both practice and research, the GPO has received scarce attention, to say the least, and was generally neglected, being viewed as the less important link in Israel's public diplomacy.

This study indicates that the GPO was often present at significant junctions in Israel's history, where it had the capacity to help, or, alternatively, damage, the relationship between foreign journalists and Israel's government on the ground. It is estimated that 80 to 85 percent of the information published on Israel abroad is based on the reports of foreign correspondents permanently stationed in Israel (Medzini, 2001). Given this situation, it is clear that more should have been done to establish significant relationships with these actors. Given that much of the responsibility on the ground for the relationship between the foreign correspondents and the State of Israel was that of the GPO, is it not important to deeply research this entity as well? Due to the common perception that the GPO was merely a technical tool in the hands of other advocacy bodies, it has not received adequate treatment. Ostensibly, technical roles in a public diplomacy mechanism may seem subordinate to strategic entities. In fact, as in all public relations campaigns, one may not exist without the other and both strategy and tactics are needed for the mechanism to actually work efficiently.

There are those who fundamentally question the very existence of a Government Press Office in a democracy, due to its potential association with propaganda from governmental institutions, which aims to influence public opinion internally and externally. However, this argument is somewhat naïve. Leading Western democracies, such as Great Britain and the United States have established similar bodies during crises for both disseminating formal information and advocacy. It is the complex geopolitical reality in the Middle East, which demands the existence of such entities. It does, however, need to conform to a more open and timely attitude towards a two-way relationship with the media, encouraging dialogue and mutual trust.

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Princess Charlotte's Public Tears: A Regency Period Study in Proto-public Relations

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Introduction

When George III's last struggle with mental illness led to his final retreat from British public life in November 1810, the Tory government began negotiations for the terms of a regency, one that would place the royal prerogative in the hands of the king's eldest son George, Prince of Wales. The Prince of Wales' widespread reputation as an aloof, arrogant womanizer, drunk and abuser of public monies had long garnered him negative public scrutiny, and, in the wake of the 1809 sex and corruption scandal involving his brother the Duke of York (Clark 2004), even the most conservative British voices felt empowered to support reform of the national institutions and condemnation of aristocratic privilege (Clark 2004), despite the draconian anti-dissent speech and libel laws that had suppressed open critique of the monarchy.. Only the nation's demonstrated approval of George III following the first Royal Jubilee in 1809 sustained widespread public support for the monarchy itself, (Colley 1992). Despite nearly universal condemnation of the Prince Regent, his office still commanded social and political deference. However, public disgust with his demonstrated disdain of social norms of morality and economic prudence once again raised serious questions about the monarchy, its cost to the treasury and its duty to British citizens.

This study focuses on select moments during the years 1811-1813, when the press and public opinion framed Princess Charlotte and her mother Caroline of Brunswick as objects of sympathy in the face of the Prince Regent's tyranny in his own household, making her an analogue for the concerns of a variety of interest groups that included the Whig party, radical reformers, religious emancipation activists, women, and the writers and activists who spoke behalf of disenfranchised working people and other groups. In particular, it traces the circulation of the theme of "tears," a rhetorical device first articulated by Lord Byron and then taken up by printmakers, the press and Opposition MPs who used the image of the Princess and her plight to advance their own strategic interests and align themselves with public opinion.

In response to Lamme and Russell's (2009) call for research that illuminates how public relations was conducted prior to its professionalization in the twentieth century, and in the spirit of Cutlip's (2013) work in exposing a long history of strategic proto-public relations in America, this study traces the complexities of public relations activities within and without the British royal family during the first two years of the Regency. Inspired by Hallahan's (2001) concept of "publicity as public relations," this study aims to sketch out the wide range of strategies and tactics used by the government, the opposition, members of the royal family, and political commentators speaking for the public. More broadly, this research aligns with the calls of other critical scholars (Smith & Ferguson 2010) to reimagine public relations as a practice driven "from below", with a long history of change effected by sustained public dissent and activism, such that powerful organizations, in this case the Crown itself, are forced to respond with their own strategic public relations

Although the legitimacy of the British monarchy during the Regency years (1812-20) was less at risk than it had been during the 1780s and 1790s when American and French revolutionary discourse allowed the Foxite Whigs to question the royal prerogative, its meaning has almost continuously been a matter of fulsome British public debate. Thus, there is merit in stepping back to look at the monarchy through the lens of organizational public relations to view the royal family's participation in forms of publicity aimed at promoting its legitimacy in the eyes of its publics. To that end, I am drawing on Metzler's (2001) framework of organizational legitimacy, an analytical model grounded in Metzler's argument that "establishing and maintaining organizational legitimacy is at the core of most, if not all public relations activities" and that "publics evaluate an organization's legitimacy" (321). Metzler poses four key questions that together form a framework for analyzing all manner of public relations activities, including: *What is the root issue of the dispute?*; *How does the communicative context affect the dispute?*; *How are communication disputes used in organizational legitimacy disputes?*; and, *How are legitimacy disputes resolved?*. This framework provides sufficient flexibility to allow an analysis of the Regency period proto-public relations without imposing twenty-first century theoretical concepts that would be meaningless to a early nineteenth-century analyst. In what follows, these questions are applied to evidence taken from contemporary and more recent historiography on the Regency, as well as archival materials that include letters, speeches, satirical prints, broadsheets and news stories.

2. The root issue at the heart of the regency battle royal

Metzler (2001) follows Beetham (1991) in identifying legitimacy disputes as being grounded in an organization's role performance (including issues of legality), the extent of any dissonance between that role performance and social norms and values, and the public dissent that seeks to change or reorient the organization. For the case being explored here, we find a British public critical of the Prince Regent's performance as a good father, and particularly his refusal to grant Caroline her legal rights. And, though it was not illegal for a father to lock up his daughter and refuse her access to her mother and society, his actions in this regard flew in the face of ascendant "middling" norms of just and moral families. The unrelenting theme covered in negative publicity concerning the Prince Regent in the two-year period covered here was the issue of abuse of parental prerogative and the rights of women and children, a theme analogous to abuses of power by monarchy and government and the rights of British subjects. With his largely beloved father no longer on the scene, the British public long inured to the Prince Regent's lifelong reputation as a snobbish lout was now vulnerable to public critique of his flouting of his responsibilities as a father and husband in honouring the legal and customary rights of the female members of his household (still legally considered chattel of the male householder in this era).

Throughout his utterly dysfunctional marriage to Caroline (from whom he separated three months after their wedding and never spoke to again), the Prince Regent had done everything in his power to obtain a divorce and demonstrated no interest in the raising of his daughter other than to use her as pawn in advancing his own interests. His father George III had used his power to govern the royal household to protect his daughter-in-law and granddaughter Princess Charlotte and include them in the activities of the court, against the wishes of the Prince of Wales and his mother Queen Charlotte. In 1812, the Prince Regent used the lifting of the one-year restrictions on his royal prerogative to reverse the family protocols of his father. He ordered Caroline removed from her residence, barred her from any function at which he was present and thus from society itself, and began restricting her visits with their sixteen-year old daughter Princess Charlotte (Plowden 1989).

When Caroline privately and then publicly pressed her case for access to her daughter, the Prince Regent sequestered Princess Charlotte far from town (and its press and politics) at Windsor Castle, replacing her household with ladies from his own Tory circle and allowing her only visits from her grandmother Queen Charlotte, whom the princess detested both personally and on partisan grounds. It is at this point that the royal dispute became a focus of public interest and political gamesmanship in the House of Commons, fomenting a flurry of publicity by Tory, Whig and Radical interests and by Prince Regent, Caroline and Princess Charlotte, often through the aforementioned political affiliates.

3. The contexts for the royal dispute

To understand the root issue at the heart of the Regency family dispute, the legitimacy of the monarchy and the limitations of its executive powers (and by extension, the legitimacy and limitations of father right), it is necessary to provide a brief overview of Britain's ongoing negotiation with its relationship to its monarchy. The "Glorious Revolution" that trimmed James II's French Catholic sails and created a constitutional monarchy under the Protestant William of Orange (James II's daughter Queen Mary's husband) brought England's unique form of constitutional monarchy into existence. With the Protestant succession assured, the Jacobite challenge checked, and the absentee German-speaking Hanoverian monarchs replaced by a homegrown young patriot king George III in 1760, British constitutional debates about the legitimacy of the Crown shifted to new discursive ground (Poole 2010). Especially after 1780, it was the symbolic connection between male and female virtue and the wellbeing of the nation lay at the heart of how the conflicted royal family and its relationship with the nation would be portrayed (Morris 1992).

Most Britons stilled agreed that they wanted a national father, but as in public debates about the rights and responsibilities of male heads of households toward their wives and children, they disagreed on what their relationship to that father might be and what kinds of powers that father should have (Andrew 1994; Morris 1992). Rarely was the vanquishing of patriarchal power a theme that fueled the written, spoken and pictorial texts of political reform, or in this case, the conduct of the Prince Regent. Instead, an expansive and vocal public brought pressure to bear on men in public service, exhorting civic leaders to abandon the codes of patriarchal, aristocratic *virtu* for the virtues of economic and moral integrity, and the sense of obligation and self-sacrifice for the family's or nation's sake that was associated with the "middling" figure of the *paterfamilias* (Barker-Benfield 1992; Hunt 1996).

Since the institutionalization of the press in Elizabethan England, the details of royal family life had served as regular grist for the London gossip mill and newspaper columns, the communications media that allowed Britons to enact their politics in the first place. Carretta (2007) has argued that for members of London's political class, the body of the king was symbolic and majestic, but also highly familiar. George III exploited the emerging private press and the market for visual representations of monarchy to present Britons with a "patriot King" they could relate to (Carretta 2007; Colley 1992). It is this conscious relationship with the "free press" that produces an historical break between the Georgian period and the royal regimes that preceded it. George III's royal household consciously enacted its role as Britain's "family of families" in order to bind itself emotionally to its publics, and it used the press, print shops and occasional intimate encounter with "ordinary" Britons to extend these representations to hail people across the geographies of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland as a people united under the "natural feelings" it purported to represent. As Morris (1992) has argued, this familiarity between the king and Britain's political class helped to protect the monarchy from revolutionary designs, but at the same time, it made the royal family's affairs vulnerable to relentless public scrutiny.

If George III was the very model of Protestant middle class virtues, his eldest son was the epitome of the aristocratic vice, and thus a target for movements of political and social reform throughout his entire adult life. Until 1811, the Prince of Wales was more or less identified with the Whig Opposition, except for those times, such as in 1789 and 1792-95, when he eschewed his political friends to gain the good will of the government and the public, including his consenting to marrying Caroline in 1795 in exchange for Parliament's payment of his massive gambling debts (Carretta 2007). Moreover, given the resonance between the family and the nation, the struggle of the king to rein in the excesses of his heir frequently served as a metaphorical scenario for arguments about the struggles of the people (via their MPs) to discipline its monarch for any perceived misuse of his sovereign power.

For many Britons, the Regency was a time of anxiety and austerity given the high economic and human costs of the Napoleonic war and rapid industrialization. The period between 1780-1830 saw exponential population growth and literacy rates, rapid urbanization and growth of a consumer society that included the expansion of a vibrant commercial culture even as oral sites of protest (theatre, streets, pubs) still persisted (Conboy 2002). Despite the legal repression of freedom of assembly and dissent speech, public opinion was increasingly more mobile as the invention of the steam engine and canals facilitated better and faster communication with the peripheries and colonies of the nation, equating to more people with more access to royal and political publicity (Anderson 1991).

The regional and metropolitan press, politico-cultural commentators, and people of every social rank mediated representations of George III and his family throughout his reign (Carretta 2007). Social, political and literary historians of the eighteenth-century have stressed the centrality of moral and religious discourses and the influence of women to the calls for parliamentary, economic, and aristocratic reform that dominated Georgian loyalist and constitutional reform movements (Barker-Benfield 1992; Clark 1985; Hunt 1996; Mellor 2000). The issues of divorce and adultery in high life (and of wife abandonment, prostitution and illegitimacy in low life) consumed newspaper, magazine, prints and pamphlet copy. Both topical and controversial, editors and printmakers could count on "family values" rhetoric and the "human interest" angle to sell political news (Andrew 1994; Morris 1992). Framing political controversies in terms of family relations invited widespread public identification with related political issues based on reader's own experience of family life, thus mobilizing a discourse relevant to any public and open to disputes about legitimacy.

4. Communication strategies used in the battle royal

Metzler (2001) contends that, to assess public relations practice through the lens of legitimacy, the strategies employed must be viewed in light of the norms and values used to progress the strategy, and that these can be assessed through analysis of "speaker choice, appeals to reason, and identification" (324). Social norms and values are expressed through the speaker and the group he or she represents, by how the speaker logically makes their case, and by the discourses they draw on to provide warrants for their case. The degree to which publics can identify with the speaker and the argument depends on the extent that members of the public see their values and norms shared in those speech acts.

The Regency "battle royal" can be seen as an extended public relations exercise involving three members of the royal family, each with their own strategic interests and each making use of and being used by spokespeople seeking to leverage the cover of royal family squabbles for advancing their own political interests. Figure 1 sketches out a schematic identifying key players in the royal family dispute, their goals and strategies for achieving those goals through public appeals, and their tactics for reaching their publics. Notably, each of their strategies relied on appeals to the Protestant patriotic family values discourse that had become embedded in the British cultural imaginary by this period, but the elasticity of family

values discourse was sufficiently elastic to allow the spokesmen for royal family members who used family values logic to advance contrasting strategic goals.

Parties	Strategic Goals	Strategy	Tactics
Prince Regent	Assert his privileges; Divorce Caroline	Destroy wife's reputation; Gain Tory nobility support; Claim patriarchal rights on behalf of the nation	Court events; public works; support Tory Bills; reliance on Tory press
Caroline	Legal rights as royal consort, mother of heir	Appeal to mother's rights on behalf of her daughter and the nation	Public appearances; letter campaigns; Whig and Radical spokesmen; anti-Tory press
Princess Charlotte	Rights to education, freedom of association and marriage	Defer to patriarchal rights; Express love of country; Garner public support	Obedience; using go-betweens and servants for information; Whig spokesmen; refusal of marriage to Duke of Orange
Tories	Retention of power; Reputation of the Crown	Defend patriarchal rights; Frame Whigs as immoral opportunists	Parliamentary speeches; surveillance of press/printers; Tory press
Whigs	Access to power; Constitutional reform (Irish Catholic freedoms, limited monarchy, anti-Corn Laws)	Attack abuse of royal power; Defend female victims; Assert mother rights on behalf of the nation	Parliamentary speeches; Whig press; popular print culture; legal advice for Caroline and go-betweens for Princess Charlotte; sponsorship of satires
Radicals	End "Old Corruption"; Universal franchise; Economic justice; Abolish monarchy; Abolish Church influence in politics	Align monarchy with Old Corruption; Promote common sense and superior morality of commoners	Radical press; pictorial satires, plays, poems; essays, broadsheets; letters campaigns; pubs and streets; processions

Figure 1. Intersections of strategic goals, strategies and tactics during the 1811-13 royal dispute.

There is not the scope here to give full attention to each of the parties involved; rather, select events and texts are presented here to demonstrate the strategic goals, strategies and varied tactics of the royal family members (and their spokesmen) embroiled in the argument about the reach of paternal (and, thus, royal) prerogative. Instead, I offer a representative selection that evinces the same strategic intentions, attention to audience, and tactics associated with modern public relations, albeit in a pre-electronic media environment.

All of the strategies and tactics used in the publicity associated with this royal family feud assume a united public with issues about the reach and quality of royal and father prerogative, given the evidence of a house divided and polluted with vice. For example, one of the very first Regency-period political prints favoured Whig and radicalist positions is

emblematic of how defenders of Caroline and Princess Charlotte made their case, deconstructing the notion of the family, and of the royal family in particular, as a cohesive unit representing one class position and one political ideology. *THE COURT OF LOVE, OR AN ELECTION IN THE ISLAND OF BORNEO*, appeared as a plate to the *Scourge* in November of 1812, as the end of the trial Regency approached (Cruikshank 1812). At the apex of this image of despotic royal power, the Regent is portrayed as a gouty Henry VIII, raising a glass in his right hand and embracing his crowned mistress Lady Hertford, who reaches out to touch the horns of her cuckolded husband, the very model of a submissive sycophantic Tory place-seeker. Flanking the throne are the Prince Regent's brothers and their various mistresses, whose relationships conjoin the worlds of rich and poor through an economy whose currencies are the female body and monetary and political rewards. At the bottom centre of the image, the character of John Bull (that fictional embodiment of the British public) makes haste to escort three virtuously dressed young women from the scene lest they too risk contamination from the court. In terms of Metzler's framework, we see here John Bull standing in as spokesperson for the British people, his association with the social norms of a more sentimental and morally and fiscal prudent male householder imbuing him with the credibility that could not be commanded by a politician making the same claims.

Constructed as the Regent's dream, this print anticipates a ministry and household built on a rotten foundation of adultery, male debauchery and dependence, and meretricious female political influence. Prints such as *THE COURT OF LOVE* represented the royal household of the new Regency as paradise for adulterers and reprobates. It also offers insight into the sheer numbers of women (not including servants, who served key roles as mediums and messengers for royal family secrets) at court. Meretricious female influence was seen to pollute the public body of the Prince Regent with the effects of their sexual dissolution, love of luxury and idleness – not to mention their suspected Catholicism. Their presence and his wife's absence counted as a dangerous intrusion of the emotions and the body into a private sphere now inextricably associated with public virtue. This counted as golden opportunity for the Opposition to bolster unstable discourses of male patriotic virtue with panegyrics to the civilising influence of royal female domesticity and maternal love. In addition, the sequestering of the princess as the Prince Regent's revenge for Caroline's continued demands for acknowledgment was seen by many as an inappropriate exclusion of the Princess Charlotte from the introduction to public life that she would require as the future Queen of England. As such, mother and daughter alike sought recourse to individual MPs, other men and women of influence, and the mediating tool of the press in order to protect themselves against the power that he legally wielded as a substitute king, a husband, and a father.

Princess Charlotte became a matter of public interest in April, 1812, two months after the start of the probationary period of the Regency, when the House of Commons received a request from the Prince Regent to discuss suitable settlements and household arrangements for the royal princesses (including Princesses Charlotte and Caroline, and all of the Regent's sisters) who now no longer fell under the aegis of George III's care. The Whigs leapt on this opportunity to open the floor to a discussion of why Caroline had not been mentioned in the request, an exchange that opened a floodgate of questioning as to royal expenditures, the suppression of "The Book" (containing evidence of Caroline's innocence in depositions to the 1805 Select Committee investigating allegations of Caroline's innocence, as well as evidence of perjury by the Prince of Wales' agents Lord and Lady Douglas perjury) by Perceval upon his taking office in 1807, and the reasons for the Prince Regent's extraordinary public abuse of his wife in banning her from attendance at the Queen's Drawing Room (Huish 1831, 85).

Had Perceval not been assassinated on May 11, history may well have recorded a full-blown investigation in the Prince Regent's criminal attempts to frame his wife for adultery in

1805 and the Tory's complicity in protecting abuses of royal and patriarchal prerogative through a secret investigation of the allegations in 1806, dealing a significant blow to the legitimacy of the monarchy. However, with Perceval dead, and murmurs of revolt sounding throughout the countryside, the business between the Prince and Princess of Wales passed relatively unnoticed until the beginning of the following year.

From Princess Charlotte's point of view, royal familial relations consisted of labyrinthine negotiations and cabals, mediated by courtiers and servants who served as spies and messengers between royal sub-households. Her letters reveal a family divided beneath the surface, the Prince Regent's establishment under the secret but powerful influence, not only Lady Hertford, but also of Queen Charlotte, both of them staunch Tories. A devoted Whig, Princess Charlotte worried in 10 January 1811 to her friend about both about her father's shifting political positions and also the negativity of the public toward him:

...The Prince's being so well with his family would CERTAINLY have given me PLEASURE, had not seen with *how much marked deference* he treated the Queen....wh. I *know* is not a *good sign* with regard to his measures in Government & politics. In so large a family as there happens to be, it is of *great consequence* to be WELL TOGETHER; it is *impossible* that one can *like all* the same, or have the *same* opinion about them indiscriminately; but yet to *keep up appearances* & to have *no wide breaches* is what is required....The Prince, I have *good reason to believe*, is *quite governed* by his mother & the Manchester Square folks [the Hertfords]....The print shops are full of *scurrilous caricatures* & infamous things relative to the Prince's conduct in different branches....
(Aspinall 1949)

These comments by the princess are notable insofar as they show members of a royal family deeply invested in politics and dependent on good relations with cabinet, but also a Prince Regent whose studied aloofness from politics is belied by his keen interest in making himself acceptable to public opinion, at least when it suited him.

The ending of the regency restrictions also meant the end of the Prince of Wales' forced toleration of his wife's presence in society. No longer bound to follow his father's example in receiving her as a member of the family, he began almost immediately to exert his will against her. Princess Charlotte ceased to be a mere observer of her family's squabbles, and instead became its central pawn. Suddenly, private royal moments became public property, as the tears she purportedly shed upon her father's denouncement of the Whigs at Carlton House on 22 February, 1812 were subsequently immortalised in images and written texts. Lord Byron, with whom Princess Charlotte often spoke during her visits to her mother's residence (known as the "little court"), penned a commemorative verse of the scene which included the words "Weep daughter of a royal line," referring to Princess Charlotte's distress at witnessing the Prince Regent's harsh words of betrayal to his former Whig allies during an informal dinner at the palace. It first appeared anonymously in the *Morning Chronicle*, 7 March, 1812 under the title "A Sympathetic Address to a Young Lady" and then again in 1814 as an addendum to his *The Corsair*, a series of poems about young women imprisoned by pirates. It read:

*Blest omens of a happy reign,
In swift succession hourly rise,
Forsaken friends, vows made in vain
A daughter's tears, a nation's sighs.
Weep, daughter of a Royal line'*

*A sire's disgrace, a realm's decay;
Ah ! Happy if each tear of thine
 Could wash a father's fault away !
Weep – for thy tears are Virtue's tears –
 Auspicious to these suffering isles;
And be each drop in future years
 Repaid thee by thy people's smiles !*

The public uproar that arose following the verse's publication in *The Corsair* two years later suggests the public and the Prince Regent knew well the intended political meaning of the poem, with many society folk decrying its blatant criticism of the Prince Regent and its positioning of Princess Charlotte as a loyal Whig and thus a supporter of democratic reform (Marchand, 1954).

Six months later, she had been forcibly sequestered at the Lower Lodge at Windsor, a day's journey from the London print shops that would soon feature her own face as a sign of political reform. From the beginning of their forced separation, Caroline and Princess Charlotte looked to the Whig Opposition and to public opinion as their protectors against the wrath of the Prince Regent. At this point, the Prince Regent used Tory MPs and the Privy Council to justify his actions as a case of fatherly concern for his daughter's education, which he argued that visits to Blackheath would allegedly interrupt. Only the newspapers and her secret correspondence with her Whig friend Mercer Elphinstone kept Princess Charlotte informed over the summer of 1812 of the parliamentary debates concerning the curtailment of her mother's visits. Princess Charlotte pined away at Windsor in anticipation of the Whig's championing of the Princess of Wales at the next session of Parliament.

Making much of now relentless rhetorical device of "the Princess's Tears," political prints supported the mother and daughter cause in satires on the Prince Regent's corruption of the royal family's reputation. One image depicted an accidental meeting of their carriages in Hyde Park in February of 1813 in the protected area used solely for the purpose of royal outings. In *AN AFFECTING SCENE IN HYDE PARK OR MODERN DOMESTIC HAPPINESS* (British Museum, 1813), Caroline and Princess Charlotte meet in the centre of the image. They are overseen by a sun bearing the face of George III, the rays of which read as, "*Piety; Conjugal Fidelity; George Naughty Boy; Affection; What! What ! What!; Paternal Love; and, Shall go, Shall go.*" The symbolic presence of the king serves much the same argumentative purpose as John Bull does in other images—only these "absent" good fathers bear sufficient authority under the laws, norms and values of the land to pronounce judgment on the Prince Regent's actions. Charlotte (accompanied by her governess, who is holding up an enormous switch of disciplinary birch-rods signifying the Prince Regent's tyranny) rides in her yellow open carriage embellished with the insignia of the Prince of Wales. Dressed virginally, she reaches out to embrace her mother, who leans out of a covered carriage to return her daughter's embrace. All of the coachmen in the scene are weeping, as are all of the passersby and observers. Embodying the spirit of the people, one man says to another, "*Tom, don't cry, it looks so...*", to which Tom retorts, "*Why you seem to be crying yourself but who can help it, when we see so good a mistress in tears.*" These are moral plebeian tears, patriotic expressions of the love John Bull (the analogue for the average Briton) reserves for royal family members deserving of such sentiments. Though not present in this image, the Prince Regent's conduct toward his wife and daughter is vilified, his debauched, tyrannical household reign set in stark contrast to the more gentle paternalism of George III's.

The falsity of the game of royal "happy families" noted by Princess Charlotte in the early months of 1812 invited intercession from outside. It was at this point that she began her policy of passive neutrality in all matters political and familial, anxious to appear faultless

and self-sacrificial in the eyes of the public that she relied on to mitigate her plight. By October, Henry Brougham (Whig supporter and solicitor) and Whitbread (brother-in-law to Lord Grey and now leader of the radical Whigs in the Commons) had taken over the defence of the Princess of Wales in the House of Commons. Caroline had sent several letters to Queen Charlotte at Windsor to demand her visitation rights, and had sent copies to her daughter to advise her of her thwarted intentions. We know from Princess Charlotte's letters (October 26, 1812) that the Prince Regent had also enjoined Liverpool to privately mediate the familial rift and to persuade Princess Charlotte to return the letters, which the princess claimed she had burnt (Aspinall 1949). Aware of the Opposition's plans to vote her an establishment of her own, independent of her parents and as a gift from the people, she consciously represented herself to be neutral on the topic. Though delighted with Lord Grey's interest in her affairs, she declined too close an affiliation with Brougham and Whitbread, agreeing with her closest friend Mercer Elphinstone's admonitions that they were too closely associated with anti-monarchical radicalism. By December, however, the Tories had got wind of the Opposition's plans to move for a separate establishment for Princess Charlotte, from whose popularity each party now ardently wished to prosper. According to one of Princess Charlotte's letters (November 16, 1813) Caroline kept her daughter abreast of her dealings with oppositional politicians, and passed on the information that Lord Grey had plans to go ahead with the business of a separate establishment before the Christmas break, in order to prevent the ministry from stealing the thunder of the public approval such a measure would bring (Aspinall 1949).

Caroline's battle plans commenced on 14 January 1813, setting the stage for the re-opening of the "Delicate Investigation", the secret tribunal she had been forced to endure to prove her innocence of allegations of adultery made against her in 1805 by her husband's courtiers (he had bribed hangers-on Lord and Lady Douglas to make the allegations in his first attempt to secure a divorce from Caroline). Although she sent a letter addressed to the Prince Regent with open copies for the perusal of Lords Liverpool and Eldon (Lord Chancellor), it was returned to her unanswered. Twice more she attempted to reach the Prince Regent, inquiring after the Lords as to whether or not they had made the contents known to her husband. Caroline's letter was not made public until February 10, 1813, when it appeared in the columns of the *Morning Chronicle* and was subsequently reprinted by the other papers. Directly following the publication of her letter in the *Morning Chronicle*, the Prince Regent cut off any further visitations due to the monstrous publicity she had attracted to a private family matter (Huish 1831, 160). In the Prince Regent's estimation, Caroline's audacity amounted to domestic sedition, legally bound as she was to submit to his will. Moreover, his circle argued that she brought ignominy upon the royal house by publicly airing her private grievances.

Purportedly written by Brougham, Caroline's letter counts as a masterpiece of the rhetoric of *humilitas* appropriate to contemporary notions of ideal female conduct. Pulling her trump card at the outset, she begins by transforming her personal misery into a matter of public consequence, on the grounds of filial duty and her duty to the nation itself:

...But, Sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to myself and my daughter. May I venture to say — a duty also to my husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice...

Here, Caroline's identification of herself and Princess Charlotte with the women of England excuses her breach of paternal authority as a natural consequence of virtue's need to protect itself. For the Prince Regent to condemn this act would be to condemn all of good female subjects who were forced to go public in order to protect their reputation. Moreover to refuse this petition by the mother of the next Queen of England could prove no less than fatal to the good of the nation.

This argument, so aligned with the Christian doctrine of female education articulated by conservative social reformer Hannah More a decade earlier (Mellor 2000), resonated with the tenuous relationship between the government and the people, as well as with the wartime rhetoric of invasion and national honour. Assuring the Prince Regent that her motivations for writing stood on a foundation of "the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impression of duty towards your Royal Highness, my beloved child, and the country," Caroline added, most daringly, that Princess Charlotte's future reign would show the people a "new example, the liberal affection of a free and generous people, to a virtuous and constitutional monarch." This barely disguised Trojan horse for the Whigs' political strategy, dangerously close to sedition in its challenge of the royal prerogative, could not have been more brilliantly imagined, so replete it was with irrefutable sentiments about motherhood.

The Whigs thought they had found in the protection of female members of the Prince Regent's family an excellent opportunity for pushing constitutional reform without risking the opprobrium of the people. Their intent was to challenge the abuse of royal/parental prerogative by the one-time friend who had deserted them and cultural presuppositions pertaining to patriotic motherhood provided a shield for arguments that might have otherwise been taken as treasonous or seditious. So emboldened were the Whigs that they sponsored a broadsheet called *Letter of the Princess of Wales* on February 14, which publicized the entirety of Caroline's letter beneath an image by George Cruickshank (1813) entitled *THE REGENT VALENTINE* pitting the British lion and Britannia herself against the Prince Regent in their defence of national family values. Tellingly, the Prince Regent and his Tory ministers made every attempt to cast the Prince Regent as a concerned and caring father during this debate, but a letter to Mercer Elphinstone on Feb. 16, 1813 shows Princess Charlotte's disgust at the Prince Regent's attempts to appear as a loving and concerned father: "...He comes for ever here now...he is determined to make the *most*, if he can, of this intermediate time, to make himself appear in the best possible light" (Aspinall 1949).

Key to understanding the public relations activity of this period is acknowledging the triangular relationship between the press, Parliament and the public, a relationship that served as a warrant for any MP seeking to cast light on matters typically considered to be private. Claiming the paternal rights of the Prince Regent, his Privy Council answered Caroline's query to Liverpool with the decision that, upon reading these "animadversions" upon her husband's decisions regarding his daughter's upbringing, they upheld his right to continue to refuse maternal visits (Huish 159). The Speaker, doubting the letter's authenticity, at first declined to read it until its authorship could be confirmed, but eventually was pressed to reveal its contents. Clearing the Commons of members of the public and press, Castlereagh excused the Prince Regent's treatment of his wife on the grounds of his royal and paternal prerogative and the indelicacy of parliamentary interference in a private family matter. The public outcry that followed on this statement of the ministry's position and how its impact had the effect of permitting "a less restricted intercourse...between parent and child" (Huish 1831, 173). For a time, Princess Charlotte was once again allowed visits with her mother, though on a highly restricted basis.

On March 5, the debate picked up again on family values discourse, but this time it centred on the issue of paternal right and family privacy. Mr. Wortley, later Lord Wharncliffe,

made a speech that suggests the political potency and universal salience of the idiom of Protestant family values in this period:

He was very sorry we had a royal family who did not take warning from what was said and thought concerning them. They seemed to be the only persons in the country who were wholly regardless of their own welfare and respectability....He said this with no disrespect to him or his family; no man was more attached to the House of Brunswick than he was, but he had a sister in the same situation with her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, and he would say that she was exceedingly ill-treated (Parl. Deb., vol. 24, 1106-28.)

Here, we see a Whig MP using his public platform to speak on behalf of Caroline and Princess Charlotte, but as a spokesman for the British people, in a speech calculated to promote their identification with the princesses' plight. It is a speech that argues through a discourse of normative of family values, showing a vast discrepancy between social norms and the conduct of the Prince Regent (and by proxy the Tory government). Most ingeniously, it distances the speaker from the taint of the allegations against Caroline. All in all, it is a model of dissent speech in the context of issues of organizational legitimacy – in this case overreaching patriarchies, whether they take the form of families or nations.

Whitbread continued the Whig assault on 15 March, when he inquired as to the investigation of the purported evidence against Caroline, demanding that either the Princess of Wales be tried publicly, or her accuser Lady Douglas be charged with perjury. He argued that their depositions were not viable, that the Privy Council had found in her favour in 1806, and that George III had permitted her return to court in 1807 (*Parl. Deb.*, vol. 25, 1117-25). He also heartily denounced the publication of damaging depositions from the 1806 investigation in the Tory papers (the *Morning Post* and the *Herald*) pointing out the close relationship between the Prince Regent and the latter paper's editor. Clearly, this threat was calculated to suggest that the Prince Regent's choice of speaker would not sit well with a public vigilant in its demands for an end to political corruption and a press free of political influence. Two days later, in an attempt to confound the tactic, Whitbread asked the House of Commons to formulate an address to the Prince Regent, asking him to prosecute the two papers for the slander of his wife and the threat they had posed to morals and decency, and then called for the House to declare itself the protector of the abandoned Princess (*Parl. Deb.*, vol. 25, pp. 141-200).

Evidently, the public thought this a workable strategy, for although the motion did not pass, it raised public awareness of Caroline's and Princess Charlotte's predicament, and Caroline soon became the recipient of congratulatory addresses from a number of corporations. On April 12, the meeting of members of the City of London passed a nearly unanimous address avowing her innocence (Huish 17). Two prints (one adulatory, one satirical) published in the *Examiner* visually captured their procession on 22 April through the streets of the City, which wound its way back to Kensington via Picadilly, followed by a crowd that hissed as the procession as it passed Carlton House. City radicals such as Aldermen Wood and Waithman were featured as fierce supporters of the Princess of Wales (*Examiner* Feb 18, April 25 1813). Even the staid and decorous *Ladies Monthly Museum* provided its readers with an account of the proceedings that must be read as Whig- and Caroline-positive copy. Their May 1813 issue included a review of "The Book," in which after first making an apology for engaging in political controversy, the editor provided a short description of charges against her and reprints of all the documents shown to Parliament (*Parl. Deb.*, vol. 14, 289-301). Following the publication of the *Regent Valentine*, crowds encountering Caroline showered her with hearty congratulations, and these events were

covered in the press to such an extent that “ladies of rank began to burn their newspapers so that the servants might not read such improprieties” (Plowden 1989).

Parliamentary speeches also kept the issue directly within public view. For example, the publication of Caroline’s letter to the Prince Regent made the issue of his treatment of his wife and daughter a matter of parliamentary business, with Tory ministers decrying the potential damage to the Prince Regent’s reputation and the honour of the Crown and the Whig opposition making the case that the Crown had to merit respect for its privacy. Whig MP Stuart Brand led the charge, asserting that the prince’s own profligate conduct had not only negated social norms pertaining to fathers and children, but that his example encouraged revolutionary sentiments in the figurative children of the nation:

If the Prince Regent had said, “As your husband, and as the father of your child, I choose to restrict you to visiting her once in a week,” the public might have been satisfied with an arrangement which it was his right to make, if he thought fit. [The Prince Regent], however, should have been aware, that his own conduct, at those periods, when those accusations were goings-on against [the Princess of Wales] would not bear the slightest scrutiny; and he thought that the R[oyal] F[amily] ought not to be insensible to the events which had taken place on the Continent. (*Times* March 16, 1813)

Brand’s example, reminding the Prince Regent of the fate of the Bourbons at the hands of a disgruntled public, used the family system as a metaphor for constitutional sovereignty. Paternal/monarchical prerogative could be forfeited should the public deem the father/king derelict in his duties and dissolute in his conduct. The Prince Regent, in effect, headed a “continental system” of rule in his household, as well as his kingdom, and seemed entirely dismissive of public opinion and its power, treating any challenge to his authority or the legitimacy of his powers as seditious.

During the same debate, it was clear that members of the House were struggling with the tension between social norms and values and the legal rights of fathers and kings. For example, Mr. Ponsonby rose to sympathise with the Princess of Wales’ plight, but he did not see how the House could challenge the natural right of fathers to direct the conduct of their dependents. He also deeply regretted the Whig’s political exploitation of royal familial conflict, as reported in the *Times*:

The Prince Regent had the power of any father to say how often, under all circumstances, his wife should visit his daughter: and as a Sovereign, he had the farther right of superintending the education of the Heiress to the Throne. He disavowed any advice to, or interference with the conduct of the Princess, on his own part, and on that of any of those with whom he was in the habit of acting. He deprecated all attempts to get into power by exciting family feuds and dissensions. He wished that all could lay their hands on their hearts and say the same. (*Times*, March 6, 1813)

In terms of the logic of family values, neither side of the argument doubted the legitimacy of male rule and female and infant coverture within marriage—these were the sacred, legal and economic facts of life that organised family relationships. Nor did they question the right of a male household head to direct and distribute his filial property for which he was responsible by law. Where they differed, however, lay in the right of public opinion to penetrate the private space of the family should the wielding of that paternal power be seen to injure the well-being of his family members. The only mildly disguised threat with

which Brand ended his speech extrapolated from the cultural logic that saw families as little kingdoms within a community of other families. He would remind the Prince Regent of revolutionary France, in which demoralised citizens had overstepped the principle of divine right to root sovereignty in service to the community it was meant to serve.

Challenges to the abuse of royal power could not in themselves be regarded as unpatriotic or treasonous if they sought simply to protect the very principles that supported the British model of constitutional monarchy, and so couching critiques of royal and ministerial authority resorted to arguments based in evolving and widespread social norms. Certainly the Prince Regent's unpopularity stemmed as much from his complete disinterest in currying the favour of the public (now that he was on the throne) as it did from his entire want of economy and his enjoyment of other men's wives and daughters. His highly critical biographer Huish (1831) characterized him a prince in whom the "real British character" was entirely absent and whose love of luxury, political inconsistency, and aristocratic snobbery set the people against him, despite the substantial military and diplomatic achievements of his reign. Even supporters within his own family feared public disfavor of the Prince Regent, as evidenced in Princess Charlotte's letter to Mercer Elphinstone sent August 18, 1813: "[Lord Yarmouth, son of the Prince Regent's mistress Lady Hertford] *almost confessed* that he was *afraid* about the P[rince]'s *extraordinary unpopularity....*" (Aspinall 1949, 62). The Prince Regent had disregarded the power of the prevailing social norms and values regarding the rights and responsibilities of fathers and husbands, but Princess Charlotte, Caroline and their partisan spokesmen had mobilized that discourse to claim both her own and the public's legitimate rights to challenge despotic paternal rule. They were successful insofar as the public identified with their plight, not just as members of families themselves, but also more metaphorically as British subjects tired of paternalistic, aristocratic governments.

That said, it was only Caroline's decision to leave England and return to relatives in Brunswick that finally broke the impasse. Princess Charlotte felt abandoned by her mother, though some biographers opine that Caroline felt it was the only way to garner her daughter's freedom (Plowden 1989). Princess Charlotte would once again appear in political squibs and prints in late 1814, when her father sought to betroth her to the Prince of Orange. It was a tactic aimed at solidifying British alliances in Europe but also ensuring she would have to live abroad, thus defusing the key source of the public's disapproval of himself. She initially consented to the marriage, but when she discovered one of the terms of the contract was for her to live abroad and that Orange would not allow her mother in his court, she refused (Huish 1831, 183), on the basis that she belonged to the people of Britain. Aware of the nation's desire for her to wed quickly, and that only marriage could irrevocably retrieve her from her familial prison, she now focused her mind on Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, recommended to her by her friend and advisor Mercer Elphinstone. To her advantage, the Prince Regent and most of the royal family were in public disgrace, owing to the ministry's maintenance of the artificially high price of bread and the cruel contrast of the publicity concerning the prince's huge debts and expenditures. The early months of 1815 witnessed increased instances of public demonstrations, in which the public opprobrium for the Regent could not be ignored. News of Bonaparte's escape from Elba in March could not have come at a worse time and even the royal Drawing Room had been called off on 2 March, for fear of mounting agitations concerning the Corn Bill before Parliament.

Princess Charlotte had become firm in her resolve to marry Leopold, on the grounds that this counted as a personal decision, not overburdened by family or political faction, though he had as yet not put forward his suit. It also suited her continuing desire to be seen as a "publick property," virtuously non-partisan, and free from the Regent's influence, who continued to press for her marriage to the Prince of Orange. It suited print-makers at this point to focus on the foreign Leopold and the financial burden of royal marriages. The threat

of riots had held her in Weymouth until April 1815, and for the rest of the summer public attention turned from the Corn Law and the repeal of Income Tax to the amassing of armies on the Franco-Prussian border. She keenly felt the sting of articles published in the *Times* and the *Globe*, critical of her refusal of the Duke of Orange, who was about to wed a Russian princess. No longer able to press the issue of the Prince of Orange, who had now allied himself with England's most powerful competitor, the Prince Regent began to come round to accepting Prince Leopold as a suitable match for his daughter.

Wed on May 2 1816, Princess Charlotte and Prince Leopold wisely refused the full amount of the settlement offered them by the government and took care to marry and house themselves in as modest a fashion as their station would permit, and the nation watched closely during her pregnancy in 1817, hoping for the birth of a royal son who would grow up in a household align with the Protestant family values performed so assiduously by George III (Plowden 1989). The nation's hopes were dashed when she died of complications from childbirth on November 6, one day after delivering a stillborn son, leaving no legitimate heir to the throne and a crisis of royal succession (Colley 1990). Tellingly, the Prince Regent maintained his lifelong vow to have no communication with this wife, and Caroline learned of her death from a courier passing through Pesaro, Italy, (where she was currently residing) sent to to the Vatican to inform the pope (Fraser 1996)

5. Resolution of the dispute

Metzler (2001) argues that the resolution of the dispute is constituted by all three elements of the root issue, the context, and the communicative strategies of the dispute. This case has been analyzed in order to demonstrate the significant value the British monarchy has placed on public opinion since 1760, when George III ascended to the throne, and how the monarchy's very survival can be in large part attributed to its ability to listen to public dissent discourse and respond without appearing to be political. During the first two years of the Regency, public opinion about the legitimacy of the monarchy focused on the questions of parental virtue and its absence, resulting in arguments for and against the meaning of female agency in the case of spousal and paternal tyranny. In this battle royal, we saw Caroline use her political allies and the press to make public the refusal of the Regent to live up to his duties as husband and father, and Princess Charlotte's struggle to comport herself with the humility and deference to the Prince Regent while still appealing to public norms of filial piety for her right to choose her own courtiers, to see her mother, and to choose her own spouse.

These themes were further developed over the remaining years of her life. I have briefly touched on the public discourse on her ongoing defiance of her father's wishes for a dynastic marriage that would rid him of her and her mother, and that discourse persisted, shifted slightly from situating her as a dutiful daughter of the royal family to dutiful daughter and future queen of a national British family. Her acquiescence to an enforced separation from her mother and her refusal to marry the Prince of Orange and leave Britain provide further evidence of Princess Charlotte's acute analysis of the relationship between female agency, patriarchal power, and how to navigate the limits of power of both the masculine and feminine positions in that gender schemata in ways that sat well with conservative Protestant family values. With a deft manipulation of the concept of abdication, Princess Charlotte protected her own independence by refusing to accept the Prince of Orange, on the grounds that her duty was to the English people to whom she owed her greatest allegiance. To marry the Prince of Orange was to abdicate her obligations as the future queen of England. Though her family and the ministry read her refusal as a usurpation of the Prince Regent's legitimate power, the public embraced her decision as a sign of her identification with her subjects.

In 1817, her death in childbirth (about which Caroline learned only after the fact and not from the royal household or the ministry) directed the wrath of public opinion once again toward the Prince Regent. After the death of George III in 1821, George IV assumed his throne at last, but even then his royal and spousal prerogatives could not trump the law. While it is true that public support for Caroline waned prior to and after his coronation, due to his final smear campaign on his wife's character and her early death in the wake of the coronation and a period of economic prosperity that put Britons in a better mood about the costs of the Civil List, it was clear that by the 1820s the power of the throne lay more in its symbolic capital than its executive power.

6. Conclusion

The root issue of the publicity around Princess Charlotte, her mother and the Prince Regent was one of the legitimacy of sovereign power, both in terms of the nation and, by analogy, the prerogatives of male citizens within their households. The complicated communicative context for the publicity that ensued from all sides involved a number of distinct publics brought together through a shared discourse of British Protestant family values. This discourse was ably exploited by members of the royal family, but also by the political and civic entities that sought to use the plight of Princess Charlotte and Caroline to further their own interests. In terms of resolution of the dispute, only Princess Charlotte and the public supporting her were immediately triumphant; neither the Prince Regent nor Caroline, nor the political parties sponsoring their case saw their strategic goals realized. However, the dispute was a catalyzing moment in a longer debate over the legitimacy and role of the monarchy, and that this period of multi-interest public relations contributed to a shift in the relationship of the monarchy to the nation, with public opinion contributing to a semiotic process I refer to as the *feminization* of the monarchy. Princess Charlotte's successful strategy presaged the one implemented by the young Queen Victoria upon her accession, a modern queen whose reign cemented this new image of the monarchy as a feminized, domesticated institution, but one that still served as an irreplaceable metonym for the nation (Homans 1998; Thompson 1990).

This characterization of this emerging model of monarchy arises out of the logic of Protestant patriarchal family values itself, where the masculine/sovereign entity is awarded these prizes, but only if he does not abuse the position. In this period, a new image of ideal male citizen is emerging that draws from the attributes of the feminine/subjected position (self-sacrificing, modest and sharing glory, and not in it for the money). The logic allows for situations where, if a man (or masculinely gendered institution or role) cannot fulfil the ideal, a femininely gendered entity can come forward out of silence to rule in his place, as long as it retains the qualities of deference and self-sacrifice, and it is seen to be acting in the public good. From this moment on, the British public expected its monarchy to take a feminine position in relation to Parliament, serving the people as a "motherly" institution whose role was to model to its "children" the values of the British people.

Much has been written about the George IV and Queen Caroline and their marital woes, but there is little extant historiography that focuses on their daughter Princess Charlotte and the publicity surrounding her treatment by her father. Yet it was she (with the help of her mother and anti-Tory spokesmen and supporters) who by her untimely death in 1817 could claim to have been publicly acclaimed as the first "people's princess." Her private letters reveal a youthful monarch in training who was deeply attuned to public opinion as evidenced in her strategic self-representation as a dutiful daughter and humble servant of her people. Focusing on Princess Charlotte's plight as the central pawn and sometime protagonist of the controversies discussed here allows for an unusual view into the publicity and reputation management activities of various royal personages, the nature and nuances of the British

public sphere in this period, and the range of methods and tactics used in a media environment that had not yet been transformed by the advent of telegraphy, photography, and train travel.

Here I have sought to show that, while the Prince Regent's conduct did not technically break any laws, the early nineteenth-century British public expected their monarch to be a non-partisan icon of moral virtue and servant to the public good, and to conduct himself with the dignity deserving of his people's reverence and deference. It is this period's complex interaction of events, activism, exploitation of issues and royal personages by political interests, public opinion, as well as the strategic public relations interactions of members of the royal family with that public, that set the monarchy on the course toward a role and place within the British imaginary that was fully realized in Queen Victoria's reign and persists today.

Theoretically, I have also hoped to demonstrate the value of Metzler's (2001) view of public relations as an issue of organizational legitimacy, a model that opens up the field conceptually to capture more of how people and institutions of the past have capitalized on the issues, events, and legal and media environments in which they are situated make their case and persuade others of the legitimacy of their aims. By applying Metzler's framework of organizational legitimacy, this snapshot of one salient focus of Regency politics is offered as evidence of the power of public opinion in forming of a new basis for the relationship between the British people and their monarchy, demonstrating the richness of the proto-public relations activity that is ubiquitous in British history, not just this historical moment.

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ABSTRACT

“All stories are true; some stories actually happened”: Fact-finding versus storyselling, history, and PR history

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This paper aims to shift attention from both the conventional (Cutlip & Baker, 2012) and the new pathway (St. John, Lamme & L'Etang, 2014) concerns of PR history with traditional history to contemporary concerns with art, evolution, and representation. It builds on a growing PR history literature that questions the special privileges allocated to general historians by PR academics concerned with PR history. Instead of posing as enthusiastic amateurs in awe of their professional historical expertise, it reorients PR historian attention to issues raised by and what have been called the 21st century story wars and the complex interplay of fact, fiction, image, and story.

The quote that opens our title is taken from the latest edition of *The Handbook of Strategic Communication and Integrated Marketing Communication* (C. Caywood, 2012) and comes from a chapter by Emma Caywood, who gives her occupation as “Storyteller and Storytelling Consultant” (E. Caywood, 2012, p. 781). Like a number of recent publications it raises many of the issues of this paper in compressing the difference between the reality of events and their representations whether it is in news versus fantasy, documentary versus drama, or history book versus novel. The paper will argue that the truth status of the above are guaranteed more by genre (e.g., news and history are credited with a deeper link with reality than drama and period novels) and protocols (e.g., costume, language, scholarly symbols). E. Caywood's quote also usefully connects PR into the context of what Jonah Sachs (2012) calls *Winning the Story Wars* and who argues that “*Those Who Tell (and Live) the Best Stories Will Rule the Future*.” The paper also aims to make three original contributions to PR history: 1) to suggest how those who tell the best stories of the past will also gain power; 2) to link PR history to findings on the role of stories in human evolution; and 3) to transfer some insight from art into PR histories through the following quote from Picasso:



We all know that Art is not truth. Art is a lie that makes us realize truth at least the truth that is given us to understand. The artist must know the manner whereby to convince others of the truthfulness of his lies.

(http://www.gallerywalk.org/PM_Picasso.html).

Picasso's words will be scrutinised to help understand the production of film and written fiction and history and tested for relevance to the PR history field. Outside of PR history, mainstream historians readily engage with the view that history is not, and can never be, unvarnished truth (e.g., Schneider & Woolf, 2011). This has been the case since at least Hayden White's (1987) dismissal of the traditional view that "what distinguishes 'historical' from 'fictional' stories is first and foremost their content, rather than their form" (p. 27). Certainly, as White (1987) continues, "The content of historical stories is real events, events that really happened, rather than imaginary events, events invented by the narrator" (p. 27) but he denies the implication "that the form in which historical events present themselves to a prospective narrator is found rather than constructed" (p. 27). Historians may go to battlefields but they don't pick up the story of the fight, they invent, or construct it – albeit usually in relation to known facts. That said, in the absence of concrete evidence (and often there is very little of that), they have to assemble the best estimates of the absent facts into a convincing narrative or telling story. So the historical art, or the art of historians, also contains "lies" that are designed to make us "realize" truths. Certainly, the novelist's art is commonly seen in the same way.

By taking such an arts-based approach, we illustrate how PR historians still tend to imply that history isn't another kind of story and shy away from the "inventedness" of history. L'Etang (2014) usefully focuses on three concerns: "(1) authorship, credibility, and professionalism; (2) aims, projects, and functionalism; and (3) theoretical and methodological considerations. However, her fear that "it seems inevitable that full-time historians might regard the work of enthusiasts from other disciplines as amateur at best, and resist such efforts [by PR people to do PR history]" (p. xii). While respecting the impulse not to step on another discipline's territory, we note that other disciplines are much more iconoclastic and cultural studies theorists (Curthoys & Docker, 2010), filmmakers, and novelists go boldly and insert their insights and their concerns in the face of historians, even sometimes having the hutzpah to contradict them. We welcome and adapt such iconoclasm as we believe that PR history is too important to be left to the historians and plays, and has always played a huge part in supporting interested views of what PR is, what PR should be, and what PR might be. In so doing we seek to increase the theoretical range of the PR field.

Partly as a result of such outsider interventions into the professional historian stories of the past, debates about the distance, or the absence of distance between history and fiction in mainstream history are commonplace. Aligning with some of Holtzhausen's (2012) postmodernist challenges to conventional history, this paper revisits ideas of forging history and critiques taken-for-granted perceptions in representations of PR's pasts. It examines the theory and practice of fiction in history by leading historians (Southgate, 2009) and presents case studies (including some PR novels by practitioners and media representations). Some of these offer fictional insights into historical events in which they were involved and are compared with more factual accounts of public relations in the same period. This chapter also demonstrates how PR can add value to mainstream historical considerations of specific themes that include: constructing public perceptions over time; managing reputation; and

imagining communities. These will be enlivened by analysis of other examples selected from such areas as films of Antiquity, the *Untold History of the US*, and 21st-century TV series.

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Roots of Public Relations in Portugal: Changing an Old Paradigm

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1. Introduction

Albeit the evolving European PR historiography, Portugal is still lagging behind in this field for little is known about how, when and why public relations actually developed in this westernmost nation of Europe. Due to the lack of archival research, the same story – the above mentioned PR beginnings in the late 1950s and early 1960s – has been repeated and republished for the last 30 years, based mainly on oral testimonials and some personal assumptions which have been reproduced as undisputed facts in textbooks (Soares and Mendez, 2004; Fonseca, 2011) and scientific articles (Soares, 2011). No political, economic, social, cultural or technological explanation has, however, been provided as to why PR started in Portugal in that specific time period or why the LNEC and several multinational companies operating in the oil and gas industry (Shell, Mobil and BP) had the need to communicate with stakeholders.

To move on from this paradigmatic narrative, exploring the early beginnings of PR in Portugal, and to place the history of Portuguese PR on the map of European PR historiography, extensive archival research was deemed necessary. A two-step methodology was used. The first one consisted of consulting a large sample of business reports and accounts issued from 1900 to 1950 (encompassing the last 10 years of the constitutional monarchy and the first 40 years of the Republican regime), which are deposited in the National Library of Portugal. When propaganda or public relations activities/departments were identified in such reports, a second step was then performed involving the practice of extensive research on the private archives of each company, which involved the Historical Archive of the Portuguese Communications Foundation and the Documentation Center of the EDP Foundation/Electricity Museum. This methodological approach was complemented by researching the *house organs* and several institutional brochures of the main companies (either public or privately owned) operating between 1900s and the 1950s and by searching a set of keywords – «relações públicas [public relations]», «relações com o público [relations with the public]» and «propaganda» – in the PORBASE (the Portuguese National Bibliographic Database) digital catalogue. All the methodological procedures revealed the special importance of two companies: the Anglo Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd. and CTT [the Portuguese Postal Company], both operating in the communications business. Additional research was carried out in the government field, focusing only on the Foreign Ministry archives. The selection of this specific Ministry was made under the assumption that its potential exposition to foreign practices would make it the most prone to pioneer PR practices and structures in Portugal.

The research presented in this essay is limited by the fact that it purposely placed more emphasis on companies (especially in the APT case-study) than on government or public organizations. It also acknowledges the difficulty in establishing boundaries between PR antecedents, or proto-PR (Watson, 2013), and modern PR (Nessmann, 2000; Bentele, 2013), as well as the main PR historiography challenges (Pearson, 1992; Hoy, Raaz and Wehmeier, 2007; L'Etang, 2008; Watson, 2014a).

2. Emergence of the PR term and concept

The PR term, and somehow a proto-PR concept, first emerged in Portugal in 1915 through an article written by Mário d'Azevedo Gomes (1886-1965), entitled *A Universidade Americana nas suas Relações com o Público: a Obra da Extensão Universitária e os Progressos da Agricultura* [*The American University in its Relations with the Public: the Work of University Extension and the Progresses in Agriculture*] (Gomes, 1915). Azevedo Gomes was an agronomy engineer who lectured at the Instituto Superior de Agronomia (ISA) in Lisbon from 1915 to 1955, and in the 1920s served as Minister of Agriculture. He traveled to the US in April 1915 with the objective of studying “the general organization of the university agricultural education” (Mayer, 1915: 179) in three universities (Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin) but what most caught his attention were the “the good relations the American University maintains with the public” (Gomes, 1915: 211). He identified several groups targeted by the “university propagandists” (*id.*, p. 227) (such as students, former students, parents, farmers and companies), the communication media used by them (railway propaganda excursions, magazines, letters, relations with the press, exhibitions and train exhibits, product sampling, posters, conferences and contests) and a group of key communication partners (railway companies, rural banks, farmers' institutes and farming associations). Gomes (1915) was also aware of Edwin Emery Slosson – an American journalist, chemist and one who popularized science –, namely his book *Great American Universities* (Slosson, 1910), where he defended that universities should employ people able to communicate with the public about science.

As for the PR concept, Gomes (1915) never stated it clearly, at least not as Grunig & Hunt (1984) defined it: “the management of communication between an organization and its publics” (p. 6). However, he also mentioned the “need for mutual understanding” (Grunig & Hunt, 1984: 7), which is an effect used by some authors (Black, 1962) to define PR. Accordingly, Gomes (1915) stated that “raising the general level of culture entrusted to the university action cannot take place without bringing down the classic barriers between university life and the life of the surrounding environment in terms of a more or less close mutual interpenetration” (p. 210) and that “to be well understood [the university] needs to be able to speak the same persuasive language” (*id.*, p. 213). Another defining element of PR which Gomes (1915) noted in the university relations with the public was the need to generate goodwill, which is part of the definition of PR by the Chartered Institute of Public Relations (CIPR, n.d.). He stated: “the university organism aims, as is natural, to further strengthen that wave of external support; it sees in it the purpose of the hard mission it imposed on itself; and all its effort is to capture new everyday energies that will join its own energies” (Gomes, 1915: 212). Finally, we can find in Gomes (1915) an echo of Cutlip, Center and Broom's (2006) classic definition of PR: “Public relations is the management function that establishes and maintains mutually beneficial relationships between an organization and the publics on whom its success or failure depends” (p. 1). The notion of dependence on the public is visible when Gomes (1915) stated that through the relations with the public, the university “defends [...] the maintenance of its living conditions” (p. 215) and shows the State “by which is subsidized and almost exclusively supported” (*id.*, p. 216) and the public why universities should be financed by public taxes and investment. It is also interesting to note that Gomes (1915) used the term ‘relações com o público’ (‘relations with the public’) instead of ‘relações públicas’ (‘public relations’) – a term which was only much later adopted in Portugal –, referred to the practice as ‘propaganda’ and not ‘public relations’, and addressed the practitioners of PR as ‘propagandists’.

3. Early organizational PR-like activities and war propaganda

The Proto-PR practices emerged in Portugal from the 1900s onwards through the Touring Club of Portugal (TCP), also known as Sociedade Propaganda de Portugal. Following the boom in mass tourism that began in Europe in the mid nineteenth century and developed until the First World War (Gyr, 2010), this private non-profit organization was founded in 1906 to promote Portugal internally and abroad as a tourist destination. Its inception was directly inspired by similar organizations operating in Switzerland and Austria, while also acknowledging the experiences in France, Italy, Germany, Spain and even Japan. Heading TCP's advertising commission, also created in 1906, was Sebastião de Magalhães Lima (1850-1928). One of the emblematic figures of the Portuguese republicanism during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and in the first two of the following century, he was also a notorious journalist and founder of the renowned daily newspaper *O Século* (1880) and of two other important newspapers (Garnel, 2004). The PR-like activities Magalhães Lima implemented were diverse and broad, including the creation of the TCP's bulletin, establishing press-relations (both with Portuguese and foreign journalists, namely British), placing advertisements in foreign newspapers, issuing leaflets, promoting conferences, organizing exhibitions and parties and creating contests among the Portuguese hotels. As had been the case with Gomes (1915), propaganda was the term used to encompass the PR-like activities performed by the TCP until its progressive decline in the 1930s and 1940s.

The First World War brought to Portugal the propaganda machine of the main contenders. Great Britain was especially active, operating through the Bureau of the British Press in Lisbon (BBPL). Although little is known about this entity and the people behind it, it was probably affiliated with the British War Propaganda Bureau (WPB), which was set up in 1914 by David Lloyd George and directed by Charles Masterman from Wellington House (Taylor, 1999). The Bureau's activity in Portugal has been documented since 1917, one year after Portugal officially joined WWI on the allied side. Until 1918 at least 170 books and brochures were issued in Portuguese, 89 of which in 1917. Their purpose was to state the superiority of the British position in the war, while attacking the German side. *A Propaganda dos Beligerantes (The Contenders' Propaganda)*, for example, was designed to publicly expose the manipulation associated with Germany's war propaganda, however, omitting the manipulation also carried out by the WPB. No authors' name or original title (in English) were ever printed on those brochures, which makes it difficult to define if they were affiliated with the writers who worked for the WPB (Buitenhuis, 1988), namely Arthur Conan Doyle, Rudyard Kipling and John Buchan. And even if John Buchan's *The Battle of the Somme, First Phase* (Buchan, n.d.) was translated into Portuguese (Buchan, 191-), it was not published by the BBPL but by Thomas Nelson & Sons.

The Second World War brought back to Portugal the propaganda warfare although even before the war erupted, the British Council was already conducting PR-like activities. In July 1939, it organized a press tour, taking 14 Portuguese journalists (some of them working for renowned newspapers, e.g. Acúrcio Pereira, Artur Portela and João Ameal) to England, where they visited a Vickers aircraft factory, an aviation school based in Halton and they also met Lord Halifax. The journalists were accompanied by Marcus Cheke (1906-1960), who served as British Embassy's press attaché from 1938 to 1942. Although little research has been carried out on this subject, it was the press attachés – and the information/propaganda services they managed in the embassies and legations which employed them – who carried the propaganda torch in Portugal during wartime. The most visible in the newspapers published in the 1930s and 1940s were Leo Negrelli and Enzo Bolasco (the Italian Legation), Marcel Dany (the French Legation), Michael Stewart and Stephen Alexander Lockhart (the British Embassy), Samuel Iams Jr. and Robert Rendueles (the US Embassy), and Wilhelm

Brener (the German Legation and the Portuguese delegation of the German news agency Deutsche Nachrichtenbüro). Also operating in Lisbon in the 1940s as press attachés were Aron Cotrus and Mircea Eliade (the Romanian Embassy), Cesário Alvim (the Brazilian Legation) and Don Javier Martínez de Bedoya (the Spanish Embassy).

4. PR-like activities in the Portuguese Government

The first traces of organized PR-like activities carried out by the government are found after the establishment of the Portuguese Republic, which resulted from a *coup d'état* that, on 5th October in 1910, deposed the constitutional monarchy. Seven years later, Sidónio Pais (1872-1918) led an uprising against Afonso Costa's Democratic Party government and consequently an authoritarian regime was established in December 1917. Regarded as the first Portuguese politician to set up a propaganda machine (Sousa, 2011), the new president supported the creation of the Information and Propaganda Services of the Portuguese Republic in Friend and Allied Countries (IPSPRFAC). This entity was proposed and created by the journalist Francisco Manuel Homem Cristo (1892-1928), who was appointed to direct it since its establishment in Paris in January 1918. Working in connection with the Portuguese Legation in that city, his mission was to help Sidónio Pais obtain a *de jure* diplomatic recognition of his government by the allied countries – which feared the new regime could be Germanophile, monarchic or anti-war (Silva, 2006) – and also to conduct much needed counter-propaganda activity. IPSPRFAC's main concern was the fierce opposition some notorious Portuguese politicians, such as João Chagas (former Portuguese prime-minister) and Bernardino Machado (the President deposed by Sidónio Pais' *coup d'état*), exercised with the French government and the French public opinion and press (Raimundo, 2015), openly criticizing the policy initiatives and the political protagonists of Sidónio Pais' *República Nova (New Republic)*. Although it may not be directly attributed to the IPSPRFAC's propaganda initiatives, in 1918 A. G. Loraine, an English resident in Portugal, published a book entitled *Portugal and the Allies: A Message to Great Britain* (Loraine, 1918). He defended Sidónio Pais' regime stating: "Public opinion in Great Britain and France should certainly support an administration which thus desires to utilize instead of suppressing Portugal's energies and resources" (p. 18). Reviewing this book, *The Spectator*, a weekly conservative British magazine, informed: "Mr. Loraine confirms [...] that the new Portuguese Government under President Sidonia [sic] Paes is far more representative of the nation and far more loyal to the Allies than the Democratic Administration which it overthrew in December last" ("Portugal and the Allies: a Message to Great-Britain", 1918: 21).

The first known Portuguese governmental press department was also created in the diplomacy sphere. It was officially established in May 1919 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and its first manager was Nicolau Alberto de Fonty Archer (born in 1882). His work included reading and summarizing the news published in Portuguese and foreign newspapers and also advertising Portugal abroad. The department mentioned above was restructured in 1929, acquiring new responsibilities, namely the press relations and the tourism propaganda for foreign nations. Francisco de Sande Salema Mayer Garção (1872-1930), a poet and journalist, was then appointed as its new manager. Over the years, the department had its name slightly changed and was directed by several managers, including Fernando Quartin de Oliveira Bastos (1893-1960) and Alberto Leite Monteiro Martins (1892-1970). From its major restructuration in 1935 and until 1961, when it was renamed public relations service, the department was headed by Joaquim Belford Correia da Silva (1908-1979), a famous literary author writing under the pen name Joaquim Paço d'Arcos.

Also at a governmental level, highly relevant was the PR-like activity developed by the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SNP), founded in 1933 as a central piece of Salazar's dictatorship known as 'Estado Novo' ('New State'), which lasted from 1933 to 1974. The SNP was inspired by similar propaganda offices established at the same time in Germany and Italy and was headed from its inception by António Ferro (1895-1956), a journalist who idolized Salazar and Mussolini. Its mission was to manage all the state propaganda, coordinating the information process developed by the ministries. Among the activities that António Ferro (Guedes, 1997; Acciaiuoli, 2013; Raimundo, 2014) and the SNP sought to implement internally were the regulation of the press relations with the various branches of the Portuguese government and the public companies, the edition of publications and the production of propaganda documentaries and films, the staging of national events and public festivals and also the establishment of awards to stimulate national art and literature. The SNP also collaborated with the Portuguese propaganda bodies which operated abroad, overruling all the official press services acting outside the country, encouraging the exchange with international journalists and writers, organizing conferences and promoting and sponsoring national art and literature.

5. Early practices of corporate PR

Although corporate 'house-organs' have been published in Portugal since the mid nineteenth century (Santos, 1995), the first corporate PR-like departments were only established in the 1920s and 1930s, acquiring more maturity and identity in the 1940s. The triggering point was an important set of political, social, economical, technological and mass-communication changes that took place between the 1910s and the 1940s. In fact, the emergence of corporate PR in Portugal is connected to the changing political environment and the instability it caused – there were three different political regimes from 1910 to 1933 (the democratic Republic, beginning in 1910; the military dictatorship, beginning in 1926, and the autocratic Estado Novo, beginning in 1933 and ending in 1974) –, the social agitation (especially the successive strikes that took place during the first years of the Republican regime), the new mass communication context (marked by critical journalism towards companies, the unprecedented rise of the working press and the development of new media, such as the radio and the Portuguese news agencies), the progressive disclosure of communication skills through books and newspapers (advertising, propaganda and public relations), the overall political propaganda environment, the emergence of providers of new communication services (namely design studios, press clipping organizations and advertising agencies; one of them was Manuel Martins da Hora, where the renowned poet Fernando Pessoa worked as a copywriter), the negative social and cultural representations of businessmen and the rise of social responsibility.

The companies providing public services were especially impacted by some of the above mentioned changes. Not only did the strikes hit big corporations such as the Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd. (APT), CP (national train services), Carris (tramway services in Lisbon), CAL (water provider in Lisbon) and CRGE (gas and electricity), but they were also attacked by an unprecedented critical and sarcastic press which depicted most of them as providing an unreliable and even harmful public service. Among these companies, APT was by far the most targeted by the press and even by the political institutions, a phenomena occurring between the 1910s and the 1930s. APT was established in London in 1887 (Ferreira, 1967), when it acquired from Edison Gower Bell the concession the Portuguese state had granted to that company in 1881, allowing it to exclusively operate the telephone services in Lisbon and Oporto. Like Edison Gower Bell, APT was also a monopoly and had foreign (British) capital, two characteristics not really appreciated by the new Republican

regime and which were also antagonized by the popular values that had emerged with the 1910's revolution, and, hence, by the popular press. To worsen the situation, APT was regarded by the public, by its customers and by the press as providing a poor and expensive service and also as being abusive in charging for the telephone calls.

All this antagonistic environment – marked by disharmonic political, social, economical and media relationships – helps to explain why APT created the first known PR-like department, established in June 1928 under the direction of Armando Ferreira (1893-1968), a former journalist and popular humorist. In May 1935 he was appointed as Executive Secretary for the relations with the public, becoming the first known person to occupy such a function in Portugal. It was not, however, a coincidence that APT further developed its PR activity in the 1930s. If the media hostility towards the company had practically ceased then – either silenced by the censorship imposed by the autocratic political regime inaugurated in 1933 or appeased by Armando Ferreira's propaganda activity – a new front of critique opened up in the parliament, which operated in a single-party system. In January 1935 the deputy Artur Leal Lobo da Costa (1882-1963) not only criticized the way APT operated – and the terms of the new contract it had signed with the State in 1928 – but also proposed a bill aimed at forcing it to install telephone call counters at the customers' residencies (the counters were only installed in the company's premises). The bill was rejected but in February 1937 the same deputy, speaking in a parliamentary session, accused APT of plundering the public and depicted its customers as victims of an expensive and deficient service. By then, Armando Ferreira already benefited from the PR knowledge of the Telephone Development Association (TDA), which was formed in London around 1924 (“The Telephone Development Association”, 1924) and worked through the 1920s with Basil Clarke's Editorial Services (Evans, 2013), considered Britain's first PR agency. The link between both organizations was Sir Alexander Roger, their common chairman (“The Telephone Development Association”, 1924; “The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co.: A Satisfactory Year. Cordial Relations with the Portuguese”, 1939). Evidence of their cooperation is found in the advertisements used by APT in the 1930s, which were simple adaptations of the ones produced by TDA. This international connection may explain how APT issued an internal PR manual in 1948 (The Anglo-Portuguese Co. Ltd., 1948), the first and only one known in Portugal. Its edition took place after the Second World War, a period when APT faced enormous and unprecedented difficulties in coping with the increasing demands of telephone installations (Portugal, 1948). As a result, APT felt the need to improve its relations with the public, which was now regarded as “Mr. Public” (The Anglo-Portuguese Co. Ltd., 1948: 31). The reason for this particular concern was simple: “the best way [for the company] to prove its capacity to fulfill the mission that it has been granted and trusted by concession is to have on its side the public that the government wishes to serve well” (*id.*, p. 6). Mello Portugal, who then worked with Armando Ferreira on PR, gave a public speech in July 1948 (Portugal, 1948) which reveals what APT thought of PR and how it already had specific and updated theoretical knowledge about such function. He used, for the first time, the term ‘public relations’, which he defined as “a complex of processes to know ourselves and those around us, and to face the relations with those similar to us in order to make them more pleasant and mutually beneficial” (Portugal: 1948: pp. 8-9). He also had a clear notion of the PR goals, which he stated as a means “to confer prestige to the organization” (*id.*, p. 9), differentiated PR from advertising (which he regarded as part of PR), was aware of the existence of different publics (defining them as shareholders, employees, buyers, competitors, public entities, etc), and defended the need for PR to be conducted by a single department, although acknowledging the impact of all departments and employees on the opinion of the public about a company. Finally, Mello Portugal knew PR

was a four-step process, involving a policy, a program and a plan. The fact that he briefly quoted P. T. Barnum shows he also had some connection with U.S. PR.

Besides APT, other companies operating in the communications business also invested in PR-like departments or activities, namely Marconi (António da Silva Santos managed a propaganda department in the late 1930s), the Eastern Telegraph Co., and especially CTT (the national postal company and supplier of telephone services outside Lisbon and Porto). In April 1937 the CTT created a department for advertising and propaganda and appointed Francisco José do Vale Guimarães (1913-1986) for its management. Vale Guimarães was a lawyer who would later become a relevant political figure in the 1950s (Silveira, 2013). This department was renamed in 1947 as cultural services and in 1955 was presented abroad as responsible for the CTT's public relations (Administration Générale des Postes, Télégraphes et Téléphones, 1955). In other business sectors, namely in the utilities, CRGE created a propaganda department around 1930, which was headed by a Belgian painter called Albert Jourdain. However, its PR-like activities were more commercial than institution oriented. In this same period, Companhia Colonial de Navegação (a maritime company), Sanitas (an important Portuguese pharmaceutical company) and the Portuguese branch of Philips also had propaganda departments, while there is evidence that the Instituto Pasteur de Lisboa (a pharmaceutical company) had a PR department as early as in the 1940s.

6. Conclusion and debate

PR emerged in Portugal between the 1900s and the 1950s, pivoted by well-known personalities in the political, cultural and media fields. This period was marked by a set of major and defining political, social, technological and mass-communication changes, and also by an overall propaganda environment, an unprecedented development in communication techniques and activities, and the emergence of specialized suppliers of new communication services. PR first arrived as a concept and as a term imported from the U.S. in early 1915. The term itself, which was first translated as 'Relações com o Público' [Relations with the Public], was not used until the 1930s/1940s, when it began to be translated as 'Relações Públicas' [Public Relations]. Instead, public organizations, governmental bodies and companies used the term 'Propaganda', naming their PR-like departments as propaganda departments, press departments or, less frequently, advertising departments.

Most of the organizations that pioneered PR-like activities in Portugal had a close link with foreign entities – namely the Touring Club of Portugal (TCP), the Information and Propaganda Services of the Portuguese Republic in Friend and Allied Countries (IPSPRFAC), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SNP), and CTT –, were themselves foreign entities – Bureau of the British Press in Lisbon (BBPL) and the foreign embassies and the legations accredited in Lisbon –, or had foreign capital – The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Co. Ltd. (APT), Marconi, The Eastern Telegraph Co. (ET), and CRGE. The need to build legitimacy and public acceptance was also a common factor among these entities for there is evidence that some of them used PR-like activities as a means of acquiring moral (BBPL), political (IPSPRFAC and SNP) or economical (APT) legitimacy. Specifically among the companies that pioneered PR, a common trace lies in their association with public services – especially in communications (APT, CTT, Marconi and ET) and gas and electricity (CRGE) supplying – and in the fact that some of them operated under public (CTT) or private monopolies (APT and CRGE), which subjected them to state regulation.

The fact that APT was the company that further developed both the PR theory and practice may have to do with a combination of external and internal factors. Externally, besides the strikes that hit it between the 1910s and 1920s, APT was more exposed to aggressive journalism – because APT was a monopoly, a foreign company, operated a new and expensive service with some deficiencies and also because the company’s service was essential for the newspapers’ work, which used it daily, and thus any failure was promptly noticed and published – and to political criticism. Journalists and politicians both publicly demanded more regulation from the government and even the end of APT’s monopoly, a position which endangered APT’s state concession and put a lot of pressure on the successive contract negotiations between the company and the government. Internally, APT was able to import PR know-how from the UK through the Telephone Development Association, benefiting from Basil Clarke’s work. As a result of both circumstances, APT created a propaganda department in the 1920s and in the 1930s appointed Armando Ferreira as ‘Executive Secretary for the relations with the public’. In the 1940s, APT played a leading and pivotal role in establishing the theory and concept of modern PR and also in differentiating it from advertising and propaganda. While the CTT were still attached to the one-sided propaganda principles (Guimarães, 1946) and used it to convince its public about the company’s truth (Guimarães, n.d.), APT was already paving the way for PR, defending mutual beneficial relations and mutual understanding, and also the importance of building a goodwill environment with its different publics (Portugal, 1948).

Applying to Portugal the stratification model for the evolutionary history of PR proposed by Bentele (2013), a time period can now be assigned to its last two layers, the ones that acknowledge the existence of Public Relations. Thus, the 4th layer – ‘Public relations (PR as an occupational field and as a profession)’ – would extend from the 1900s until the 1950s, encompassing the roots of PR in Portugal; the 5th layer – ‘Public relations, developing into a social system’ – would begin in the 1960s with the foundation of the first professional Portuguese PR association. Under this model, the 1950s were thus not the beginning of PR in Portugal, as typically stated in the Portuguese textbooks and scientific articles, but the final stage of the first PR layer.

Besides contributing to putting Portugal on the map of modern PR scientific history, this research may also be relevant to the European PR historiography in, at least, three dimensions: the geographical origins of PR, the emergence of PR institutionalization in Europe and the origins of corporate PR practice in Europe. Firstly, there is an ongoing debate about the origins of PR, with the US PR historiography currents (Salcedo, 2011) claiming PR was an American invention (L’Etang, 2008) and some European PR historians defending there was a previous and independent PR tradition in Europe (Nessmann, 2000). The Portuguese example confirms the European view, especially as presented by Ruler (2004): “Many state that public relations was invented in the United States and crossed the ocean together with Marshall Aid after World War II. This is certainly true for the term, but not for the practice” (p. 265). As we noted, the PR term came to Portugal from the US in 1915 but not the PR practice, which was more influenced by the UK and developed long before World War II through a propaganda tradition which was also present in other European countries, confirming Nessman’s (2000) view. Secondly, this research may shed some light on the time when PR institutionalization (Bentele, 2015) began in Europe (Figure1).

FIGURE 1 – PR Institutionalization in 23 EU Member States

Countries	MAIN EVENTS / DECADES				
	Inception of first PR-like and PR departments	Inception of first national PR agencies	Foundation of first PR professional associations	Beginning of PR teaching in universities	Publishing of first national PR books
Austria	1920	1960	1960	1940	1970
Belgium	1940	1950	1950	1950	1950
Bulgaria	1980	1990	1990	1990	1990
Czech Republic	1930	1960	1980	1960	1960
Croatia	1960	1990	1990	2000	2000
Estonia	1990	1990	1990	1990	2000
Finland	1930	1950	1940	1970	1930
France	1940	1950	1950	1960	1950
Germany	1810	1950	1950	1990	1950
Greece	1950	1950	1960	1980	1960
Hungary	1960	1980	1990	1980	1960
Ireland	1920	1950	1950	1970	1990
Italy	1930	1950	1950	1990	1960
Malta	1950	1980	<i>Inexistent</i>	<i>Inexistent</i>	<i>Inexistent</i>
The Netherlands	1920	1950	1940	1970	1950
Poland	1990	1990	1990	1980	1990
Portugal	1900	1970	1960	1970	1970
Romania	1990	1990	1990	1990	n.a.
Slovakia	1990	1990	1990	2000	1990
Slovenia	1990	1980	1990	1990	1990
Spain	1950	1960	1960	1960	1950
Sweden	1940	1950	1950	1970	1940
United Kingdom	1920	1920	1940	1980	1940

Source: Arceo Vacas (2006); Barquero Cabrero (1999); Bini, Fasce & Falconi (2011); Carty (personal communication, March 3, 2015); Chaudet (personal communication, April 28, 2015); Culbertson & Chen (1996); Esparcia (2009); Fonseca (2011); Gutiérrez e Salcedo (2009); Hejlová (personal communication, March 16, 2015); Herten, Melgin & Åberg (2012); L'Etang (1998, 1999, 2004, 2006); Larsson (2006); Lehtonen (2013); Lougovoy & Huisman (1981); Melgin (personal communication, May 6, 2015); Montero, Rodriguez & Verdera (2010); Nessmann (2000); Puchan (2006); Ruler & Verčič (2004); Salcedo (2008, 2012); Santos (2003); Sriramesh & Verčič (2009); Theofilou & Watson (2014); Tkalak Verčič (personal communication, February 27, 2015); Watson (2014b; 2015); Zlateva (personal communication, March 4, 2015).

Regarding the inception of PR-like and PR departments, evidence shows a time convergence between Portugal – especially if we rule out the PR-like department established

in 1906 by the Touring Club of Portugal (which was a very specific organization devoted solely to propaganda) and consider instead the press department created in 1919 by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – and six west European countries which are also part of the EU: Austria, Ireland, The Netherlands, United Kingdom, Finland and Italy. If we widen the inception period to the 1940s, covering the first half of the twentieth century, besides Portugal a total of 9 countries are then within range: Austria, Belgium, Finland, France, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden and the United Kingdom. The PR development in Germany seems to be an exception in both scenarios, going back to the early nineteenth century. It is, however, important to note that like in Portugal, the German PR departments also evolved from the press departments created in the political sphere (Bentele, 2015). It is also relevant to stress that the institutionalization of PR (in the aspects considered in Figure 1) started much later in the Eastern European countries, dating from the 1990s (with the exception of four countries). At a pan-European level, and with some exceptions, there is therefore a three-speed process of PR institutionalization: the German one (beginning in the 19th century), the western European (ranging from the 1900s to the 1950s) and the Eastern European (beginning mainly in the 1990s).

Finally, this research may allow a better understanding of common trends in the origins of corporate PR in Europe, namely in Western Europe, by providing information which helps in building a European view of this phenomenon in the twentieth century. The data collected through bibliographic research (Figure 2) evidences that PR first emerged in the energy and utilities sector – comprising gas, electricity and postal and telephone services – and also in the petrochemical and transportation industries. This is however an issue that should be further investigated, namely by making sure all the authors use the same criteria to define what they understand as PR-like or modern PR and what is considered a PR-like department or a PR department. It is also important to note and acknowledge that further archival research may change the PH history panorama that is nowadays known in some European countries, especially in those where research on this field has been mainly bibliographical.

FIGURE 2 – Pioneering companies in the inception of PR Departments in 11 EU Member States (1920-1960)

	Companies	Business sector	Decades
Austria	Julius Meinl.	Food.	1920
Belgium	Esso; Caisse Nationale Belge d'Assurance/Algemene Verzekeringen.	Petrochemical; insurances.	1940
France	Esso Standard, Caltex, Shell.	Petrochemical.	1940
Greece	Public Power Corporation (DEH); Hellenic Telecommunications Organization (OTE); Shell; Mobil; BP; Siemens; American Express; Commercial Bank; Olympic Airways,	Electricity; communications; petrochemical; energy/electronics; banking; transportation.	1950
Ireland	Electrical Supply Board (ESB).	Electricity.	1920
Italy	Linoleum (Grupo Pirelli); Esso Standard Italiana.	Construction; petrochemical.	1930/1940
Netherlands	PTT	Communications.	1920
Portugal	Anglo Portuguese Telephone & Co.	Communications.	1920
Spain	Red Nac. de Ferrocarriles Españoles	Transportation.	1960

	(RENFE).		
Sweden	Swedish Rail; Swedish Post.	Transport.; communications.	1940
United Kingdom	Gas, Light and Coke Company; British Overseas Airways Corporation; Rootes Motors; Brooklands Racing Track.	Gas and electricity; transportation; automotive.	1930

Source: Arceo Vacas (2006); Barquero Cabrero (1999); Bini, Fasce e Falconi (2011); Carty (personal communications, March 2, 2015 and April 25, 2015); Culbertson & Chen (1996); Esparcia (2009); Fonseca (2011); Gutiérrez e Salcedo (2009); Hejlová (personal communication, March 16, 2015); Herten, Melgin e Åberg (2012); L'Etang (1998, 1999, 2004, 2006); Larsson (2006); Lehtonen (2013); Lougovoy e Huisman (1981); Melgin (personal communication, May 6, 2015); Montero, Rodriguez e Verdera (2010); Nessmann (2000); Puchan (2006); Ruler (personal communication, April 26, 2015); Ruler & Verčič (2004); Salcedo (2008, 2012); Santos (2003); Sriramesh & Verčič (2009); Theofilou (personal communication, April 26, 2015); Theofilou e Watson (2014); Tkalak Verčič (personal communication, February 27, 2015); Watson (2014b; 2015); Zlateva (personal communication, March 4, 2015).

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Reconsidering early U.S. public relations institutions: An analysis of publicity and information bureaus 1891-1918

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1. Introduction

Publicity and information bureaus are an important part of U.S. public relations history and identity because they represent the departmentalization of PR within organizations. They symbolize the professionalization of the field and link its practice to the moneyed corporate world. Despite this importance, relatively little is known about these bureaus. Cutlip (1994) mentioned a firm called the Publicity Bureau as a moment of change for public relations, and argued it coincided with the creation of modern PR practice. He traced their origins to Boston in 1900 where the Publicity Bureau he argued operated as the first PR firm. However, Cutlip (1994) did not explore publicity bureaus outside of the context of this large Boston firm.

In his history of PR, Edward Bernays (1952) ignored the publicity bureau altogether and equated early PR development to George Creel's Committee for Public Information that operated during World War I (an organization where Bernays worked). However, Bernays characterized the years of 1900 to 1919 as a harbinger for the development of modern PR practice because corporations began the ethos "The public be informed" (Bernays, 1952, p. 63). James Grunig and Todd Hunt (1984) reiterated this narrative that the publicity bureau led to the creation of a more professionalized PR practice. Grunig and Hunt (1984) argued other organizations, such as the government, followed suit by investing in publicity, although on a much smaller scale. This narrative of the publicity bureau and the growth of corporate PR had significant theoretical influence for the field because by accepting this historical narrative public relations development is equated with corporate practice. It suggests corporations created PR departments and that modern public relations is a derivative of early corporate innovations in communications.

Having a stand-alone bureau suggests that PR was moving forward to be a more serious, recognized, and professionalized practice. By placing this development within the corporation PR scholars serve an underlying need of professionalized legitimacy within public relations. However, this study shows that publicity and information bureaus were not a corporate invention. In fact, the histories written by Bernays (1952), Cutlip (1994), Tedlow (1979), Marchand (2001), Raucher (1968), and Grunig and Hunt (1984) ignore the true growth of the publicity bureau and simply ignore the information bureau altogether.

This study of the publicity and information bureaus in the U.S. popular press shows that American public relations was developing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a variety of sectors. These sectors included the government, politics, business, and non-profit sphere. Unlike Grunig and Hunt's (1984) suggestion that business influenced these other spheres, these articles show publicity and information bureaus were used simultaneously in multiple areas, with government playing a dominant role in developing and implementing publicity and information bureaus. These articles also suggest that these bureaus were linked closely with both press needs and public outreach. Concern over public opinion, media relations, and message strategy dominated the work of these bureaus in all

spheres. From this analysis it is evident that publicity and information bureaus serve an even more important role in the development of PR practice because they were used in multiple organizations and utilize communication practices that recognize the importance of publics, opinion leaders, and goodwill.

2. Public relations historiography

Publicity and information bureaus are an important area not only because of their significance within U.S. public relations development but because their existence contravenes the received history of American PR. Like many early histories the first histories of PR embraced a linear, progressive narrative of public relations development. This narrative rooted public relations history in late nineteenth century press agency and argued that by the 1920s PR had become a stand-alone profession that was moving away from its unethical press agent roots. These histories focused on seminal male figures, notably Edward Bernays and Ivy Lee, as leading major transitions in the professionalization of the field. This type of history led to a neat compartmentalization of public relations practice that was popular because of its simplicity and easily understandable periodization. However, like any area of history, oversimplification and neatly drawn periodization leaves out much historical richness and nuance. As a result an incomplete and inaccurate historical account of public relations came to dominate PR scholarship (Bernays, 1952; Cutlip and Center, 1958).

The genesis of this early inaccurate PR history can be traced to books written by Bernays (1952) and Scott Cutlip and Allen Center (1958). Bernays (1923, 1928) began writing about PR tactics and strategies in the 1920s focusing on how to influence public opinion. However, in 1952 Bernays wrote a textbook, *Public Relations*, of public relations that provided a history of the field up until that time. In *Public Relations* Bernays argued that early public relations was press agency, which used unethical manipulation of the press and staged stunts to promote certain entertainment groups. By the early 1900s Bernays wrote that corporations used publicity. While he gave a tacit nod to Standard Oil's PR man Ivy Lee, Bernays situated himself as the father of modern public relations practice. This first narrative set many of the unquestioned truisms of PR history: press agency was unethical, early PR was only entertainment, and Bernays was the father of modern PR practice. As a result of this history other historical inaccuracies emerged such as: PR is only a late nineteenth century practice, Americans invented PR and distributed it to the world, professionalized PR practice was a post-World War I invention, and corporate public relations developed after entertainment press agency.

Bernays's (1952, 1965) work was not the only source of these historical inaccuracies. In 1958 Cutlip and Center's widely popular textbook, *Effective Public Relations*, reiterated this narrative presented in Bernays's (1952) *Public Relations*. Like Bernays, Cutlip and Center (1958) were not trained historians, but were PR educators who were innovators in undergraduate PR training. While their book did not cite Bernays's (1952) *Public Relations*, they seem to almost reiterate verbatim his narrative of press agency, the transition of PR during World War I, and the evolution of professionalizing of the field.

This periodization of public relations was advocated again in James Grunig and Todd Hunt's (1984) four models of public relations. In their textbook *Managing Public Relations* Grunig and Hunt (1984) put forth a typology of public relations that followed a historical periodization of the field. They argued four types of PR existed: press agency (evidenced by P.T. Barnum), information model PR (evidenced by Ivy Lee), two-way asymmetrical (evidenced by Edward Bernays), and two way symmetrical (presented as the best PR). While Grunig and Hunt (1984) used these models to explain the types of practices of modern PR

they created a periodization of the field. The four models of public relations resembled earlier PR periodization given by Bernays (1952) and Cutlip and Center (1958).

The problem with all of these early works of PR is they were done without any empirical evidence. No primary sources were cited, and none of these authors engaged with historical academic literature. To be fair, none of these authors, save Cutlip, viewed themselves as historians. None of these authors received formal historical training, nor did they follow accepted historical methods. Larissa and James Grunig (2003) have even said their work was not meant to be historical and were not interested in engaging in a historical debate about the four models. Cutlip (1994, 1995) would go on to write more histories of public relations from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. However, these histories, while valuable, do have some issues because they lack any citations to primary sources, frequently use masters theses written by Cutlip's students as chapters, and largely draw from Cutlip's own received knowledge of the history of the field.

Outside of public relations business histories have infrequently addressed PR development. However, these histories focus on PR only in the context of corporate business. Richard Tedlow (1979) reiterated the Bernaysian narrative of modern PR development arguing that press agency was the root of modern PR practice. Roland Marchand (2001) examined corporate use of advertising and consumer goodwill, but focused only on the 1920s and 1930s. Seminal historian Alfred Chandler (1977) never specifically addressed public relations, but did allude to PR when he argued communication technology and practice changed corporate business practice. Only Alan Raucher (1968) challenged the Bernaysian periodization of PR in his analysis of utility companies' use of public relations. In his book, *Public Relations and Business*, Raucher argued public utilities, and not Bernays, invented public relations practice. Bernays (1969), as expected, vehemently criticized Raucher's (1968) work, and pointed out his book's methodological sloppiness, chief of which was Raucher's failure to interview Bernays.

In the 1980s scholars began to criticize the historical inaccuracies of public relations historiography. Marvin Olasky (1984, 1987) argued that focusing on public relations' business roots did not necessarily give PR the legitimacy it sought. Later scholars argued that the corporate focus of PR was largely inaccurate and did not take into account the true nature of corporations at the turn of the twentieth century (Miller, 2000; Myers, 2014). Other scholars criticized PR history's lack of inclusion of non-corporate organizations, which marginalized the historical voices of non-elites, notably women (Hon, 1997; Lamme, 2003, 2004, 2007; Lamme, 2004, Gower, 2008). Still other scholars questioned PR history's periodization as a practiced rooted in nineteenth century America (Watson, 2008; Lamme and Russell, 2010). Scholars also began to question the true reality of nineteenth and early twentieth century PR practice. They argued that the realities of that time meant that publicity and public relations was much different than what was presented in Bernays's (1952) work (Stocker and Rawlins, 2005; Coombs and Holladay, 2012; Russell and Bishop, 2009). Outside of the U.S., European scholars questioned America-centric PR history and argued that PR developed in varying ways depending on the historical realities of the nations in which PR was practiced (L'Etang, 2004; Bentele, 2010; Bentele and Grazyna-Maria, 1996; Watson, 2008).

All of these criticisms of current PR history have culminated with scholars arguing that PR history has to be rethought and reexamined. Watson (2014) said that public relations history must be more inclusive of those aspects that are not flattering to the field in order to create a more authentic, accurate, and complete historical record. Lamme and Russell (2010) surveyed historical PR literature only to find that public relations history was largely unknown and unexplored. They called for a new examination of public relations that moved away from the inaccurate and artificial periodization of Bernays and the four models.

This study seeks to fill a portion of this large gap in historical PR literature by examining the publicity and information bureaus in the United States from 1891 to 1918. While this is a large timeframe and an expansive topic it presents a new timeframe for U.S. public relations development and creates a more inclusive narrative of the field.

3. Research questions

Given this gap in the current literature this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

- How did this press portray publicity and information bureaus?
- What was the relationship between the press and publicity and information bureaus?
- What communication practices did publicity and information bureaus use?
- What type of organizations used publicity and information bureaus?

4. Methodology

In this study 601 articles were analyzed from the digital archives in Historical Newspapers Online and the American Periodical Series from 1770 to 1918. The year 1770 was used as a starting point for two reasons. First, a distinct American identity is frequently said to have developed during the Stamp Act Crisis, which began in 1765. This separation from Great Britain grew with the culminating in the Boston Massacre in 1770. Second, selecting such an early year for analysis allows this study to include the first mention of the term “publicity bureau” or “information bureau.” That allows for a more complete analysis of the term. The year 1918 was chosen as an end point because public relations history is thought to have dramatically changed after World War I. By ending the study in 1918 this study only examines a public relations profession prior to the influences of Bernays and the massive growth of corporate advertising of the 1920s (Marchand, 2001).

The first appearance of either term from these databases was 1891 and the last was 1918. The search terms “publicity bureau” and “information bureau” were used for each database. For the term “publicity bureau” every article from the American Periodical Series and every fifth article from Historical Newspaper Online was used. For the term “information bureau” every fifth article was analyzed from both American Periodical Series and Historical Newspapers Online. This sample produced a total of 393 articles for “publicity bureau.” This sample for “information bureau” produced a total of 246 articles. This produced an initial sample of 639 articles of which 38 were either duplicates or unusable. This left a final total of 601 articles used for this study. These terms were interchangeably used in all sectors during the period from 1891 to 1918 except in a business context. In this study, information and publicity bureau appears in quotes when the term is being directly quoted from an article.

5. Relationship between publicity and information bureaus’ and the press

The development of publicity and information bureaus is linked directly to the popular press, which illustrates how public relations practice emerged from and in response to press practices in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The influence of publicity and information bureaus was viewed in some circles as a corrupting influence on journalism and on public awareness. In fact, the U.S. Congress convened the Armstrong Committee to investigate insurance companies and their use of bureaus to influence press coverage in 1905. This influence of information and publicity bureaus was the subject of harsh reactions from

many groups. *The Bookman*, a conservative pro-business magazine, ran an article on the influence of the “publicity bureau” in 1906 entitled “Tainted News as Seen in the Making” (1906, p. 396). In this article the “publicity bureau” as described as a “machine” that produced “opinion-to-order” news to editors who need copy (“Tainted News,” 1906, p. 396). *The Bookman* described the process:

Hence the publicity man provides news or he creates a literary interest. With this he baits his hook. The amount of concealment necessary to assure an easy passage for this instrument down the editorial gullet depends upon the state of the editor’s mind as regulated by the attitude of the public with reference to the cause for which the publicity man proposes to win acceptance (Tainted News, 1906, p. 396).

One article from 1909 claimed that every “publicity bureau” had a card index of all editors that contained their “weak spots” (Haste, 1909, p. 348). *The Arena*, a left-leaning and anti-corporation publication, accused the mainstream press of being corrupted by corporate influence, particularly corporate organizations that operated public utilities. It said all positive press coverage of these organizations constituted “black journalism” and was the direct result of corporate manipulation through advertising and through the Boston-based Publicity Bureau (Flower, 1907, p. 71). In fact, *The Arena* accused the Publicity Bureau, the New York based Press Service Company, and the Washington D.C. based National New Service of being “publicity bureau[s]” that engaged in deceptive news practiced on behalf of corporate clients (Albertson, 1907, p. 170). The influence of these large publicity bureaus was not limited to the public-at-large. Rather “publicity bureau” literature was targeted to decision-makers, particularly those in political office (“Tainted News,” 1906, p. 396).

Other articles described the publicity bureau as a hired gun that would represent organizations and individuals. *Bankers’ Magazine* described the increasingly popular “publicity bureau” in 1909 stating:

One very striking evidence of the victory of publicity lies in the mushroom growth of the “publicity bureaus.” These are private organizations formed for personal pecuniary profit. They take contracts from corporations, from societies of all kinds and from individuals of every degree to act as intermediaries between the and the press. Their object is to meet reporters who seek information regarding the affairs of their clients, to send authoritative statements to the newspapers when those clients seek to communicate for their own purposes with the public. Five years ago [1902] there were two of these, whereas to-day one could not count them on the fingers of both hands. Moreover, they are all doing well and making money (Meade, 1907, p. 95).

Articles associated lying and exaggeration with having retained a “publicity bureau” (Mason, 1914, p. 63; Johnson, 1916, p. 227). Other articles spoke about how publicity bureaus operated as advertisers for organizations. However, it was not lost on the popular press that information and publicity bureaus were advocates of a stance. One article in 1907 said that a “publicity bureau” leaves “no stone unturned to protect and advance their interests” (Woodruff, 1907, p. 582).

6. Government use of publicity and information bureaus

The U.S. federal government regularly utilized publicity and information bureaus during the early twentieth century. The heyday for federal government publicity and information

bureaus was 1910 to 1918. Federal agencies or federally-backed organizations such as Congress, the Treasury Department, Department of Agriculture, the U.S. Forest Service, Department of Health, Department of Commerce and Labor, used a “publicity bureau” or “information bureau” to promote their organizations and their political issues (“Lardner Bends,” 1917, p. 22; “Congress Condensed,” 1914, p. 6; “Ballinger Probe,” 1910, 4; “Slocums Engineer,” 1904, p. 3; Garner, 1904, p. 420). These federal publicity bureaus operated differently than those in business or in non-profit sectors because they were associated with political issues that went beyond generating public awareness. Government publicity bureaus also operated in a pseudo-lobbying capacity since they were organized to influence and create public policy.

One of the biggest issues handled by information and publicity bureaus in the federal government was wartime initiatives. Sometimes these bureaus operated as a type of social services agency that brought together soldiers and their families. The U.S. government set up an “information” bureau in several locations in the U.S. and abroad (Barry, 1918, p. 49). Rather than operating in a purely publicity capacity, they often served as a liaison between soldiers and their families, sometimes handling soldier mail (“Better Mail,” 1917, p. 6). However, information and publicity bureaus also advanced the causes of war and had a direct relationship with the press. In 1897, maps of China and Japan were released by the Military Information Bureau to the public and press (“To Prepare Military Maps, 1897, p. 2). A year later Col. A.L. Wagner, Chief of the Military Information Bureau of the War Department, issued a map of Cuba for release during the Spanish-American War (“War Map of Cuba,” 1898, p. 3). These information and press bureaus served an information gathering and intelligence capacity. Other “publicity bureau[s]” were used for promotional purposes such as soldier recruitment, buying war bonds, and publicizing military exploits of various military divisions (“Marine Corps,” 1913, p. 14; “New Department,” 1918, p. 73).

The use of publicity and information bureaus during wartime was controversial. The Creel Committee, also known as the Committee on Public Information (CPI), was the subject of many articles. Often referred to as a publicity and information bureau, these articles not only detailed the CPI’s responsibilities, but also contained sharp criticisms of their tactics and general purpose. The CPI is a well-known institution within public relations history because Bernays and other famous public relations practitioners, including Carl Byoir and social reformer Vira Whitehouse, worked on the committee during World War I and attempted to apply the persuasion skills they learned there to a more general public relations practice. Bernays credited the CPI with influencing him to create psychographic approaches to public relations. From the articles in this study this power of psychology, persuasion, and press censorship were recognized as part of the CPI’s mission (“Publicity Board Created by Wilson,” 1917, p. 2; “The Administration,” 1918, p. 344). In some instances the CPI served as a media analyst issuing official statements about the accuracy of news reports (“Won’t Discuss Nuorteva,” 1918, p. 24).

However, articles about Creel and CPI are largely negative. The CPI was described as a “bureau of censorship” that had cabinet level responsibilities and access to President Wilson (Wagstaffe, 1917, p. 447). Other articles argue CPI “publicity bureau...imitated the bad example of its counterpart in Germany” equating Creel and CPI with suppression of freedom of the press (“Freedom of the Press,” 1918, p. 1). George Creel was the subject of many criticisms, with articles commenting on his inappropriate comments about the Justice Department, trying to censor newspaper editors, and costing the government too much money (“Creel Critic, He Says,” 1918, p. 2; “Publicity Board Meets,” 1917, 7; “Senate Asks,” 1918, p. 7). When CPI closed in 1918 it not only had offices in Washington D.C., but also had foreign bureaus and printing an official news bulletin (“Information Bureau Closed, 1918, 7). Despite this criticism of CPI, the federal government’s use of publicity and information

bureaus was replicated at state and local levels. However, their use of publicity and information bureaus differed since they focused more on promotions than on influencing public opinion.

Similar to the federal government, state and municipal governments used publicity and information bureaus. However, unlike their federal counterparts these state and municipal publicity and information bureaus did not involve political issues so much as promotional materials. These bureaus attempted to increase business investments, travel and tourism, or utilization of state resources by providing and promoting their states (“It was a hot time,” 1903, p. 4; “Asbury Park,” 1907, p. 9).

Municipal governments’ “publicity bureau[s]” also began to be mentioned in articles and advertisements during the 1910s. These bureaus almost exclusively served to promote visitors to these cities and highlighted city attractions for tourists (“What Fools These Morals Be!,” 1906, p. 2; “A Pioneer Publicist,” 1914, p. 4). Individual publicity bureaus for cities and municipalities went beyond providing information to tourists and actually created literature and events for prospective tourists (“Baby Parade Cups Stolen,” 1911, p. 1; “To Bring Trade Here,” 1911, p. 2; “City Information Bureau,” 1911, p. 3). Portland and Boston hired full-time directors of their “publicity bureau[s]” to do “advertising” for the city (“Where State and Municipal Opportunities,” 1910, p. 932; “Mayor and Business Men,” 1913, p. 1). Other municipalities such as Atlantic City, Manhattan, Michigan, and the New York court system had permanent information and publicity bureaus (“Fire Panic,” 1903, p. 2; “Cheap Fares,” 1893, p. 10; “Grange,” 1906, p. 534; “New York Children’s Court,” 1916, p. 297).

Some municipal and state information and publicity bureaus took on a police function. One article from 1917 in the *Central Law Journal* criticized this stating that “publicity bureaus” actually corrupted state court systems and inhibited a defendant from receiving a fair trial (Forrester, 1917, p. 299). However, these bureaus were structured to serve as both community outreach and as something like an early twentieth century informant hotline. The Governor of West Virginia supported the creation of a “bureau of information” to serve as a “secret service” of the state gathering information about potential criminals (“Favors Information Bureau for State, 1909, p. 3). New York set up an “information bureau” to investigate the amounts of peonage, or servitude based on paying off a debt, which was illegally occurring in the state (“Peonage Cases,” 1909, p. 2). Police departments in large metropolitan cities, such as New York, had “information bureau[s]” where citizens could report crimes and reporters could get information about newsworthy cases (“Lookout for Criminals,” 1899, p. 2).

The U.S. press also mentioned the foreign governments had publicity and information bureaus. Great Britain had publicity and information bureaus throughout World War I that gave status updates about troops, battle plans, and set up forums where American soldiers could communicate with their families (“England is to Send Territorials Abroad,” 1914, p. 5). However, the *New York Times* stated in one 1914 article that Great Britain’s “publicity bureau” paled in comparison to that of Germany (“France and England as Seen in Wartime,” 1914, sec. SM7). German “information bureau[s]” were depicted as institutions designed to manipulate the foreign press so Germany could garner support during World War I (“Finds Germany Undaunted,” 1915, p. 2). An article reported that “information bureaus” were instrumental in Germany’s attempt to create language schools in South America that would foster support for German colonization (“German Colonization Policy,” 1901, p. 3).

7. Political use of publicity and information bureaus

In addition to government, political figures and parties in the U.S. used publicity and information bureaus to promote political and electoral agendas. U.S. campaigns and parties had “publicity bureau[s]” as early as 1899 (“Many Were His Dupes,” 1899, p. 2). However, unlike the governmental bureaus, political parties were more likely to use the term publicity bureau instead of information bureau. Articles showed both the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee had “publicity bureau[s]” as part of their structure during the first decade of the twentieth century (“Talented New Chief for the Democratic Publicity Bureau,” 1916, p. 8; “Taft Certain of Ohio,” 1908, p. 2). One article shows these bureaus were not inexpensive. In 1908 the Democratic National Committee spent \$88,899, more than \$2.3 million in 2014, on a “publicity bureau” (“Mack Had \$640,644,” 1908, p. 2).

National political campaigns such as Woodrow Wilson, presidential candidate Judge Alton Parker, presidential candidates Charles Evans Hughes Justice Charles Evans Hughes, William Howard Taft, and Theodore Roosevelt all employed publicity or information bureaus to do campaign outreach (“Wilson Meets Friends Here,” 1912, 2; “Modern Anecdote,” 1904, p. 69; “Political Boons at Close Quarter,” 1908, p. 3; Bennet, 1916, p. 933; “Do Not Yield to Taft,” 1908, p. 4; “Outline New Party,” 1912, 1). Even lesser known politicians such as Gifford Pinchot, the Chief of the U.S. Forest Service who was fired by President Taft in 1910, had a campaign “publicity bureau” that represented his views in the press during an ensuing scandal (“Gives Lie to Glavis,” 1910, p. 1). Smaller groups of interested voters such as the League of Voters, the Progressive Party, and socialists maintained bureaus (“Low Rates to Voters,” 1912, 4; “The Progressive Party,” 1913, p. 7; “The Balkans,” 1913, p. 245). Sometimes they were created for the sole purpose of a political cause such as temperance, women’s suffrage, labor unions, banking reform, and workers compensation rights (“Lockwood,” 1914, p. 524; “New Suffrage Campaign,” 1911, p. 1; “Immigration of Italians,” 1904, p. 5; “Western Bankers,” 1911, 2; “Westchester Fire,” 1913, p. 221). The popularity of these political publicity bureaus was so prevalent that William Randolph Hearst had his own “publicity bureau” that verified statements made by other candidates’ campaigns bureaus (“Hearst Says of Mack,” 1906, p. 5). This use of publicity and information bureaus was not limited to the U.S. During the Mexican Revolution Pancho Villa and other rebels used a “publicity” and “information” bureau to communicate their movements and successes to the American press (“The Issue in Mexico,” 1912, p. 23).

The 1912 presidential election is illustrative of the power and cost of publicity and information bureaus. *McClure’s Magazine* discussed the power of publicity and information bureaus in American politics in the article “Manufacturing Public Opinion: The New Art of Making Presidents by Press Bureau” (Turner, 1912, p. 316). According to *McClure’s* the real invention of publicity and information bureaus in politics came in the 1912 presidential campaign. The differences in this election year was that “publicity bureau[s]” disseminated news stories directly to papers, and sent direct mailings of pamphlets and campaign literature to registered voters became the norm. Republican Senator Robert La Follette was credited with creating the first modern publicity campaign by utilizing direct mailings to register voters using his franking privileges (the right of members of Congress to mail items without paid postage). According to *McClure’s*, La Follette took publicity seriously and decided that he would not run for president unless he could have at least \$75,000, more than \$1.8 million in 2014, in cash on hand. La Follette utilized his “publicity campaign” to include mailings to newspaper editors and published in his own liberal Republican weekly in the West. However, La Follette’s candidacy was eclipsed by Theodore Roosevelt and the progressive Republicans (Turner, 1912, p. 316).

Roosevelt's publicity capabilities were widely acknowledged in 1912. After much urging by progressives in his party Roosevelt established a presidential publicity bureau only after he secured \$100,000, more than \$2.4 million in 2014. These bureaus utilized a three-prong publicity plan that targeted national newspapers, local weeklies, and direct mail to voters. Roosevelt used a publicity bureau in Washington to provide news directly to reporters. *McClure's* described the bureau and its practices:

These bulletins, in appearance like typewritten manuscript, were dealt out to the Washington correspondents. Each morning and afternoon the newspaper men, hunting singly or in squads, according to their habit, came to Davis' office, took their copy, and asked their questions. And so the big dailies were provided for (Turner, 1912, p. 316).

Local papers also wanted this campaign-produced news. *McClure's* said that editors directly asked for the material and even demanded bribes from campaign officials to re-print the material verbatim. The primary in North Dakota between Roosevelt and La Follette contained so much direct mailings that post offices were inundated with left-over pamphlets farmers refused to pick from the post office.

According to *McClure's* 1912 also saw the rise of "publicity bureau[s]" by William Howard Taft and Woodrow Wilson. Taft's half-brother owned a newspaper in Cincinnati and utilized reporters from that paper as publicity advisors. Despite this advantage, Taft did not want a "publicity bureau" and created one only out of necessity in light of Roosevelt's publicity machine. *McClure's* said Taft was ill equipped for the publicity requirements during the 1912 election because "preference primaries" rather than party bosses influenced who would be the party's nominee. Because of this, candidate publicity created by a "publicity bureau" was a requirement for electoral success (Turner, 1912, p. 316).

McClure's explained that Woodrow Wilson's campaign accepted this new political reality and embraced the publicity bureau as a campaign necessity. Wilson's advisors took advantage of afternoon and evening newspapers' printing times and disseminated news reports of the campaign to coincide with desired paper editions. Wilson's campaign advisors changed Wilson's own communication strategies to suit newspaper coverage. Campaign workers made Wilson stop giving extemporaneous remarks, which was Wilson's preference, and give written speeches that could then be disseminated to the press ahead of time. *McClure's* detailed the process of providing pre-released campaign literature to the press writing:

In a bureau of three rooms, with a dozen people, the Wilson news was fed out to Washington newspaper correspondents and a list of papers every day, on mimeograph sheets. Some seven hundred of these mimeograph stories were sent out every day; and every week, from Washington and New York, to six thousand weekly papers as sent a small eight page sheet to clip from (Turner, 1912, p. 316).

However, Wilson's publicity manager, William F. McCombs, a lawyer and former administrator for the Princeton alumni association, made a critical mistake with Wilson's publicity bureau. In 1912 Democrats were divided between eastern conservatives and western liberals. McCombs, a Wall Street lawyer, sent western papers news clips about Wilson from a Wall Street address. This created western backlash against Wilson and provided lesser-known regional politicians, such as Oscar Underwood from Alabama and Champ Clark from Missouri, with the opportunity to challenge Wilson for the nomination.

Despite this fumbling by Wilson's campaign, his publicity bureau was heralded as a campaign innovator (Turner, 1912, p. 316).

However, *McClure's* was critical of bureaus' influence over the campaign process. By the end of the presidential campaign of 1912, *McClure's* reported candidates spent over \$1 million each, over \$24.4 million in 2014. The article concluded by predicting this massive amount of money used for campaign publicity meant that Congress would most likely pass laws in 1913 to place caps on campaign expenditures (Turner, 1912, p. 316).

8. Commercial use of publicity and information bureaus

Scholarship on PR history identifies the firm The Publicity Bureau as the first professionalized PR practice (Cutlip, 1994) However, analyzing the popular press from 1891 to 1918 shows that the use of publicity and information bureaus were similar to that found in government and politics. In fact, compared with the political bureaus established in 1912, corporate information and publicity bureaus seem crude and less professional. Unlike government, politics, and non-profits there was a difference between publicity and information bureaus. These advertisements used "information" or "publicity" bureaus as a means to communicate with potential tourists. All of these bureaus served as a contact center and were listed by address. Other uses of the "publicity" and "information" bureau mirrored these tourist venues.

Early non-profit, civic organizations are often ignored perhaps in part because grassroots public relations is often viewed as being influenced by corporate practices. Unlike corporations, these organizations utilized public relations practice at the grassroots. Non-profit publicity and information bureaus were used as a form of early promotion or advertisement. While political and commercial bureaus focused on persuasive messaging, non-profit publicity bureaus focused more on outreach to potential members, attendees, or supporters of events ("Druggests in Convention," 1905, p. 1220; "Sweet Charity," 1906, p. 7; "Columbia Varsity Show at Hotel Astor," 1911, p. 48; "Invading Trout Waters," 1913, p. 690).

Other special interest groups had "information bureau[s]" that provided special information to the public such as the car information, healthcare suggestions, and women's issues ("Mrs. Woodford Exonerated," 1913, p. 14; "Our London Letter," 1899, p. 666; Allyn, 1905, p. 828). Expositions, fairs, and coordinated public events used publicity and information bureaus to publicize the events and to provide information to attendees (Buchanan, 1901, p. 517; Jeffrey, 1912, p. 239). These publicity bureaus were used at staged events including boxing matches, theater shows, races, a Grand Army of the Republic exposition, Pan-American Exposition, the World's Fair, and a memorial service for those who died on the Titanic ("Referee Graney Defends Decision," 1904, p. 10; Chapman, 1903, p. 11; "After Wire Tappers," 1907, p. 4; "Council in Session, 1902, sec. G3; Tridon, 1912, p. 1185; "Twenty Thousand Dollars," 1893, p. 176; "Prepare to Meet the Funeral Ship," 1912, p. 3).

Churches and individual preachers used "publicity" and "information" bureaus to promote their services and special events (Holben, 1911, p. 225). The early use of these bureaus by churches is significant because it suggests these other spheres may have borrowed the practice of bureaus from grassroots organizations. Examples of these church "publicity" and "information" bureaus include a Methodist Convention, evangelical church services, a Presbyterian food drive, and a church-run temperance meeting ("A World View of Methodist Ministers," 1903, p. 1712; "Bureau of Information," 1894, p. 27; Notices, 1895, p. 32; "Ministers' Meeting," 1896, p. 29).

Members of the Church of Christ Scientists, also known as Christian Scientists, were noted for their use of a “publicity bureau” in major U.S. cities, such as Boston and New York, which provided literature about their religious movement (Hendrick, 1912, p. 481). Jewish immigrants also set up “information” and “publicity” bureaus to provide recent immigrants with community contacts and help find them jobs (“Hebrew Charities,” 1904, p. 1154). Similar to religious institutions, libraries and museums used both “information bureau[s]” and “publicity bureau[s]” to provide both information about resources and for increasing visitors (“Adrich, 1905, sec. X6; Stevens, 1913, p. 244). Schools advertised for applications and enrollment stating that potential students could contact their “information bureau” for the application procedures (Smith, 1897, p. 955).

9. Conclusion and implications for PR development

It is difficult to engage with what public relations literature says about the publicity and information bureau since little scholarship exists on either term. However, analysis of the popular press from 1891 to 1918 shows something significant about the development of public relations as a practice. Cutlip (1994) used the creation of the Boston-based Publicity Bureau as the starting point of public relations practice. As Lamme and Russell (2010) point out, this historical genesis is a rather arbitrary date. Equally problematic is Cutlip’s (1994) focus on the Publicity Bureau’s corporate identity because it suggests the beginning of modern public relations practice emerge because corporate interests were represented by the Publicity Bureau. It is important for PR historiography to recognize that not only did publicity and information bureaus emerge in different contexts but emerged simultaneously in government, politics, business, and at the grassroots. This analysis shows that the so-called professionalization of public relations largely resulted from both a top-down and bottom-up development. Politics, government, and grassroots influences in public relations development are largely ignored in preference for a corporate narrative. Interestingly the government’s publicity and information bureaus were more respected than their business counterparts. This too illustrates that rooting early public relations practice in corporations is not only inaccurate, but fails to provide the professional legitimacy modern PR seeks through this narrative.

This study, of course, only presents an initial step in this area of scholarship. Later studies should examine publicity and information bureaus using archival resources. Those future studies can present the rich, nuanced historical detail that a study of the press cannot reveal. However, this initial press study of publicity and information bureaus is necessary given the current incomplete historical narratives of U.S. PR development. As Lamme and Russell (2010) point out, PR historians’ work is hindered by inaccurate and under inclusive Bernaysian narratives. In short public relations historians do not know what they do not know. Because of this, examining a large timeframe of PR terminology helps to create an accurate depiction of PR history. Once these accurate historical accounts of PR history are created, then historians can delve deeper into the specific figures, episodes, and organizations using archival sources.

This analysis of publicity and information bureaus also forces public relations scholars to acknowledge the non-corporate influence of the field. Bernays (1956) and Cutlip (1994) recognized that precursors to professional PR practice included government and politics, but government and politics played a direct role in early professional PR practice. These governmental and political uses of publicity and information bureaus shows that government not only served as a PR precursor, but was an active part of early PR practice. Histories that claim Bernays served as a major transitory force within PR seems questionable in light of this new historical evidence (Grunig and Hunt, 1994). A more accurate transitional

force in PR is the emergence of a widespread government bureaucracy during the early twentieth century. The analysis of the popular press from the 1900s shows it is the emergence of these agencies that bring about the rise of publicity and information bureaus and the recognition of the power of public opinion.

This use of publicity and information bureaus in government, politics, business, and civic organizations also shows that public relations development was not evolutionary. Rather, this analysis supports the idea that public relations as a practice emerged from many sources (corporate and non-corporate alike) in tandem. Because of this simultaneous emergence of public relations practice shows the inaccuracy in using PR typologies, such as the four models, as a historical timeline for U.S. public relations history (Grunig and Hunt, 1984). Because professional practice emerged at a time when press agency still existed and operated in multiple fields demarking public relations into compartmentalized stages of practice is historical unjustifiable. Additionally, the fact this type of professional PR practice emerged simultaneously in different field suggests evolutionary narratives of the development of PR is also inaccurate. From these articles it becomes apparent that PR development in the U.S. followed a non-linear and multifaceted development in which fields borrowed communications objectives, skills, and implementation from each other.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion from this analysis is the role the grassroots plays in PR formation. Information and publicity bureaus in civic organizations, specifically churches, show that modern public relations practice must have been influenced by the groups. Press coverage of grassroots information and publicity bureaus show they pre-date all other uses of bureaus. Interestingly these organizations, although local, still had interactions with the press as evidenced by this study. Their contribution to public relations development is perhaps the most significant, not only because they were the first to utilize these communication practices, but also because their communication values reflect modern PR ethics.

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Building a “Modern” and “Western” Image: Miss Turkey beauty contests from 1929 to 1933

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1. Introduction

Even though the image of the Ottoman Empire, as viewed by others, changed during its 600 years of history, one thing can be asserted: its image was always a negative one. In the beginning the Ottoman Empire was seen as the “terror of the world”, and towards the end it turned into the “sick man of Europe” (Çırakman, 2002). And so when, in the 1920s, the Republic of Turkey was founded, it preferred to be known as a new independent state rather than as the successor to the Ottomans. The new nationalist elite felt that they needed to distance themselves from the “dissolute and degenerate past” of their predecessors, the Ottoman ruling elite (Deringil, 1998, p. 217).

One of the priorities of the new Republic was to reject the negative Ottoman image and instead build a new one. According to this image, Turkey was a country eager to join the modern, secular Western world. So while the Ottomans represented the East, Turkey now faced towards the West; and whereas the Ottomans embodied many different ethnicities, the new Turkey was Turkish (Howard, 2001; Pope & Pope, 2011; Macfie, 1994). The new Republic decided to show the West that it no longer had any connections with the Ottomans and that it was a new state, independent from them. At this point, publicizing this new image abroad became an important issue. This paper focuses on how the beauty contests organized by the newspaper *Cumhuriyet* (Republic), starting in 1929 when the first contest was staged until 1932 when Miss Turkey was selected as Miss World, were used as a public relations tool to publicize the new Turkey.

2. Method

Newspapers have always recorded the first draft of history and they help us to gain an insight into places, people and periods. As a result, newspapers have long been relied upon by historians as a source of historical data. This article, based on a study of the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, sets out to analyze the first beauty contests in Turkey in the context of public relations. For the purpose of the analysis *Cumhuriyet* has been chosen not only because it organized the early beauty contests, but also because it is considered to be a newspaper that reflected the program of the young Turkish Republic during the 1920s and 1930s. To research the issues of *Cumhuriyet* during this period, online digital archives were used and each issue published between 1929 to 1933 was checked to locate any mention of these beauty contests. Rather than using a keywords search, the researcher looked through each issue of *Cumhuriyet* which was published daily, and to examine the views about the beauty contest columns that were current during this period, opinion leaders on the subject were also included.

3. The Establishment of the Republic of Turkey

The First World War ended for the Ottoman Empire in the armistice of Mudros on 31 October 1918, followed on 10 August 1920 by the government of Sultan Mehmed VI signing the Treaty of Sevres. As a result, the Ottoman Empire had to renounce its claims to all non-Turkish lands and was reduced to a minor territory in northwestern Asia Minor with the city of Istanbul as its capital. However the nationalists were not willing to accept the treaty (Howard, 2001, p. 86-87) and upon the urging of Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), the lower house of the last Ottoman Parliament (*Heyeti Mebusan*), which had previously assembled in Istanbul, convened in Ankara (Kocak, 2005) and the Grand National Assembly was established there on 23 April 1920. This new parliament formed its own government and is known as the Ankara Government. During the War of Independence (1919-1923) the Ankara Government commanded the army, National Forces (*Kuva-yi Milliye*), fighting against Greece, Armenia, France, Great Britain and Italy, and the army's success in several battles paved the way for the Conference of Lausanne (1922-1923), the purpose of which was the negotiation of a treaty to replace that of Sevres which was no longer recognized by the Turkish government. The Lausanne Treaty was concluded in July 1923, affirming the Turkish nationalists' victory, and the regaining of eastern Thrace and all of Anatolia.

A republic was proclaimed on October 29 1923 Atatürk's westernist views came clearly to the fore, his own power was consolidated and the fate of Turkey assured. Atatürk was indeed a visionary statesman whose ultimate goal was to unite the nation and create a modern western state (Pope & Pope 2011, p. 51) in which economic, social and cultural developments were inseparable to his vision (Mango, 2008, p. 163). The great task of modernization was to change the Turkish people's outlook and behavior from something inward looking, passive and shaped by collective religious and institutional values, to something active, outward looking and more in tune with the economic and materialistic values of the modern world (Okyar, 1984, p. 50). Women were given a special emphasis in Atatürk's revolution and, as a result, Turkish women won legal equality long before many in the West (Pope & Pope, 2011, p. 63).

4. Beauty Contests as a National Publicity Tool

4.1. Public Relations in Turkey in the 1920s

Although in Turkey the concept of public relations only started to be used in the 1960s (Aktas Yamanoglu, Gençtür Hızal & Ozdemir, 2013), the 1920s made a special contribution to the development of Turkish public relations when they were key in gaining support for the War of Independence. The Guidance Committee (*Irşad Encümen*), formed as a propaganda organization, was founded in 1920 with the aim of persuading people in Anatolia to join and support the War of Independence, although its target audience also included soldiers who needed information about what was happening on the other war fronts (Aslan, 2004).

From the start of the War of Independence publicizing the struggle abroad was also highly valued. The Anadolu Agency (*Anadolu Ajansı*), which was established on 6 April 1920, was a press agency that announced the success of the resistance movement and the failures of its enemies, and in particular combed the foreign press for encouraging reports (Mango, 1999, p. 275). Soon after, on 7 June 1920, the General Directorate of the Press (*Matbuat ve İstihbarat Müdüriyeti Umumiyesi*) was founded with the aim of producing publications to defend the national cause and to constantly scrutinize the foreign press in order to understand the flow of ideas. At the same time, it also produced publications for national consumption to unite ideas and uphold spirits.

These institutions, which focused on propaganda and publicity, had an important role in winning the War of Independence, but even after the establishment of the Republic, the young state continued with its publicity efforts. But now the main emphasis of publicity was

mostly on the modernization process that the new-formed country was undergoing. Also during the 1920s and 1930s, Turkey had started to attend international exhibitions to display its modernity, such as the exhibitions in Milan (1932), Brussels (1935), and Königsberg (1936), and it was also during these years that beauty contests were used as a tool to promote Turkey.

4.2. The Inherited Image of the Ottoman Woman

The position of women was an important contribution to the negative image of the Ottoman Empire in Western minds. The position of Ottoman women became a subject that interested Western publics and was generally associated with ideas of exoticism, servitude, adultery and polygamy (Çırakman, 2002). Lewis (2004) claims that when, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, women in the Ottoman Empire were discussed, the image that came to Western minds was the harem, because the harem held a central position in the description of Ottoman women. There were numerous art works about the harem and the woman in them, and harem style beauty was considered one of the distinctive characteristics of Ottoman culture.

The harem, as the living space for women either in part of a house or palace, was as DelPlato (2002) argues, considerably decontextualized and fetishized by Western writers and painters. Europeans constructed a multifaceted mythology about this alternative kind of lifestyle, a mythology that survives in paintings and writing (DelPlato, 2002). In these art works, women were living at a distance, hiding themselves behind veils and window screens, detached from society and living like slaves. In this period, when the ordinary person formed images about distant lands based largely on writing and pictures, these representations of the harem had a significant influence on the image of the Ottoman Empire in the eyes of the West. The Ottoman woman was discussed in terms associated with the veil, polygamy and slavery.

The exotic element of the harem for Westerners was its association with polygamy. This Islamic custom allowed a man to have more than one wife, and the fact that in some harems there was more than one woman, made this a subject of great interest to the West. Polygamy became one of the subjects particularly emphasized in travel books of the period. In *Travels in the Year 1792 through France, Turkey and Hungary to Vienna*, in which he records his observations about the Ottoman Empire, William Hunter (1796) writes about polygamy:

In a country where a plurality of wives is authorized by law, and where one man, in addition to this license, is also permitted, without any breach of the morality which he has been taught, to immerse in his harem as many female slaves as his purse can purchase, the fez must infallibly be tyrannized over, and degraded. It is deprived of its natural rights. It is denied its natural protection. It is forbidden the chaste enjoyments of reciprocal friendship and love. It is robbed of its dignity and its honor, which are its brightest attractions. It is compelled to pay obedience to a wretch whom it despises and whilst it despises, to submit to the gratification of his lust. Can anything be more unjust? Can anything be more horrible? (Hunter, 1796, p. 374-376)

Another work describing Ottoman polygamy is William Eton's *A Survey of The Turkish Empire* in which he offers his opinion about Ottoman women and his observations on polygamy:

polygamy is generally found to be destructive to the finer feelings, it is so in Turkey. The rich man (who alone is enabled to support several females) regards them only as the instruments of his pleasure and seeks their society with no other view, hence the

women themselves have no cultivation of mind, but live a stupid solitary life, surrounded by slaves, or by women as ignorant and as spiritless as themselves (Eton, 1801, p. 234).

To these observations about Ottoman women, the views of Western women travelers can also be added. In her travel journal *Diary of Evie Pell* (1875), Pell describes Ottoman women as poor slaves in the streets:

in brilliant costumes with thin faces covered with the thin muslin, which did not hide, but only added to their beauty, for many of them were really beautiful...Their hands and feet (the dress is worn very short) are large and clumsy and they walk badly... poor creatures, what real slaves they are! (Pell in McDaniel, 2014).

Another idea about Ottoman women was the belief that they were highly likely to cheat on their husbands even though they were considered to be slaves in the harem. Eton states that Turkish women were deceitful but never free, and although they sought out opportunities to be unfaithful to their husbands, usually at their own instigation, it nevertheless involved great danger (Eton, 1801, p. 235).

4.3 Building the Image of Modern Turkey through Women

As shown in the examples above, the Ottoman woman's unfavorable position in society, and the West's exaggerated presentation of this position, had an important effect on the image of the Ottoman Empire. From the first years of its foundation, the new Republic made great efforts to change this image and a priority of the new order was to create an alternative model for women. Legal changes relating to women, called the "woman's revolution", included the Law on the Unification of Education (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*) enacted in 1924, the Clothing Reform (*Kıyafet Kanunu*) adopted in 1925, and the Civil Code (*Medeni Kanun*) of 1926. Respectively, they involved: the secularization of the education system which provided equal education opportunities for women and men; the abandonment of the obligation of women to dress according to Islamic rules; while the adoption of the Civil Code meant that women were no longer accorded a lower status as prescribed by religious rules, which had now been replaced by judicial ones meaning that women had equal rights to men before the law (Tekeli, 1985, p. 1191). As a consequence, women started to be more visible in public life than ever before and, in this context, it can be asserted that women were the most important representatives of Turkish modernization. The transformation in the status of women that occurred in just a short period of five or six years can be regarded as proof of the nation's intentions to be integrated into the "civilized" world.

When approached from a public relations perspective, it was a strategic choice to depict the transition of Turkish society to the world through women because it was easier for the West to understand the visual codes that corresponded to this transformation and story of Westernization. Thus in promotional materials, Turkish women, who were dressed in a modern style and were elegant, self-confident with modern hairstyles, were brought to the forefront much more than men. The story of the transformation of women was actually the visualization of the story of the new Turkey.

Whilst the Republic of Turkey, during the first years of its establishment, integrated women into its efforts for self-promotion, there was one public relations tool that wholly depended on women and was different from all other national promotional tactics. This tool was the beauty contest. As will be mentioned in detail later, Turkey started to tell its modernization story in the international arena by making its young woman internationally visible by means of Turkey's first beauty contest held in 1929. As Shissler (2004) states, the

Turkish contests were fundamentally an exercise in nationalism and the projection of a “modern”, positive national image rather than an exercise in consumerism. The main mission of the “Miss Turkey” contests was to demonstrate a new image of modern Turkey in which it was seen advantageous to adopt a Western image and demonstrate equality with other modern nations. The contest also demonstrated a strong desire to engage with the “civilized” Western world as the women selected in the beauty contests had the potential to represent “the modernized and civic Turkey” in a visually attractive manner.

The announcement of Turkey’s first beauty contest was made on the front page of the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper on 4 February 1929. Although the popular wisdom in Turkey is that Yunus Nadi Abalıođlu undertook the organization of the beauty contest upon President Kemal Atatürk’s request, there is no written proof of this. Yet, it is considered that Atatürk played a role during this process because of his close relationship with Yunus Nadi Abalıođlu and the important part that *Cumhuriyet* played during the first years of the Republic. Andrew Mango argues that Yunus Nadi Abalıođlu, the founder of *Cumhuriyet*, was along with Halide Edip, one of Atatürk’s chief publicists (1999, p. 275). He was also one of the names associated with the establishment of the Anadolu Agency and he was also the elected head of the Guidance Committee.

Even though the new Republican regime, announced after the War of Independence, was welcomed excitedly by the public, it was considered necessary to create a newspaper that would promote the regime and influence public opinion during the implementation of the new system. The task was assigned to Yunus Nadi and *Cumhuriyet* began publication on 7 May 1924. A year later Yunus Nadi published *La Republique*, a French edition of *Cumhuriyet*, in order to publicize the revolution and introduce Turkey to foreigners. As was its brief, the newspaper had a leading role in the diffusion of the Republic’s reforms: for instance, in 1928, during the transition to the Latin alphabet, the newspaper was fully mobilized in support of this reform. The newspaper gave the same support to other issues such as the Surname Law, the abolition of titles and names, the adoption of the metric system, and the establishment of Sunday as the end of the week. Thus, in effect, the newspaper was the unofficial publication of the ruling party (Emre Kaya, 2011, p. 76-77) and as such, the first beauty contest organized by Yunus Nadi can be considered to have been done at the regime’s request.

The article in *Cumhuriyet*, “Why shouldn’t Turkey be represented among international beauties?” (7 February 1929) mentions the following: “...among the winners of beauty contests who were sent to international contests and are assumed to be a national issue for all countries of the world, Turkish beauty should necessarily be included, this should also be considered as a national issue for us” (p. 1). This statement is clear evidence that beauty contests were presented as an opportunity for national promotion. The elected beauty would perform “a national duty” and by participating in international contests (and perhaps winning) would make the whole world see the changes that the Republic of Turkey had undergone in a short period of time.

The organization of a beauty contest in Turkey, and the reason given for the winner’s participation in international contests, drew reactions from the conservatives of the period. Yunus Nadi noted how there were objections to the contest from his conservative friends who argued that instead of beauty contests: “...our priority should be sending explorers, inventors, pilots, scientists, authors, thinkers and artists to the international arena not beauty queens.... So, has Turkey already proved itself in all these areas and therefore all that is left to achieve are beauty contests?” (*Cumhuriyet*, 12 February 1929, p.3) These criticisms led Yunus Nadi Abalıođlu to defend the contest in the newspaper citing its potential positive impact on Turkey’s image: “Turkey is obliged to present itself to the world, to say that it is a modern

nation and to make propaganda by all means. Ultimately, the participation in this contest is for propaganda; it has benefits and at least there is no harm” (12 February 1929, p. 3).

After this, news about the beauty contest appeared every day on the front page of *Cumhuriyet*. On 16 February it became possible for women to put their names forward although those who were eager to join the contest, but were shy, could use a pseudonym. On 18 February, the newspaper reported that the selection committee was comprised of men and women, and the next day, in order to encourage more participation, pointed to the Greeks, the historical “enemy” of Turkey, by providing a picture and personal information about the Greek beauty queen Aspaya Karaca saying “we should not remain behind in anything the Greeks have done” (19 February 1929, p. 1).

The first Miss Turkey beauty contest was held by *Cumhuriyet* on September 2 1929 and the jury, comprised of writers, poets, theatrical actors, journalists and doctors such as Abdülhak Hamit, Cenap Şehabettin, Peyami Safa, İbrahim Çallı, Bediha Muavit, and Vala Nureddin, elected Feriha Tefvik as the first Miss Turkey (3 September 1929, p. 1). The jury’s composition of well-known names that were close to the regime showed the importance given to the contest. For example, Abdülhak Hamit was an important figure in the birth of modern literature, İbrahim Çallı was an iconic name in painting, and Bediha Muhavvit was the first Muslim theatre actress in Turkey.

Cumhuriyet on 4 September 1929 announced in a banner headline that the contest had achieved its objective of introducing modern Turkey to the world:

The reporters of all European and American newspapers, whether or not they were part of the press corps during the contest, applied to our administration yesterday for permission to take photos of the beauty queen and her friends, and also wanted the photographs taken during the election (p. 4).

The meaning of this was clear: photographs of Turkey’s modern women would be in the news sections of European and American newspapers and these newspapers could write that issues such as the harem and polygamy were now in the past. In the days following, the newspaper cited examples of the favorable publicity that Turkey had received, and the news on 15 September 1929 included an article about the beauty contest written by the French *Le Petit Paris* newspaper:

Turkey has a beauty queen... if it is taken into consideration that Turkish women wore headscarves and Muslims denied taking pictures of women five years ago, the importance of this issue can be understood...Today, not only in Istanbul, but also in Ankara, Izmir, Samsun and Adana, Turkish girls participate in all sports, dance the Charleston and work in public and private offices. (*Cumhuriyet*, 15 September 1929, p. 3)

The announcement of the 1930’s Miss Turkey beauty contest was published in the *Cumhuriyet* on 29 October 1929, with the pre-selection for the contest taking place at a ball on 9 January at which important politicians, military commanders, and members of parliament were among the attendees (p. 1). This was evidence of the importance given to the contest by the regime. Mübeccel Namık won the contest which was held on 12 January to become Turkey’s second beauty queen. In his main article of 13 January 1930, Yunus Nadi wrote:

We thought that revolutionary Turkey should not and could not remain behind in beauty contests held universally in each country after World War I...Why should

Turkey fall behind this new trend in the world? On the contrary, since Turkey announced huge reforms which created the independence of Turkish femininity that had been weak for centuries because of enslavement, Turkey should join this course with much more effort and excitement than any other nation and it should be demonstrated to the whole world that the world's opinions and beliefs held for centuries about Turkish women were nothing but myths. Turkish women have risen to the level of independent people in the independent countries of the whole world. Missing an opportunity that shows this fact would be a sin. (p.1)

Miss Turkey 1930 participated in the European beauty contest, which was seen as a means of introducing the new position of both Turkish women and Turkish products to Europe. Indeed *Cumhuriyet* had launched a campaign to send Miss Turkey to Europe with "domestic products and information", a campaign supported by Turkish producers (16 January 1930, p. 1). Miss Namık attended the European beauty contest held on 5 February, but the Greek contestant won. Even though *Cumhuriyet* reported that the Greek contestant was not at all beautiful, the newspaper continued to report participation in the contest favorably. It argued that even though Turkey did not win, the contest had made it possible to show the new face of Turkey to all of Europe: "When our femininity, which had been under enslavement for centuries, rose up to divine light from that dark prison, it showed that it was created with all the qualities of nobleness of all other women in the world" (Nadi, 1930, p.1). The news reports, which supported the idea that the purpose of the Turkish contest was to create publicity through reports and pictures in the foreign press, can be considered proof that this public relations strategy was effective. According to *Cumhuriyet*, the Austrian newspaper *Alpenländische Rundschau* published news about the Miss Turkey contest as follows: "There is a large and deep gap between the old period of burqa and veil and the period of beauty queen contests. Yet, the administration of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal succeeded in generating the connection between two periods by eliminating this gap in less than ten years" (19 March 1930, pp. 1-2). *Cumhuriyet* stated that similar news was also published in the *Herald Tribune* in the United States.

Later that year Mübeccel Namık participated in the world beauty contest held in Rio de Janeiro on 9 September 1930, where the Brazilian contestant won, and soon after on 11 September 1930, the announcement of the next Miss Turkey contest to be held in 1931 was made. The style of the announcement for the 1931 contest clearly shows the significant role that the contests had for Turkey's national public relations effort with the newspaper inviting Turkish girls to see the contests as Turkey's public relations agencies:

Turkish beauties joining international contests in Europe have a mission of introducing not only Turkish beauty but also the Turkish race to the world. In fact, there are people who assume we are black even in places that are not far away from Turkey, so our participation in international beauty contests was real wisdom. The second mission of Turkish beauties is to display to the world that the Turkish people are white as well as a civilized and intellectual nation. (*Cumhuriyet*, 11 September 1930, p. 2)

Although the contest did not attract as much attention as the previous year, teacher Naşide Saffet won the contest held in January. Despite discussions about whether a teacher's participation in a beauty contest was an appropriate one or not, Miss Saffet took part in the contest held in Paris where she came fourth. Her brother-in-law Mr Fatih sent a letter to the *Cumhuriyet* from the contest which shows how significant these beauty contests were as an important public relations channel in this period:

The majority of the people in Europe suppose that Turkish women are still wearing the burqa and veil, and they are surprised when they see Miss Naşide dressed like a beautiful, chic European woman. It is necessary to come here to understand that the participation of Turkey in this contest is a significant act. Although lots of Turkish lira are spent from the national treasury in order to show Turkish reforms to the world, no efficient propaganda could have done as much as a Miss Turkey queen did. In our country, it is necessary that these kinds of contests are not disparaged. On the contrary, they are the instruments of very productive publicity. (2 March 1931, pp.1&4)

Even though Turkey joined these contests actually to change its image in the West, the contests made a tremendous impact on the East. According to *Cumhuriyet* (16 March 1931), an article in the magazine *L'Afrique du Nord Illustré* published in Algeria stated that: "Watching a Turkish beauty queen showing her beauty to the public without a veil like European women constituted a brand new image for Algeria's native Muslim population" (pp.1&3).

The 1932 beauty contest was announced on 13 December 1931. In the days following the announcement, the *Weekly Magazine* (published in the USA) printed the pictures of Turkish beauties and, as the proof that the contest was working for the purpose of Turkey's public relations, wrote that: "Ultramodern Miss Turkey proved that femininity in Turkey has made enormous progress in recent years. Turkey has been renewed rapidly. Miss Naşide Saffet is a modern and intellectual woman" (p. 2). Unfortunately the 1932 beauty contest did not attract the expected attention and initially no Miss Turkey was selected to be sent to the European contest. According to the news report on 17 June of that year, M. Maurice de Waleffe, president of the Europe and World beauty contest jury committee, wrote a letter to *Cumhuriyet* and requested that "Turkey should join the contest and not miss the opportunity of doing very effective publicity in favor of Turkey and Turkish women" (17 June 1932, p.1). As a result, the newspaper announced that it would rerun the contest thus taking into consideration the contest's great contribution to promoting and changing Turkey's national image:

The pictures of our beauty queens and articles about Turkish femininity have been published in all world newspapers for years and they help us to introduce ourselves to people who haven't known us. It is necessary to spend millions in order to have these kinds of publications in all the world's newspapers. (18 June 1932, pp.1-2)

Keriman Halis was selected as Miss Turkey in a beauty contest held in July 1932. She was an ideal symbol of Turkey's transformation as her uncle Muhlis Sabahattin Ezgi was a renowned operetta composer and her aunt Neveser K kdeş was a well-known musician and composer; in addition she was also fluent in French and Turkish. Keriman Halis went on to win the *International Pageant of Pulchritude* world beauty contest held in the Belgian city of Spa on 31 July 1932. The contest was one of the oldest events of its type and was considered to be highly prestigious. *Cumhuriyet* (1 August 1932) ran a headline saying "Miss Turkey Keriman Halis was elected the world beauty", while newspapers worldwide announced the success of Keriman Halis and so the entire world heard that a Turkish woman had won a major beauty contest.

Yunus Nadi (2 August 1932) wrote about how the beauty contest had attained its final public relations objective at the end of four years: "After the Turkish woman had been liberated from this prison and enslavement that Europeans remember of harem life, it was necessary to use every opportunity to show that the Turkish woman wasn't different from

European and American women in any way and that she was very superior.” The newspaper reported Mustafa Kemal’s pleasure at Keriman Halis’ success on its front page. The next day, Peyami Safa, an important writer of that period, described the public relations “victory” in his *Cumhuriyet* article (3 August 1932) saying: “What Keriman Halis proved to the world was not only individual beauty. She revealed the difference between the Turkish woman considered until that day as a barnyard fowl used for only breeding in a cage, and an intelligent and active Turkish girl participating in current international activities” (p. 3).

A report published in 1933 in the *Perry County Democrat*, an American weekly local newspaper, can be seen as proof that Turkey had advanced considerably in reaching its public relations goals with regard to beauty contests. It shows that the publicity effort of the Turkish Republic even reached small towns at the other side of the world:

Much more than was first supposed follows the dropping of the veil from the face of Turkish women under the regime of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal, President of the Republic of Turkey...what a revolutionary change this is becomes more striking when it is recalled that only ten years ago a Turkish woman could appear unveiled only before other women, her father, and brothers. At 15 or 16 she was married by arrangement to a man she had never seen. ... So the Turkish woman is moving rapidly toward complete emancipation. Already she has acquired one notable victory at the expense of women chosen from various Western countries and we read ‘Keriman Halis Hanım the Turkish Beauty Queen for 1932, was elected Miss Universe. In her return from Turkey to Spa she was given a civic welcome and an ovation of which a great Commander, returning from a long and arduous campaign, might well have been proud. The reception accorded her was not prompted merely by national pride at the success of a Turkish girl in a world beauty competition: her triumph was regarded as a symbol of the new freedom of which Turkish women have won, and a proof of the world that Turkey has shaken off the shackles which kept her so long from taking her place among civilized nations. (*Perry County Democrat*, 3 May 1933, p. 1)

The beauty contest of 1933 was a spiritless affair and subsequently, the purpose of publicizing the new Turkey having been achieved, the *Cumhuriyet* lost interest in organizing beauty contests and no other Miss Turkey competition was organized in Turkey until 1951.

Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to show how beauty contests were used as a public relations strategy by the new Republic of Turkey, from the end of the 1920s to the beginning of the 1930s, as a means of presenting itself to the world. The Republic aimed to show that it was a new country, eager to integrate into the Western world, modern and independent from its Ottoman roots, and wishing to highlight the dramatic societal changes that had taken place since its founding. The national public relations strategy for changing foreign perceptions can be interpreted as highly creative and innovative. It was especially useful for the Turkish state to highlight the modern Turkish women as the face of Turkish modernity, particularly since those in the West had always been curious about what Turkish women were like behind the veil. Turkish beauty queens, starting from Feriha Tevfik, were therefore transmitters of the image of Turkey as a modern, westernized country that was eager to be a part of Europe.

It was very important to tell the story of its women since this was a means for the Republic to become visible in the international arena, and international beauty contests were a relatively low-cost public relations tool to achieve this. Given the conditions of the time, the contestants had to stay in various cities on their way to the country in which the contest was

held and by attending balls in these cities, visiting officials and joining in various other activities, they helped to make the Republic of Turkey visible in Europe, America and Africa. And the high point of this visibility was in 1932 when Keriman Halis was elected Miss Universe, the world beauty queen.

The Republic of Turkey had an opportunity to gain international publicity through beauty contests in a period when mass communication was limited. News about young women participating in both Miss Turkey and international contests were reported in European, American and African newspapers and magazines, with a special emphasis on the modernization of Turkish women. The language used in these news reports shows that participation in these contests successfully achieved its public relations objective. By 1933, the reports now stressed that polygamy, home confinement and modest dressing were a thing of the past, and highlighted that Turkey had become a “civilized” country.

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ABSTRACT

Public relations in dictatorships – Southern and Eastern European perspectives from 1945 to 1975

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Generally it has been observed that public relations activity thrives in democratic and more open political situations (Watson, 2014). Nonetheless there are examples in Europe of forms of public relations that existed in Eastern Europe during the Soviet era (Kocks and Raupp, 2013; Hejlová, 2014; Szondi, 2014) and in Spain, where the Francoist regime was not lifted until 1975 (Rodríguez Salcedo, 2014) and Portugal in the Salazar regime.

Using archival research, the paper investigates the roles of the Spanish pioneer Joaquin Maestre and his connection with influential French PR leader Lucien Matrat and the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) in the 1960s and 1970s in navigating a path for the introduction of public relations practices in restricted and very conservative political and social environments.

There were antecedents to modern public relations before the Spanish Civil War (Rodríguez Salcedo, 2008) but after World War II, Spain was excluded from post-war reconstruction programmes (e.g. the 'Marshall Plan') through which the US models of agency public relations and publicity was introduced into many Western European markets (Rodríguez Salcedo and Xifra, 2015). Eastern Europe was also closed to Western influences at the end of World War II and developed some of its own models of 'economic propaganda' and 'socialist public relations' in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary (Hejlová, 2014; Kocks and Raupp, 2013; Szondi, 2014).

Nonetheless, Maestre was influenced initially by regular travel abroad and contact with European practitioners (Rodríguez Salcedo, 2014) and practitioners such as Sir Fife Clark (UK), Lucien Matrat (France), and Roy Leffingwell (US), and in membership of IPRA. This led to IPRA holding a major meeting in Barcelona in 1966, which placed Spain on the international map of public relations. Therefore IPRA played a vital role in the development of Spanish public relations and opening it to democratic influences.

A comparison will be made with the experience of practitioners in Portugal, which laboured under the Salazar regime, Greece, which a military junta from 1967 to 1974, and Eastern Europe, where propagandist models were dominant. In this regard, these comparative

experiences can demonstrate the conditioning factors for the development of public relations in nondemocratic contexts.

The paper will contribute to the history and historiography of public relations through its exposition of the compromises that practitioners made in restricted environments and the role of public relations industry organisations in assisting the opening of political and social discourse.

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Defining Public Relations in and through History

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Public relations historians “come to historical texts with different philosophies of history, different social, political, and moral philosophies, and even different assumptions about epistemology and ontology,” Ron Pearson has written (1990, p. 28). As a result, he said, “there is no single, privileged interpretation of public relations’ past” (Pearson, 1992, p. 113). More recently Vos (2011) argued that public relations historians make even more basic decisions about historical explanation, frequently without questioning or even realizing they are making a decision. In this essay we address another layer of decision-making that we believe must be excavated: choosing what qualifies to be part of public relations history.

A fundamental problem for public relations historians is the lack of a clear definition of the field. “The difficulty in defining public relations has led to differences among historians in identifying the historical arrival of public relations as a social institution,” Vos (2011, p. 121) has written. Some think current approaches are too broad; while others think they are too narrow. For instance, Brown (2015) described current definitions of the field as creating “*a suit much too small for the realities of PR*” (p. xvi [emphasis in original]). Are there standards that can be applied across time and place to determine whether a past initiative is part of public relations history before it is analyzed by historians, regardless of their approach? How do we know what public relations is and, to borrow from Ivy Lee (1925), what it is not? Building on Lamme and Russell’s (2010) monograph that reviewed secondary literature about public relations history, in this essay we propose an answer to these questions.

One of the stumbling blocks to defining public relations has been an almost constantly changing series of names for the field. Historical terms have included press agency, publicist, propagandist, and press bureau, while more recently we hear about public affairs, strategic communication, and public information officers. “A key issue is that of nomenclature,” L’Etang (2008, p. 329) noted, asking: “is it appropriate to describe an activity as ‘public relations’ prior to the existence of the term?” Perhaps the term should not be the defining factor. Myers (2014) has demonstrated that at least in the United States, the term “public relations” was already being used in the press as early as the 18th century; by the 1830s it was being used in the same context as today’s meaning, building reputation and relationships. These findings support Lamme and Russell’s (2010) contention that public relations did not emerge whole cloth in US corporations around the turn of the 20th century (and even then it should be pointed out that Ivy Lee, the US “father of public relations,” called his work corporate publicity, not public relations; see Russell & Bishop, 2009). Instead, they found, public relations existed across time in deliberate approaches to influencing public sentiment

toward an intended result in non-corporate sectors. People who employed such efforts before the 20th century had *not*, as Bernays concluded, “unconsciously practiced the principles of public relations” (1927, p. 286). Therefore, to exclude them from consideration in public relations history is both inaccurate and unfair. As Coombs and Holladay (2012) argue, “Agencies and corporations named public relations in the US, therefore, they get to control the field by dominating its history” (p. 350), and, they add, “Public relations strategies and tactics developed by activists are co-opted by corporate interests and attributed to corporations. Activists become marginalized actors... rather than driving forces.”

The primary purpose of Lamme and Russell’s (2010) monograph was to debunk once and for all the theory of a progressive rise of public relations based on periodization of the field, apparently first promulgated by Bernays (Hoy et al., 2007). They examined English-language literature on global public relations prior to 1900 – allowing the historians themselves to determine what constituted PR – and concluded that the field developed in a variety of sectors and across times and places; that there are no clearly defined periods of development except by the field’s context in larger historical eras; that the field did not progressively improve; and that corporations and agencies were neither the creators nor necessarily even the culmination of the field’s development.

In the five years since publication of the monograph, several more attempts to define what PR is and what it is not have emerged, focusing especially on function. Brown (2014, p. xv) proposes that scholars think about public relations not just as “a container for managerial abstractions—objectives, strategies, and tactics—but as the lived, dramatic experience of human beings in the social world,” offering a set of (at least) 20 principles in which “PR comprises not only some things but *everything, everyone, everywhere and every time*” (Brown, 2014, p. 3, italics in original). In referencing Coombs (2012), Brown is not subscribing to the cynically dismissive idea that “everything is PR” so much as challenging us to consider public relations as “multidisciplinary, extra-organizational, suprafunctional” (Brown, 2014, p. 20). Similarly, Edwards (2012, p. 13) calls for moving beyond function to “flow” in thinking about public relations and, in so doing, escaping from the confines of “organizational context.” Even in its process to create an official definition, the Public Relations Society of America in 2012 rejected the word *function* in favor of *process* to avoid the top-down implications of the phrase “management function.”

Nevertheless, a key aspect of decades of attempts to define the field has been the concept of “function.” Ivy Lee (1925) explained that the actions someone takes in public relations are equivalent to the field: what public relations *is* equals what it *does*. “In my judgment the function is the whole thing,” Lee said (p. 26). However, Cutlip & Center (1958), authors of one of the longest-running, best-selling introductory textbooks in the United States, warned of confusion caused by referring to public relations as both the means and the ends. Public relations, they said, is a management function, an “integral part of the administrative function,” similar to “personnel management or budgetary control” (p. 12). It is distinctive from the tools of the practice that are often considered to be synonymous with it, specifically, “publicity, press-agentry, propaganda, and institutional advertising,” it is “*an operating concept of management*” that essentially applies to anyone in an organization, and it is a “*specialized staff function in management*” for which “managers hire skilled practitioners” (Cutlip & Center, 1958, pp. 5-6, emphasis in original). The idea of public relations as “a management function” is not unique to these authors; the idea pervades other US textbooks as well (e.g., Aronoff & Baskin, 1983; G. Griswold, & D. Griswold, 1948; Heath and Coombs, 2006; Lattimore, Baskin, Heiman, Toth, & Van Leuven, 2004; Marston, 1963, 1979; Simon, 1976; Wilcox, Ault, & Agee, 1986, 2012). The concept of what constitutes public relations—its function, its purpose—is, as Ivy Lee (1925), observed, not necessarily clearly delineated from what it does, especially outside the world of textbooks.

This separation of what PR is from what it does correlates to Bentele's (2013) separation of functional public relations from PR as a practice or profession. Bentele's stratification model argues that public relations "evolved historically from interpersonal forms of human communication" (p. 250), and should therefore be examined both as an integral part of the history of communication and functionally, in the context of other social systems, including politics, economics, culture, and science. He argues that a larger communication system must underlie an "evolution" of public relations along with other forms of public communication. Similarly, Raaz and Wehmeier (2011, p. 270-71) suggest that scholars should start with the function itself, arguing that we can study "certain PR-instruments in their historical evolution, knowing that these instruments can only be termed 'public relations' if they are found in the specific arrangement with other elements, which together, form the PR system." And, they argue that it is important to differentiate between what public relations is, "a social system consisting of a specific set of aligned communication techniques and programs," from what public relations does, "the single PR techniques and attitudes within this set" (2011, p. 270).

Lamme and Russell (2010) also used the term "function," but in reference to the functions *of* public relations rather than public relations *as* a function. They identified common functions over time and across sectors of practice—evidence of media relations, for example, or community outreach or reputation management. They suggested that *who* performed the function varied widely, but that a clearly identifiable, common skill set emerged: "those who understood the power of persuasion, who realized the importance of identifying and the engaging key publics as allies, who understood the value of reaching those publics through messages and channels that would be meaningful to them, and who understood the strategies involved in doing these things effectively, such as choosing between pathos and logos or interpersonal and mass communications" (p. 352). They identified these activities as "precedents" – as opposed to "antecedents" (Cutlip, 1995; Raucher, 1952, p. 1); "proto-PR" (Watson, 2013, p. 3); or "precursors" (Salcedo, 2012, p. 280) – defining these efforts as legitimate parts of public relations history, not merely early attempts at developing what would later become "public relations."

Historians have also made a distinction between doing public relations and having a PR mindset. In a follow-up to their monograph, Russell and Lamme (2013) analyzed 20th century US business responses to the civil rights movement and offered the term "public relations mindedness" (a term also used by Tedlow, 1979, p. 14) to describe how sophisticated and strategic public relations efforts emerged within the civil rights movement from people who were not educated to be nor self-identified as public relations professionals. Cutlip & Center (1958) similarly identified public relations thinking, a way of understanding a need that could be fulfilled with deliberate strategic and persuasive communication efforts. All of these concepts also appear to correlate with Bentele's (2013) notion of functional public relations.

There are several problems with defining public relations around function, not the least of which is the different ways the word "function" has been used. Focusing on PR *as* a function creates a false division between nonprofessional and professional public relations. In so doing scholars may inadvertently discount or delegitimize nonprofessional public relation practices in the political, reform and religious sectors around the world prior to the institutionalization of public relations. There *is* a difference between having a PR mindset and creating a PR department. However, the difference is in the degree of institutionalization and professionalization, not in the ability, strategic thinking or tactics of the practitioner. Perhaps Ivy Lee said it best in a slightly different context in 1925: "The main point is, not the name, whether you call him publicity man, or what not..." (1925, p. 26). A rose by any other name *would* still be a rose.

Focusing on the functions of PR can be equally problematic. Doing so can give too much emphasis to its tactics, which tend to be time- and place-specific. Myers (2014) argues that practitioners use the tools of their time; what is cutting edge in one time or place may be old news in another, but people either use what is available to them or innovate something new. Wehmeier and Raaz (2011) are correct when they say that the use of particular tactics does not a profession make. As they rather colorfully put it, scholars should not confuse attempts at religious persuasion with public relations for God (Raaz & Wehmeier, p. 270). Yet Salcedo (2008) argues, “the study of PR must, simultaneously, be a history of ideas and a history of praxis, an examination of the relationships between ideas and action” (p. 281).

Lamme and Russell (2010) pointed toward a way out of this conundrum. A secondary purpose of their study was to point the way “toward a new theory of public relations history.” Their review of the literature indicated that the adoption of PR-related activities was driven by five motivations: profit, recruitment, legitimacy, advocacy, agitation; a subsequent study added reducing fear (Russell & Lamme, 2013). Yet a motivation can also be considered an anticipated outcome. For example, if the driving motivation is to increase profit, then the essential measurement of effectiveness of public relations efforts to do so is that outcome—whether or not profits actually increased. Thus, we argue that rather than focusing on PR as a function or the functions of PR, public relations historians should consider the *strategic intent* of the practitioners, whether they are paid or unpaid, institutional or grass roots, trained or untrained, and holding or not holding an office, title or credentials. Strategic intent is a distinguishing characteristic of public relations; that is, communication tactics are employed with a specific outcome in mind, and activities are not random but actively selected based on the results a communicator hopes to achieve. To return to Raaz & Wehmeier’s illustration, there is a middle ground between religious persuasion and public relations for God: a strategic campaign undertaken for a specific religious purpose with defined, planned outcomes, such as those outlined in Lamme’s (2014) *Public Relations and Religion in American History*.

However, strategic intent alone cannot define public relations because other forms of persuasive communication, most notably propaganda, may also have highly strategic intent. Moreover, focusing only on strategic intent may have the unintended effect of privileging the organizational perspective (Toth, 2009). We recognize that a communicator’s expected outcomes are meaningless without a response (whether in agreement or otherwise) by those to whom the messages are directed. Efforts to boost legitimacy, profit, or recruitment, for example, *must* engage others, as do letter-writing campaigns or self-published advocacy newspapers. Even when fear was the motivating factor that drove the adoption of public relations, those efforts were found to result in community outreach and new business models or hiring practices (Russell & Lamme, 2013).

Therefore, in addition to considering the strategic intent of the communicator, we add a second factor, human agency. We argue that people must have a choice in how they respond to persuasive messages in order for a program to qualify as public relations. We see public relations as an alternative to violence or coercion; for communication to be persuasive instead, its audiences must have the ability to respond, reject, seek alternative information, share their own opinions, and make independent decisions without coercion or fear of violence. As Taylor and Kent (2014) proposed, persuasion falls along a continuum, and propaganda’s purpose is limiting “individual freedom and choice” and constructing “messages designed to generate adherence and obedience.” At the other end of the continuum they place dialogue, which puts “emphasis on meaning making, understanding, cocreation of reality and sympathetic/empathetic interactions” (p. 389). We agree with Taylor and Kent that public relations lies closer to this end of the continuum. This is not to say that people will always make the best choices, or even take the opportunity to initiate or respond to

communication, only that they have the chance to make a choice or have a role. Looking at the past, then, we argue that for people, cases or campaigns to be included in public relations history, they must have both high strategic intent and high human agency. High strategic intent with low human agency is propaganda (see L'Etang, 2008); and low strategic intent, even with high human agency, is just someone using a tactic, like a parade, that might be used by PR people, but without strategic purpose.

We argue that this approach, combining strategic intent of communicators and human agency of publics, allows scholars to identify what belongs in public relations history as opposed to what is part of the larger field of persuasive communication. We recognize that scholars such as Salcedo (2008) have argued that there can be no universal history of public relations and that it should be studied in the context of national histories, but we believe that defining public relations by its practitioners' reliance on expected outcome offers a way to build a more global understanding of the field's history, because it allows for the development of "real" public relations outside of the turn-of-the-twentieth-century United States. The overrepresentation of US history, especially US corporate and agency history, in the global story of the rise of public relations is well documented (L'Etang, 2008; Miller, 2000; Salcedo, 2008). To overcome this problem, scholars must be willing to adopt a broader definition of public relations than people and organizations who self-identified as engaging in "public relations." That is, because paid, institutionalized public relations appears to have developed first in the US around the end of the 19th century, if we consider only "professional" public relations, then the field appears to have originated in the United States. Yet the literature examined in Lamme and Russell (2010), not to mention much of the research presented at IHPRC in the past six years, indicates that this is simply not the case, and theories about the history of PR must take this into account. As Salcedo (2008) concluded, "By admitting an American origin for the discipline, we may forget the phenomena in other countries, which, under different titles, were true predecessors" (p. 280), and, we would add, in the United States as well. We believe that the strategic intent/human agency approach can apply to many national histories. As an example, Halff & Gregory (2014) reviewed the PR historiography of Asian countries, asserting, "...Asian-Pacific practices are not anomalies. They are a product of a unique history and have their own characteristics" (p. 403). In particular, they point out that governments and public administrations were more pivotal in the development of PR in those countries than in the West. Our approach could encompass this difference because we are less interested in who practiced PR or what they called it than in the why and the how.

There are other strengths to this approach. Including campaigns and programs prior to 1900 allows historians to include non-professional communicators and people outside formal institutions, which in many cases means people outside of traditional sites of power. For example, it allows us to consider the advocacy press, advertising, religious proselytizing, and other areas of persuasive communication that did not ultimately become professional public relations but that may have contributed to its development. It thus helps us to avoid the pitfalls of "historical inevitability and determinism" (L'Etang, 2008, p. 322); as Tedlow (1979) reminds us, the adoption of public relations as a business strategy was a choice. It is likewise a choice for those outside traditionally powerful institutions who choose persuasive communication campaigns over rioting, political assassination, or other forms of violence that could also have been employed to create change.

A final strength of strategic intent/human agency is that it dovetails with critical-cultural approaches, which focus on issues relating to power, violence and hegemony, and gender, and rhetorical analyses, which see public relations as a process of meaning making. "There is some difficulty in defining Critical Theory due to its broad and varied development," L'Etang (2005, p. 521) explains; it is best seen as an interdisciplinary

approach that aims to transform structures that limit human potential. In public relations, generally speaking, critical perspectives “focus on the symbolic processes of organizations” for the purpose of disrupting “our beliefs about organizations and publics” (Toth, 2009, p. 53). Thus, from a critical perspective public relations is usually seen as part of a system of powerful institutions, primarily corporations (Edwards, 2006; Ihlen & Verhoeven, 2009). However, some critical scholars, including Holtzhausen (2002), argue that we should not look at public relations strictly as a function of organizations, and Curtin and Gaither’s (2008) analysis of the Arla Foods crisis following the controversial publication of cartoons depicting the Prophet Muhammad concluded, “...power does not always lie in the hands of the large multinational corporation” (p. 131).

A strategic intent/human agency model can also encompass rhetorical approaches to the study of PR history. “The study of rhetoric,” Toth (2009, p. 50) explains, “concerns itself principally with how individuals, groups, and organizations make meaning, through argument and counter-argument, to create issues, resolve uncertainty, compete to achieve a preferable position, or to build coalitions – to solve problems.” As with critical-cultural research, rhetorical scholars tend to focus on “the symbolic and relationship-building aspects that organizations engage in to achieve specific political or economic goals” (Ihlen, 2011, p. 456). However, Toth asserts that rhetorical scholars also pay attention to publics “as active participants in constructing the meanings of their relationships with organizations” (p. 51), which meshes well with our approach of considering both strategic intent and human agency.

It was not our purpose to address the problem of what constitutes PR history from a rhetorical or critical-cultural frame; in fact, this approach emerged from an analysis of historical scholarship that utilized many different ways of understanding. Not surprisingly, then, our approach does not always fit with critical-cultural or rhetorical approaches. For example, Michel de Certeau (1984) in *The Practice of Everyday Life* defines strategy as the use of power relationships emanating from a subject with both will and power, giving as examples a business, an army, a city and a scientific institution. He argues that strategic decisions help delimit one’s place in the world. By contrast de Certeau sees tactics as a calculated actions that move the subject into the outside world; he claims that “a tactic is the art of the weak” (loc. 707) determined by the absence of power. However, by defining strategic intent as expected outcome, we believe it can be adopted by any group or individual, even and perhaps especially those without power.

In sum, in this essay we propose a way to determine what should be included in public relations history: a person, campaign or program should have high strategic intent and the public must have a high level of agency. Strategic interaction between communicators and publics is a distinguishing characteristic of public relations throughout history. We argue that nonprofessional public relations can still be public relations, and that the degree of institutionalization or professionalization of the practice is less important than the strategic intent of the practitioner. At the same time, our approach considers both communicator and publics so that both are considered part of the field’s history. We believe that this will allow scholars to develop an inclusive, global history of the field while separating public relations history from persuasive communication more broadly.

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ABSTRACT

Towards an institutional history of PR? Five years of IHPR scholarships: categorizations and mental models of PR History

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Purpose

The aim of the paper is to propose an institutional framework for the analysis of historical research in Public Relations. Using the accepted submissions of the last five International History of PR conferences as a sample we analyse the key topics and thereby propose a mental model of the emerging institutional history of PR.

Research Questions

How did the field of PR history research develop in the last five years? Are there overarching themes, categorization and a minimum of common ground for scholarship? Or are we seeing a more and more ragged terrain of diverging topics? How can an institutional framework contribute to the analysis of PR history?

Conceptual framework

Recently several works tried to flesh out a body of knowledge for PR (e.g. Meadows & Meadows, 2014; Ye & Ki, 2012; Pasadeos, Berger, & Renfro, 2010; Sallot, Lyon, Acosta-Alzuru, & Ogata Jones, 2003) by using content and/or citation analysis. For PR history an overarching historiography (McKie & Xifra, 2014) faces severe challenges. However, thinking about PR history helps us to become more reflective of the practice itself (L'Etang, 2014). In his recent overview of the field Watson (Watson, 2014) invites scholars to "get dangerous", i.e. to tackle research problems outside the comfort zone of descriptive analysis of PR and to engage in meaningful research.

One possibility to discover research fields is the use of historical institutionalism (Hall & Taylor, 1996) in communication history (Bannerman & Haggart, 2014). Historical institutionalism is a specific line of institutional theory, which originated in political sciences but is applicable to all social sciences. Institutions are typically a meso-level phenomenon to mediate between individuals or organizations and societal structures (p. 2).

Distinct from other kinds of institutional theory the historical branch stresses three main points: First, historical developments are path-dependent, i.e. past decisions affect present actions and future consequences. These constraints might explain the varieties of public relations, which developed worldwide. Second, institutions embody societal power relations. PR does not exist in an empty space but is constrained by societal setups like the economic system, laws or the political system. Third, institutions are carriers of ideas that in turn constitute preferences of the actors, e.g. the idea of free markets affects international trade negotiations.

The benefits of an institutional perspective are twofold: First, it helps us to better understand the evolution and spread of certain PR practices over time. PR consultancy as an

example rose hand in hand with the neo-liberal corporative expansion and globalization in the late 20th century. PR consultancies did not build international networks out of their own will but because the globalization of the corporate elite required them to do so. This path dependency (globalization) affects directly international PR consultancy conglomerates. Secondly, PR can be understood as being part of the institutional framework by acting as a diffusion mechanism of certain ideas. For example state or government PR does not only promote a certain campaign but at the same time solidifies the ideological premises like neo-liberalism or social democratic values. It is important to keep this double-role of PR in focus when analysing PR history.

Methodology

We are using the proceedings of the last five International History of PR conferences as a sample. The accepted papers and/or abstracts are categorized by author(s), country of residence, topic and citations. The topical analysis includes time frame, country/region, person/organization, research methods, sources and theoretical foundation. For the analysis we are looking for topical clusters that help us to build a categorization system for PR history. The methods involved are content analysis, concept mapping and citation analysis.

Findings

Currently the paper is in its conceptual stage, this means we are preparing the guidelines for content analysis of the papers. However, anecdotal evidence hints towards a rather ragged landscape of PR History research. The full findings will be in the conference paper.

Implications and Limitations / Originality

The results are limited to the sample of the IHPRC proceedings and cannot be generalized. However, up to now only little efforts were undertaken propose an institutional framework for categorizing PR history research. By introducing historical institutionalism to PR history research we are hoping to contribute to a research framework for further advancing the field.

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Public Relations Activities during the Nation-Building Process in Turkey

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Construction of National Identity and Public Relations

Primordialist approaches which put forward the idea that the national identities are eternal and everlasting and which were accepted within academic circles in a widespread manner have lost their efficiency today. Modernist approaches, which endeavoured to understand the emergence of nations through concepts such as construct/construction, invention have occupied an increasingly prominent place within researches on nationalism. As a result, in recent discussions on national identities, such identities ceased be regarded as natural and eternal/everlasting realities, but rather as historically and socially constructed and re-constructed categories (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawn, 1992; Gellner 1997).

The definition of national identities as a constructed and re-constructed categories rather than natural and lasting realities paved the way for the emergence of researches focused around the production of such identities as well as their embracement by the citizens. Researches in various fields of social sciences including history, sociology, political psychology, anthropology attempted to find answers to these questions, with each discipline focusing on one aspect of the question which is most appropriate for them.

In communication sciences, the interest in the construction of national identities emerged within the field of public relations. Over the past 20 years “there has been a growing interest in the application of public relations in the nation-building process” (Taylor & Kent 2006: 342). Scientists have put forward that public relations played an indispensable and complementary role within the nation-building processes (Taylor, 2000; Taylor & Kent 2006, Toledano & McKie 2014; Chaka 2014). These views were reinforced through researches on the nation-building processes in various countries in Africa, Asia and Eastern Europe (such as Bulgaria, Malaysia, Israel, and North Africa).

Some theoretical studies were also carried out on the principles of public relations approach in nation-building. An example of such studies has been presented below:

Principles of Public Relations Approach to Nation Building

1. Nation building requires two levels of relationships: those between individuals and those between individuals and governments.
2. Individual relationships can be fostered through communication. Public relations can offer a strategic approach for relationship building. Communication campaigns, a function of public relations, are one vehicle for relationship building.
3. Relationships must be negotiated between individuals and between individuals and governments. Negotiation involves compromise, trust, and respect for the other parties. Communication campaigns need to be flexible and adapt to the needs of target publics.
4. Relationships are negotiated in a social context. This social context will affect the evolution of the relationships. Communication campaigns that foster relationships must be complemented, not contradicted, by social and political contexts

5. Campaigns that allow individuals to control their own relationships, foster trust, and provide for intimacy will be beneficial for relationship building and, ultimately, for nation building (Taylor, 2000: 207).

Studies highlighting the unique potential of the theory and practice of public relations in relation with the establishment, maintenance and preservation of the relations between governments and the public have made a particular reference to the contribution of public relation activities carried out during nation-building processes to the potential emergence of a modern and democratic regime.

The Republic of Turkey and Nation-Building

Following the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, the Republic of Turkey was officially established. The proclamation of the republic also meant the end of Ottoman Empire and the beginning of nation state building. The means of the nation state and construction of national identity in Turkey was Republican People's Party, which was founded by the modernist elites, whose formal years coincided with the last years of the Empire. Republican People's Party (CHP) remained in power as the single party until 1946, hence the denotation of the era as the single-party period (Tunçay, 2005).

Single-party era refers to the period of 23 years (1923-1946) before Turkey's transition to a multi-party regime. In this period, the scope of the modernization movement in the Ottoman Empire which were merely confined to military and technological renovations was expanded whereby the modernization of the social, political and cultural life as a whole was targeted. The basis of the ideology, politics and practices of this era is the construction of a nation state, a community of citizens proper for the nation state and the construction of the political culture of this newly-established state. The main actors of the process of re-construction, also referred to as the Kemalist modernization project, were a group of elites consisting of military staff, bureaucrat and intellectuals, who developed their ideas in the last years of Ottoman Empire and witnesses its demolition (Ahmad, 1995; Karpat, 1996; Zürcher, 1998).

Following the official establishment of the nation state in 1923, which constituted the first stage of Kemalist modernization project aiming to completely remove the existing political and social structure to replace it with a new order of state and society on the basis of the Western model, political elites embarked upon the long-lasting project of transforming the society with a view to creating the "nation of the state". The construction of a new nation and citizen not only meant the restructuring of the nation and the collective identities of the citizens, but it also included the endeavours to reconstruct the public sphere as well as many aspects of the private sphere and to reproduce the customs and traditions as well as daily practices of the citizens. "In the new Kemalist regime; the endeavours to create a new nation, a new culture and a new citizen were integrated, and in fact, intertwined" (Keyman & İçduygu, 1998: 17).

There is one common trait which the new citizen constructed by the Kemalist cadres was expected to have: a modern, progressive and Western-oriented (national) identity, which was needed to "reach the level of contemporary civilization", as expressed by the founding leader of the regime, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, at various times (Tanör, 2002).

Focusing on the socio-cultural sphere with a notion of social engineering based in positivist tradition, Kemalist movement first struggled to remove the traces of the traditional culture residual of the Empire, with the aim of creating a type of individual and culture suitable for the objective of the new regime, which was Westernization/modernization. Various reforms were implemented with a view to nationalization of the people by means of

such reforms. The movement mainly focused on the institutions in the superstructure and began to discharge the socio-cultural structure and institutions residual of the old social structure. Sultanate and caliphate were abolished and steps were taken with a view to secularizing the society through laws enacted with the aim of liquidating the impact of religion on education. This was followed by re-organization of the judicial system which put an end to Sharia Courts. The objective of these reforms put into effect before the enactment of the Constitution was to break with ideological and cultural ties with the Ottoman society. In addition to such reforms enacted in superstructures, reforms in social and cultural fields were also put into force. The adoption of the Latin script instead of Arabic alphabet, the law on weekend holiday (Friday, which is a sacred day in Islam was replaced by Sunday as holiday), the Hat Law (the requirement to wear hats instead of fez as in the Ottoman era), the adoption of international hour and calendar, adoption of international number, adoption of international measures, the Surname Law were among the most important reforms (Tanör, 2002: 183-230).

1920s and 1930s witnessed radical changes in Turkish society.

The liquidations aiming at establishing and constructing a culture lasted until 1930s. Following 1930s, the fundamental objective of the new holders of power was to have the public internalize the reforms as well as people's, society's and individual's integration into the regime by embracing new values, new beliefs and new behavioural patterns. The fundamental objective behind such endeavours, expressed in the words of the rulers as "the creation of the new individual, the new society", was not only change the behavioural patterns on the people but also their mind-set, the way they make sense of the world. One of the important parts of this change was the construction of a new cultural field for the new individual and the new society. The construction of the new individual and the new culture was also regarded as the principal method of the reproduction of the regime in the social and political sphere, its building and establishment on a solid basis. This is why great importance was attached to the reforms which were enacted in an attempt to re-organize the socio-cultural sphere.

Public Relations Activities during the Construction of the Nation

The beginning of the construction of a national identity in Turkey dates back to 1920s. The purpose of each reform enacted between 1923 and 1930 was to create the Western-oriented, modern individual idealized by the political elites. However, the reforms which were forcefully enacted between 1920 and 1930 were not readily internalized by the people. The top-down reforms changed the behavioural patterns of the people. For instance, the people began wear hats instead of fez, take a vacation on Sundays instead of Fridays and use Western calendar, hours and measures. However, this change in the behavioural patterns of the people were far from being internalized on the level of mentality and way of thinking. The fact that all kinds of movements emerged in opposition to the Single Party rule attracted mass interest and enthusiasm among people is a concrete indication of this. Comprehending this interest and enthusiasm, the political elites took on policies with a view to changing the mind-set of the people (Karpat, 1996; Tunçay, 2005). The main reason behind taking on such policies was the understanding that the regime would not stand without the support of the people. Having understood the fact that the existence and continuance of the regime could be ensured not only through socio-political and economic transformation, but also through internalization of such a transformation by the people, the political elites showed greater attention towards the people factor.

During the era following the proclamation of the Republic, the political elites made use of public relation activities as a part of the project of constructing a nation with the

purpose of making individuals to accept their project, internalize the enacted reforms, in other words, ensuring the "collective union of the nation in terms of affects and thoughts".

Many individuals, institutions and means might be taken as a basis for defining the public relations activities of the era. Nevertheless, the determination and analysis of all the public relation activities carried out during this era is well beyond the scope of this essay, because many instruments including but not limited to organization of education, cinema, political rhetoric and festivals were utilized. The instruments used differed in their form and content for the urban intellectuals and rural commons. Children, young people and women were identified as the target group as founders of the future society and special campaigns were enacted for these groups within the scope of activities which were organized differently according to the needs of different groups.

This study will focus on the construction of a nature and related public relation activities in four aspects. The first of these is Anadolu Agency; the second is the nationwide tour of the regime's leader; the third is the literacy campaign and the fourth is the activities carried out within the scope of Halkevleri (People's Houses) which was the most widespread cultural, political and social organization of the period.

1. The use of announcement: Anadolu Agency

The studies dealing with the history of public relations in Turkey generally associates its beginning with the proclamation of Republic often make a single reference to the establishment of Anadolu Agency on 6 April 1920, without making any further comments.

Anadolu Agency is a news agency established during the years of War of Independence with the purpose of propagandizing the war and presenting information to domestic and international public. The agency became the voice of the state through the informing and advertisement. In addition to the offices in Turkey, agencies were also established in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Geneva and New York. The agency not only provided news stories, but also books and brochures dealing with the war (Uzan ve Arşak Hasdemir, 2010: 88-89). Another function of the agency in relation with the domestic public was to inform the people about the developments in the war and promoting the reforms following the proclamation of the Republic. The agency was also used with an objective to remove the problems and crises with regard to planning and advancing the struggle as well as to ensure the proper communication among the participants of the struggle. This institution may be cited as the first example of fast, organized and institutionalized public relation activities during the process of nation building.

2. The Nationwide Tour of Atatürk, the Regime's Founding Leader

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the regime's founding leader relentlessly worked to promote and advertise the reforms and make the public internalize these reforms enacted with a view to modernization. Nationwide tours, press releases and public announcements are some of the examples of such endeavours.

Atatürk acted as a role model for the reforms and internalization of such reforms by the public for a modern and Western way of life. The main public relation activities of Atatürk was the persuasive talks he delivered at the parliament, at balls, at a dinner, at a mosque or in a meeting about the reforms to be implemented. He also tried to convey the same message to the general public by going on a nationwide tour. Between 1923, the year of the proclamation of the Republic and 1938, the year when he passed away, Mustafa Kemal visited a total of 52 provinces, some of which were visited more than once. He was accompanied by bureaucrats and specialists with a specific knowledge on the province to be visited (Gül, 2006: 54). During these nationwide tours, Mustafa Kemal had face-to-face

conversations with a variety of people including the young people at schools, workers at factories, peasants, and prominent intellectuals of the provinces he visited. He demanded people to ask questions and held meetings with the opinion leaders.

Nationwide tours were used as a means of promoting, advertising and spreading the reforms (novelties and changes). He also had a chance to find out about whether the reforms were internalized by the public. The use of public relations in governmental activities can be exemplified by the nationwide tours of Atatürk during single party period (Keloğlu İşler, 2010: 171). Another interpretation of these nationwide tours is that they were aimed to create a "domestic public opinion" (Gül, 2006: 52).

There are many nationwide tours which might exemplify how public relations were used during the construction of a national identity. The use of nationwide tours in relation with the Hat Reform will be analysed in the section. [Hat was the political symbol of the Republic during the process of modernization/Westernization. The hat was seen as the symbol of breaking away with the Eastern values and a way of integrating with the West. This was also supported by a law. According to Article 1 of the Law passed on 25 November 1925 at the National Assembly "The members of the Parliament, civil servants and employees in the general, special and local administrations and all other agencies shall wear the hat worn by the Turkish Public. Hat shall be the general cap of Turkish society, violation of which is prohibited by the Government." Turkish Grand National Assembly, Official Reports Diary, 25 November 1341 (1925), V. XIX, Book II, p. 231.]

For the construction of modern state, reform in the dress code, which was regarded as a fundamental element of modern life, was implemented. The objective of this reform was to make the people break with the traditional clothes associated with their daily habits and religious beliefs and embrace the dress code of Western societies. Atatürk carried out face-to-face conversations and meetings with opinion leaders for informing and persuading the public in relation with promoting and imposing this dress code.

Before the enactment of the law requiring wearing hats was passed, Atatürk took on nationwide tours to express his ideas about wearing a hat and to create a positive public opinion about the reform. Before this tour, news stories stating that preparations were underway for enacting a law stipulating wearing hats for civil servants were published. In 1925, Atatürk went a tour with a hat in his hand for the first time. In order to make the public internalize the reform, Atatürk wore a hat in every meeting he participated, carrying out face-to-face conversations and meetings with opinion leaders to persuade the public to begin wearing hats.

3. The Promotion Latin Script, Literacy Campaign and National Schools

The adoption of Latin script instead of Arabic alphabet used in the Ottoman Era (1 November 1928) is probably the most important of all the reforms, jointly referred to as Atatürk Reforms. This reform rendered the whole public illiterate at once and Atatürk acted as the pioneer of the adoption of Latin script, which required a different technique of reading and writing.

The Script Reform was initiated like a public relations campaign. On 8 August 1928, a concert was organized in Istanbul, during which the announcement of the Script Reform was made, followed by the distribution of the new alphabet to intellectuals and bureaucrats at a meeting. Atatürk also promoted the Latin Script on his nationwide tours. One of the most widely known images of nationwide tours is the Kayseri tour, where the Script Reform was first promoted. Atatürk introduced the new alphabet to the people of Kayseri almost one and a half month before the enactment of the Reform. As exemplified herein, Atatürk tried to

draw attention of the public to the future reforms at these tours and supported the Script Reform through face-to-face conversations with the public.

From 1 November 1928 on, an extensive literacy campaign was initiated for teaching of the new script. The chief establishment of the campaign was National Schools. The objective of the National Schools introduced on 1 January 1929 was to teach the people aged 16-45 who were not enrolled in formal schools how to read and write in Latin Script. The schools were organized as "fixed, special and mobile" classrooms to teach how to read and write to all the citizens "in front of their doors and while they are at work". The literacy campaign resulted in the creation of public spheres such as new school buildings, coffee houses, mosques and village chambers. The press was also used for support for the literacy campaign with news stories and columns supporting the campaign and special reading columns in newspapers. More than two and a half million citizens learned how to read and write during the course of the campaign.

4. Public Relation Activities through Institutions: Halkevleri (People's Houses)

Community centres entitled *Halkevleri*, literally meaning People's Houses, were established on 19 February 1932 by the state. 4800 People's Houses were opened until 1951 (Çeçen, 1990). The objective and function of People's Houses differed greatly and activities mainly focused on the young people and adults. The first of these objectives and functions is the reconciliation of the public with the regime. The other objective is to establish a dialogue between the elites and masses. Another objective is to facilitate the adaptation of people to modern life. "People's Houses was established for establishing political communication under the specific circumstances of the era... People's Houses was also used to mobilize the people with a view to remove the disconnection (or polarization) between the state and society" (Şimşek, 2002).

The activities of People's Houses were carried out through nine bureaus or branches. These branches are entitled as follows: language and literature, fine arts, performance, sports, social relief, people's courses, library and publishing, rural education, history and museum (for detailed information see. Karpat, 1963).

The means utilized by People's Houses during this era with a view to establish a connection with the people can be listed as follows: conferences, concerts, rural fests, rural tours, balls, screenings, open air cinemas, puppet shows, *Karagöz* shadow play, literature nights, theatre performances, tea parties, exhibitions, language courses (English, French, German, Italian), people's courses, football-volleyball-basketball-ping-pong tournaments, gymnastic courses, competitions (robust child, wrestling etc.), relief for the poor (medical relief, provision of clothes, food etc.), publication of magazines, brochures and newspapers, tracking bureaus (with the objective to help the country people with their businesses in cities), scouting courses etc. (Karaaslan Şanlı, 2012).

Conclusion

The term "campaign", which is often used in relation with the relationship between nation-building and public relations can be literally translated into Turkish as *seferberlik* (mobilization). This concept is intrinsically political. Mobilization is used to refer to a process organized on a top-down basis in which people are tried to be included. This concept essentially refers to the uni-directional nature of the public relation activities during the process of nation-building in Turkey (as in many nation-building processes). The new Republic of Turkey, which tried to construct a secular nation-state and national identity instead of a multicultural empire harbouring many a religion, utilized public relation activities first and foremost for the construction of a modern "public".

This article, focusing on the process of nation-building and public relations, which has mostly remained unanalysed, has been limited to a several significant public relations activities (including Anadolu Agency, activities of the founder of the regime), literacy campaign and People's Houses). Public relation activities were carried out through political speeches, ceremonies, celebrations, exhibitions, festivals and many other instruments unique to Turkish society. As it will be manifested in future studies, this era witnessed many examples of public relation activities.

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Contemporary Public Relations Education in the Philippines: Its Origins, Influences and Challenges

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Introduction

The history of the Philippines is one of colonial struggle. It's no wonder that the indelible marks of three and a half centuries of Spanish colonization followed by five decades of American occupation are still intensely palpable in every aspect of Philippine society. The aftermath of centuries of domination is no more pronounced than in the education of its citizens. This paper ventures to locate Philippine public relations education within this historical context.

There are only a few published studies on Philippine public relations. Of the sparse scholarly literature, Philippine PR education is given but a brief, cursory attention (e.g. Jamias *et al*, 1996; Sarabia-Panol, 2000; Sison, *et al*, 2011; Sison & Panol, 2014). By focusing entirely on the topic, this study is an attempt to ameliorate the dearth of research on PR education in the country. As a modest initial endeavor, this paper will trace the evolution of Philippine PR education, examine its influences and critically evaluate the content and status of the PR curriculum using a post-colonial lens.

Public relations is one of the Philippine imports from the United States after the Second World War. This study will interrogate how this Western transplant is addressing the dueling interests of multiple stakeholders and the competing priorities of a developing country steeped in the traditions of a colonial past.

Research Questions

Based on published materials and personal inquiries, this research will unravel how the legacies of the country's Spanish and American tutelage manifest in the nation's PR curricula. In particular, we will ponder and attempt to answer the following questions: Are there differences in the way public/secular and private/religious universities approach PR curricular

offerings? How is the public-private dichotomy carried over in the industry? What are the current trajectories of Philippine PR education?

This preliminary exploration of the PR education ecosystem in a small but growing industry in a developing country hopes to contribute to a greater understanding of the challenges that face Philippine PR education through a more nuanced look at the past. Through this study, we hope to highlight the need for PR education programs, which are basic requirements for professional PR practice in any country.

Method

This historical study used both primary and secondary research. Primary analysis was done on 22 graduate and undergraduate programs that either offered a degree, major or courses in public relations, corporate communication and integrated marketing communication as well as development communication and public affairs. Where available the curriculum and course descriptions were reviewed. The inventory of degree programs in Metro Manila universities and colleges from the Philippine Commission on Higher Education (CHED) and various university websites were the primary source materials. The focus given to Metro Manila is based on the urban-centricity of media-related industries and professions (Maslog, 2007). A few electronic and personal interviews with academics as well as industry practitioners were also made. Secondary research consisted of published materials on Philippine education and the public relations industry.

Colonial Influences on Philippine Education

Spanish Times

Historians have chronicled how Spain used the sword and the cross to gain imperial power and ensure the world dominance of the Spanish crown. The colonial policy of the United States, on the other hand, centered on “benevolent assimilation” (Miller, 1982). For both colonial masters, however, education was a potent weapon in their vast arsenal, which they used to complete the subjugation of the conquered archipelago.

The Spanish colonizers established schools and offered locals, particularly the Chinese, free education in order to convert them to Christianity. However, locals were discouraged to learn Spanish for fear that it would ‘foster a spirit of assertiveness and rebellion’ (Mojares, nd).

Since the establishment of the first Jesuit *colegio* in 1595 and the Dominican counterpart in 1619, the enormity of the influence of the Spanish religious orders in shaping education in the Philippines continues to this day. According to Simpson (1980) the Jesuits and Dominicans led the “Hispanization” of the islands. Even if they were outnumbered by the Franciscans and Augustinians they “totally monopolized the institutions of higher education until the end of Spanish times” (Simpson, 1980, p. 3).

The Jesuit-run Ateneo de Manila University and the Dominican-owned University of Santo Tomas (UST) continue to be venerable institutions of higher learning today. It is noteworthy that Ateneo’s Department of Communication offers advertising and PR as one of four concentrations in their curriculum. UST currently offers PR within an interdisciplinary bachelor’s degree in communication arts as well.

A welcome transformation in the Spanish colonial educational system came about with the Educational Reform Law of 1863. The law provided “a system of compulsory primary education with free instruction in Spanish language and grammar, Christian doctrine, arithmetic, geography, agriculture, music, the history of Spain, and courtesy” (Kramer, 2006).

This reform resulted in the emergence of the *ilustrados*, the new urban and educated elite class that counts among its ranks the country's national hero, Jose Rizal.

Under the Americans

The current American-style education system in the country, however, traces its beginnings to the Thomasites, who arrived in Philippine shores in 1901. Charles Burke Elliott wrote: "...The transport Thomas ... sailed from San Francisco with 600 teachers – a second army of occupation --- surely the most remarkable cargo ever carried to an Oriental colony" (Constantino, 2000, p. 3). The arrival of the Americans signaled the change from a friar-dominated education where religion was a bedrock to a more secular, universal one (Salamanca, 1968).

Although the U.S. recognized that it could not simply ignore the Roman Catholic traditions of the Spanish school system and the fact that the vast majority of the Filipinos were Roman Catholics, it nevertheless instituted the separation of church and state. The so-called Faribault Plan, which was in effect throughout Governor Howard Taft's administration, stated: "No teacher or other person shall teach or criticize the doctrines of any church, religious sect or denomination, or shall attempt to influence the pupils for or against any church or religious sect in any public school established under this act..." (Act No. 74 of the Philippine Commission, 1901 in Salamanca, 1968).

The American era also ushered the ascendancy of the public university with the establishment of the University of the Philippines (UP) in 1908 (Boudreau, 2003). To date, the premier university does not offer a PR degree.

As expected, English replaced Spanish as the medium of instruction. But the feudal system established under Spain was not dismantled and further perpetuated elitism and colonial mentality despite the introduction of democratic values. In addition to developing educational and mass media systems, the Americans also modernized the country's infrastructure, expanded international trade, improved healthcare and used communication to convince the population of the benefits of American 'benevolence.'

During the American occupation, several of the old Spanish colleges as well as the American-modeled universities such as the University of the Philippines morphed into "vehicles for providing higher professional education," which was a departure from their original mission as "training academies for administrators"(Boudreau, 2003). Professional schools of pharmacy, medicine, engineering and law were soon established. This change opened the doors for education to become one of the engines for social mobility for those outside the landed aristocracy.

Another significant aspect of American educational policy was the *pensionado* program, which started in 1903. By 1912, this government scholarship sent 209 Filipinos to obtain degrees or advanced training in the U.S. The *pensionado* program was applauded by many Filipinos, but most of all, by the upper class. Despite its egalitarian ideals, American educational policy hardly made a dent in the prevailing socioeconomic and political power structure in the country. Educational access remained for the most part in the hands of the privileged few (Salamanca, 1968).

Philippine Public Relations: An Industry Synopsis

Filipino PR practitioners consider 1949 as the year when modern public relations began in the country. Historical accounts tell us that the profession actually began as early as colonial times with the country's national hero, Jose Rizal (Sarabia-Panol & Lorenzo-Molo, 2004). In 1882, Rizal campaigned for the Filipino cause by taking advantage of the anti-clerical feeling

in Spain in what was later called the Propaganda Movement. PR during the Spanish colonial period can be characterized by propaganda to extend and maintain domination by the conquerors, on the one hand, and emancipation efforts of the colonized, on the other. Friar propaganda consolidated economic, religious and political power that only fueled the Filipino demand initially for representation in the Spanish Cortes and later the fires of the revolution against Spain (Sison & Sarabia-Panol, 2014).

In 1898, the Philippines gained independence from Spain. However, a new foreign power, the United States, soon took control of the islands. During this period, the Americans used PR to persuade the locals of the benefits of having the new colonizer as the U.S. pursued its benevolent assimilation policies in the country. As in the Spanish era, PR activities during this period were in the form of propaganda and persuasion in the interest of the colonial powers. Similarly, on the Filipino side, PR once again took on a major activist role. General Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the transition government, used PR tactics to persuade the U.S. to recognize Philippine independence.

In 1949, the Philippines set out to rebuild its economy after World War II. Although the war was over, the country was still facing serious internal threats from the Communist Hukbalahap rebellion (Nieva, 1999). The government was also losing popular support due to graft and corruption. Investment and business activity had come to a halt. To restore a more favorable business climate, government and business leaders formed the Philippine Association.

Led by then Ambassador to the U.S. Carlos P. Romulo and industrialist Andres Soriano of San Miguel Corporation, a public information campaign began in the U.S., then the largest investor in the Philippines. The campaign was orchestrated by Joe Carpio, hailed as the father of modern PR in the Philippines. The successful campaign helped spur economic development throughout the 1950s and sustained the practice of using PR to influence the American public, primarily legislators and the business community. To this day, the Philippine government is known to hire U.S. PR agencies to lobby on its behalf, a practice rife with criticism primarily because of the perception that government is siphoning limited resources away from high-priority needs of a developing country such as poverty alleviation, infrastructure and capacity building, healthcare, etc.

In the mid-1950s, a number of PR professionals met and following the PRSA model formed the country's industry association, the Public Relations Society of the Philippines (PRSP). The ensuing political climate where former President Ferdinand Marcos declared martial law from 1972-1986 saw PR practice dominated by government propaganda.

While the eventual return to democracy improved business conditions and increased a demand for public relations work, professional practice underpinned by strong educational frameworks was still wanting.

Public Relations Education: Origins and Influences

The need to professionalize PR practice in the country provided the impetus for the industry to demand that public relations programs be offered at the university level. Thus the path that academic PR programs took in the Philippines is much like other countries where the industry clamored for university training. But unlike journalism's and for that matter advertising's early start, it was only in 1977 that the PRSP secured a permit from the Ministry of Education allowing schools to offer PR as a specialization (Nieva, 1999). The first formal PR degrees were offered in three private universities: Arellano University, Santa Isabel College and St. Paul's College (Lorenzo-Molo, 2007; Sarabia Panol & Lorenzo Molo, 2004). To date however, only the latter offers a bachelor's degree in mass communication with a major in corporate communication.

Santa Isabel's Bachelor of Science in Public Relations was given government recognition in 1981 (CHED, retrieved April 27, 2015). It was then the only school in the Philippines offering a bachelor's degree in PR. Founded in 1632 to educate Spanish orphans and later Filipino girls in 1738, Santa Isabel is one of the world's oldest girl schools.

While journalism, film, media and communication arts programs abound, very few programs with a PR focus may be found. According to CHED, there are 2,180 higher education institutions in the country. Of this number, more than 50 Manila-based private and public academic institutions offer mass communication, journalism or communication arts degrees. Some of these B.A. or B.S. in mass communication degree programs were offered soon after the Philippines gained independence in 1945. The College of the Holy Spirit (Mendiola) had its communication arts and advertising program in 1947, Adamson University and St. Scholastica in 1949, De la Salle's advertising management and Philippine Women's communication arts in 1948.

Three more mass communication programs were added in the 1950s: Manuel L. Quezon University offered journalism in 1951, St Joseph's College's mass communication and Miriam College's (formerly Maryknoll) communication arts started in 1953 and UST's journalism and advertising arts in 1958. The then Institute of Mass Communication at UP-Diliman was founded in 1965 with a B.A. in journalism. A few more mass communication degree programs were started in the 1990s such as those at the Colegio de San Lorenzo and Universidad de Manila. The majority of the Manila-based 50 or so mass communication degree programs were established in the new millennium. These include Centro Escolar, Colegio de San Juan de Letran, Dominican College-San Juan, Feati University, St. Paul's University-Quezon City and the University of the East.

Presently, single courses or majors in public relations exist typically in mass communication departments but full degree programs are very few. The top universities such as UP-Diliman and Ateneo de Manila University still do not have formal degrees in PR despite having well renowned journalism, broadcasting and mass communication programs. Instead the UP College of Mass Communication only had two PR courses in the late seventies: Public Information and Public Relations Principles (Sarabia-Panol & Lorenzo-Molo, 2004; and *pers comm.* Rolando Tolentino). Apparently, while PR is popular among young people, journalism academics have strongly opposed its introduction as a separate degree.

In the 1990s, there were approximately 15 schools offering mass communication programs with PR as a subject of study (Nieva, 1999). Two programs offer PR as a major – the *Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Maynila* and Polytechnic University of the Philippines. PUP's program is a Bachelor of Science in Advertising and Public Relations. PLM, on the other hand, does not have a bachelor's degree in PR. It offers a bachelor's degree in mass communication with PR as a major.

The needle has moved very slightly as the CHED inventory of degree programs shows 22 academic institutions now offering PR courses. Of this total, only five are full degree PR programs and with the exception of Santa Isabel College, which had a B.S. in PR in 1981, all began offering the bachelor's in PR degree in the 1990s and 2000s. These are Colegio de San Juan de Letran with a Bachelor of Arts in Public Relations, Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP) with its Bachelor in Advertising and PR, San Beda with a B.S. in Marketing and Corporate Communication and University of Asia and the Pacific's bachelor's degree in Integrated Marketing Communication (IMC). Except for PUP, which is a state university and known as the "Poor Man's University", all the other institutions are private universities.

At the undergraduate level, the following private Catholic universities offer PR either as a concentration or major: Assumption College's Bachelor of Communication has an advertising and PR major, St. Paul University's B.A. in Mass Communication has corporate communication, St. Scholastica's B.S. in Commerce has Corporate Communication Management and Ateneo de Manila's B.A. in Communication has advertising and PR as one of four concentrations. De la Salle, on the other hand, has a B.A. in Organizational Communication with courses in PR, Issues Management and Campaign Management.

Silliman University, a prominent Protestant university, which holds the distinction as a pioneer journalism and mass communication school outside Metro Manila, offers courses in PR, Communication Campaigns and Church PR. The UP-Los Baños runs development communication and public affairs classes that mirror PR functions. Even the esteemed College of Mass Communication at UP-Diliman now has a master's in communication program that includes at least eight PR or PR-related courses such as Strategic Communication, Issues in Crisis Communication, Communicating Corporate Social Responsibility, Communication Evaluation and Communication Campaigns. So while the college has avoided the use of PR in the titles of these graduate courses, a review of the course descriptions clearly show that the courses are squarely in the PR realm.

Actually there are about a dozen graduate programs that are arguably PR-focused including those offered as communication management at the Asian Institute of Journalism and Communication, De la Salle's Master of Marketing Communication, Miriam College's IMC, *Pamantasan ng Lungsod ng Manila's* M.A. in Communication Management and the University of Asia and the Pacific's M.A. Communication with IMC as a major. Far Eastern University, on the other hand, has an M.A. in Communication with classes in communication and management, IMC and communication project management.

What does this mean? Public relations degrees exist in Philippine universities albeit mostly in private, often Catholic, universities located in urban centers. Public universities also offer PR units, however, they tend to avoid using the term 'public relations' instead favoring the term 'communication'.

Journalism and PR

Journalism's influence on PR is apparent not only in the fact that some of the academic PR programs are housed in schools of journalism/mass communication, but also because the early PR practitioners were former journalists. A study of degree sources of PRSP members, for instance, show that at the bachelor's level, 27 percent earned degrees in journalism/mass communication, followed by business at 21 percent then by arts/literature/philosophy at 17 percent (Panol, 2000). At the master's level, however, only 22 percent pursued graduate journalism/mass communication degrees. The majority or 59 percent majored in business management, public administration and development management.

Like in the West where PR practice is most developed, Philippine PR indeed has its roots in journalism. For the uninitiated, "public relations is simply being a 'journalist-in-residence' for a non-media organization" (Wilcox et al, 2011, p. 12). However the "journalist-in-residence" takes a discomfoting interpretation in the Philippines where Filipino journalists (those working in news media) are actually on the payroll of corporations and politicians (Coronel, 2002), a practice not too dissimilar among some American and Australian media practitioners. Although common knowledge in the industry, the practice expectedly creates a slew of ethical problems that severely erode the credibility of both professions. It is worth asking whether such media practices are rooted in cultural values such as '*pakikisama*' (comradeship), or whether the presence of colonizers ingrained in Filipinos a deference to 'foreign' authority.

The dominance of media relations and publicity functions in Philippine PR practice today can thus be traced to journalism's lingering sway on the profession. While tactical approaches play important roles in PR programs and communication skills are still valued assets, for PR to assume significant management decision-making and be part of the "dominant coalition," the shift from tactics to strategic communication has to occur.

Because PR has a plethora of definitions and it comes under multiple names, PR education in the Philippines also is being delivered in some of the key universities under different nomenclatures. For example, if the definition of PR includes "development communication," the earliest program in PR can be traced to UP-Los Baños, which offered the first bachelor's degree in development communication in 1974. Prof. Nora C. Quebral defined development communication as the "the art and science of human communication linked to a society's planned transformation from a state of poverty to one of dynamic socio-economic growth that makes for greater equity and the larger unfolding of individual potential." Educated in the U.S., Quebral was involved in agricultural extension work when she returned to the Philippines.

UP-Los Baños was an agricultural college and development communication at that time was geared toward informing farmers of the new technologies available to them. So extension workers as they were called were tasked with an educative and informative approach that conforms with Grunig and Hunt's public information model. It is useful to note here that James Grunig also had a background in agricultural communication. UP-Los Baños seems to have a more progressive approach to PR education with the transition of its programs from its agricultural information beginnings to the establishment of the College of Development Communication and College of Public Affairs in 1998 (Sison *et al.*, 2011).

Following the development focus, the Asian Institute for Journalism and Communication incorporates a Master of Communication Management with graduate certificate and graduate diploma exit points. The program includes foundation courses in the craft of communication, communication issues and knowledge management and electives such as development communication, ICT for development as well as corporate communication, risk and crisis communication and cross cultural communication. It also offers an online certificate course in corporate communication with courses on strategic communication, corporate communication planning, building and managing corporate image and reputation, employee communication, publicity and media relations, stakeholder and public affairs, and crisis management and communication (Sison *et al.*, 2011).

As mentioned earlier, another progressive university offering PR under the organizational communication umbrella is the Catholic University based in Manila, De La Salle University. A review of its undergraduate and postgraduate curricula revealed courses most similar to many Western PR curricula with a management-oriented PR course, issues management, power and politics, negotiation, organizational change, communication management etc. This can be attributed to the influence of its course director, who received her PhD from Purdue University in the U.S. (Sison *et al.*, 2011).

Marketing and PR

With very few PR degrees and a growing number of practitioners with a business background, it is not surprising that the industry is increasingly seen within the marketing discipline (Sison *et al.*, 2011). Moreover, academia soon began offering PR courses within a business/IMC rubric. At Assumption College, students major in advertising and PR as part of a Bachelor of Commerce degree. St. Scholastica also has a B.S. in Commerce in Corporate Communication.

The business and marketing orientation is also apparent in at least two other curricula: San Beda's B.S. in Marketing and Corporate Communication and St. Paul's B.A. in Mass Communication with a major in corporate communication.

Danilo Gozo, vice president for public affairs of Ayala Land company and an alumnus of UP-Diliman's then Institute of Mass Communication noted that the "influence of business schools has resulted in public relations people assuming greater management roles ..." (Jamias *et al* , 1996).

PR and marketing seem to have a paradoxical relationship. PR has been interpreted in various ways depending on a specific industry's needs and concerns. For instance, "a process of strategically managing audience-focused, channel-centered, and results-driven brand communication programs" (Kliatchko, 2002, p. 26), has adopted numerous PR principles. Unfortunately, it has sometimes combined many PR functions, even rewriting some of its approaches. Second, while marketing communication may have helped PR, it often conflicts with the predominantly Western notion of PR as a management function (Lorenzo-Molo, 2007). As a result, while marketing communication may have ensured the survival of the PR industry, "their intrusions may have also heightened the already equivocal and uncertain nature of public relations" (Lorenzo-Molo, 2007, p. 59).

The real paradox though resides in the fact that while entrepreneurship is encouraged in the Philippines (see Co, 2004), the country's business environment combines neo-liberalism, a dominant land-owning oligarchy and strong U. S. investment (Ranald, 1999). From the post-war era to the present, the same system prevails. Even with then president Joseph Estrada, who was known for his extreme nationalism and as a champion of the masses, the oligarchy and business elites dominated the political process (Ranald, 1999). Undoubtedly, Spanish and American colonialism each contributed to the feudal system and democratic processes in the country that continue to reinforce the current business and academic environment in which PR as a profession and as a discipline operates.

Religion and PR

Aside from the preponderance of private academic institutions, which are owned by the different religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church or Protestant denominations that are clearly remnants of Spanish and U.S. colonial rule, there are courses specializing in church PR such as the one in Silliman University. A description of the Church Public Relations course states that it is a "study of the church as a PR natural and how to make use of the available media (print and broadcast) to serve the church promotion and publicity needs ..." (Silliman University website).

Many of the PR curricula in these church-owned or affiliated institutions include ethics courses that do not only draw from philosophy but also from religious dogma and more specifically from the guiding principles of the respective religious order. For example, UST's interdisciplinary program in communications, broadcasting, advertising, PR and multimedia studies emulates members of the Dominican Order as models such as St. Dominic de Guzman, "the Preacher of Truth and founder of the Order of Preachers, whose life of prayers served as an inspiration to countless individuals," St. Thomas of Aquinas, "the Angelic Doctor of the Universal Church" and *Beato Angelico de Fiesole*, the "Angelic Artist and Theologian of Art" (UST website).

With ambitions to be ranked among the top 100 Asian universities by 2018, the University of Asia and the Pacific, which was founded by Opus Dei members, carry the UNITAS motto that convey, among others, the desire to achieve "... unity between faith and reason, and unity between religion and life ("http://www.uap.asia/about/the-university/unitas/).

Although not explicitly but perhaps only subtly reflected in the curriculum, the Catholic teaching of giving alms to the poor might explain the tendency to feature charity events in many Philippine PR programs. De la Salle University's vision, for instance, states that it is a "leading learner-centered research university, bridging faith and scholarship in the service of society, especially the poor" (<http://www.dlsu.edu.ph/inside/vision-mission.asp>). Staying true to its "mission of forming men and women with and for others through its many programs created to alleviate poverty by helping capacitate and empower marginalized communities and sectors of Philippine society" the Ateneo de Manila has partnered with *Gawad Kalinga*. GK "envisions a new Philippines and world with no more slums, by building homes and vibrant communities in depressed areas" (<http://www.admu.edu.ph/social-development>).

Public-Private Dichotomy in Academia and in Industry

Definitely there are substantially more privately-owned or run academic institutions of higher education in the Philippines. Those founded during the Spanish colonial regime such as UST, Ateneo de Manila, De la Salle, San Beda, Santa Isabel and St. Scholastica are still highly regarded institutions of learning to this day. That journalism, mass communication and PR got their early start in these academic campuses speak well of the organizational nimbleness of the private sector compared to the often stultifying bureaucracy of government.

These private colleges and universities remain faithful to the tenets of their founding religious orders and are considered elite institutions partly because of their reputation for academic excellence and high standards of learning but also because they, for the most part, are the enclaves of the rich, who either belong to the landed gentry or are scions of business and political dynasties. It's no small wonder that the PR programs in these institutions have a more corporate or marketing orientation such as the one at St. Paul University and St. Scholastica. Even the relatively new University of Asia and the Pacific that carries the Opus Dei insignia has bachelor's and graduate degrees in IMC.

UP-Diliman and UP-Los Baños, on the other hand, are reputable and competitive public academic destinations. These state universities are known for their brand of intellectual ferment that spawned activism during the Martial Law years and nurtured a revolutionary zeal for social change but were decades slower in introducing mass communication/ journalism programs compared with their private-sector counterparts. While still resistant to conferring academic PR degrees, both institutions have PR or public affairs courses in their present curricula. Perhaps true to their "public" nature, the first PR-related course offered at UP-Diliman in the late seventies was public information, which is as we know, is more government-oriented.

These noticeable differences between private and public universities in general and in the orientation of their PR curriculum, in particular, are evident in the industry organizations as well. Created in 1957, the PRSP counted among its original members PR and advertising executives. It has since continued to grow its corporate and individual membership and practically mirrors the Public Relations Society of America (PRSA) in its objectives, programs and structure.

Like its American counterpart, the PRSP also runs member accreditation, awards and annual conferences. With many practitioners educated in the U.S. and Canada, this approach reflects the adoption of Western trends and tools in Philippine practice.

This year PRSP marked the 50th year of the Anvil Awards, which recognizes annually the best PR program in the country. The Grand Anvil Award went to ABS-CBN's "*Tulong Na, Tabang Na, Tayo Na,*" a campaign that included fundraising and star-studded concerts with the country's leading artists performing *pro bono* to bring relief and rehabilitation for

the victims of typhoon Pablo, Bohol quake and typhoon Haiyan in 2013. Past recipients of the Grand Anvil include a campaign to save the Philippine eagle, a pharmaceutical foundation's program that helped 12 communities in reducing malnutrition and eliminating diseases and a bank's search for outstanding teachers. Based on these award winners, PR at its best strives to address local needs.

On the technology front, PRSP is making a push to the digital world. Aside from conference topics, the society has partnered with e-Learning Edge and the Internet and Mobile Marketing Association of the Philippines to offer a three-month certification program to sharpen PR skills that leverage digital channels like social media (<http://prsociety-philippines.blogspot.com>).

For the government side, professionalizing public information is the job of the PROP. This organization of information officers in government offered courses using an e-learning approach, conferences and other professional training opportunities (Alagaran, 2007). Established in 1972 and incorporated in 1976 to "improve coordination among government information officers," the PROP is a non-stock, non-profit association with about 800 government public information officials and employees as members (*Manila Standard*, 1997). Francisco Tatad, the then Information Minister was its first president.

PROP has four objectives: 1) foster cooperation and better coordination among those in government public information services, 2) professionalize public information, 3) elevate the status of government public information to a "position of high responsibility and importance," 4) assist in achieving national reforms and development goals (*Manila Standard*, 1997).

From its publicity beginnings, the scope of public information activities now includes social marketing and mobilization, education, advocacy, behavior change communication and government media. While the functions have obviously expanded in number and complexity, public information still wrestles with the perennial problem of co-mingling political propaganda and development communication. According to Alagaran (2007), "Government media and information offices are often used to serve the personal interests of political leaders, especially presidential appointees, who cannot distinguish accountability from political propaganda. Development communication materials are also sometimes used as channels for institutionalizing a personality cult. Another challenge is how to rationalize public information to make it more responsive to the needs of the general public and the stakeholders of development" (p. 354).

The public sector equivalent of the Anvil Awards is the Gawad Oscar M. Florendo. Launched in 1992, the annual award recognizes excellence in government information. It is named after a former military brigadier general, who was a peace negotiator and a staunch believer that communication is better than arms in resolving conflict.

Another interesting facet of Philippine PR practice is becoming evident in public affairs, which generally involves government relations. Educational background comes into play because lawyers are quite often performing public affairs activities while PR assignments went to former journalists and publicists (Jamias *et al*, 1996).

While having separate professional organizations representing different specializations is not uncommon, it is nevertheless intriguing to find the kind of delineation between the rather small universe of government and private sector PR practitioners. That academic institutions likewise reflect such dichotomy with public universities such as the UP-Diliman offering a public information course early on and UP-Los Baños having the internationally eminent development communication program vis-à-vis the corporate and marketing curricular orientation of the private Catholic universities is quite fascinating.

Issues and Challenges

Just like the industry, Philippine PR education faces manifold challenges. On the industry side is the credibility deficit with PR being called as the "dark art" populated by "partying men and women at expensive watering holes or golf courses" (Osorio, 2007). PR is also chastised for 'under the table' and 'ATM-based dealings' entered into by PR people with huge relationship-building funds. Still others describe PR as "organized lying, 'envelopmental' communication or spin doctoring" (Osorio, 2007). It's therefore not surprising that some universities such as UP-Diliman resisted offering PR degree programs and of the few who do, PR is called something else, i.e. corporate communication, integrated marketing, communication management, strategic communication, etc. This is of course not a uniquely Philippine approach to overcome the negativity associated with the practice.

Certainly, PR's bad reputation is a direct offshoot of unethical behavior. But what is baffling is that for a country whose citizens are 85 percent Roman Catholic and with an academe dominated by religious-owned or run entities that seem to perpetuate the Catholic sense of guilt that sends the faithful to crowded church confessionals, corruption is sadly rampant. The PR curriculum in Philippine universities today fortunately includes ethics and corporate social responsibility courses. But are these enough? Does economics trump ethics?

While Philippine PR education might still be considered in a nascent stage, it does have the opportunity to address two industry issues -- the absence of a culture of research among PR practitioners and PR organizations as well as the "lack of qualified professionals, who can deliver the demanding requirements of PR with aplomb" (Osorio 2007). Ronquillo (2015) echoed the same sentiment saying that, "the challenge of teaching PR, as a practitioner, is to prepare students for the rigors of the practice."

The authors were hard pressed to find research courses in the undergraduate PR curriculum in Manila universities when there were whole departments of communication research such as the one in UP-Diliman's College of Mass Communication and PUP. Communication research and evaluation, however, is part of graduate PR programs. Skills courses such as multimedia writing, design, desktop publishing and photography are also offered at the bachelor's level together with basic theoretical and foundation PR courses just like in the West.

The fact that the highly exclusive private universities in the Philippines were the first to offer PR courses reflects an elitist view of PR practice. Moreover, it could be argued that since the first programs were offered in all-girls private colleges, the educational institutions further perpetuated a view of PR as a career option for 'privileged females'. The pervasive public image that gives private PR practitioners more prestige and acceptability than those in the public sector is perhaps a carry-over of these attitudes.

Discussion and Conclusion

PR is a relatively young profession so it is understandable that PR as an academic discipline would still be in its embryonic stage of development in the Philippines. However, the issue is not that there are no PR courses but rather why there are so few universities offering PR training. What this shows is that while there were attempts at professionalizing the practice through educational programs these efforts did not gain enough traction (Sarabia-Panol & Sison, 2012).

Also, while most practitioners will have a bachelor's or even a graduate degree in other communication specialties, only a few who would have studied overseas will have a formal degree in PR. Like many educators around the globe, PR education in the Philippines is still seen by many communication academics to belong to the 'marketing' discipline. And because many of the practitioners have journalism or media backgrounds, PR is still also

viewed as primarily media relations. This one-way PR model might progress to a symmetrical genre as the industry as well as its education component matures. The absence of PR degrees in the major universities, however, appears to hinder the legitimacy and professionalization of Philippine PR practice (Sison *et al*, 2011; Sarabia-Panol & Sison, 2012).

Observably, there are strong streams of activism, social development and community movements within the academe, which could provide the groundswell for critical theory building in PR. The existence of the programs in De La Salle University and UP-Los Baños provides some hope in the future for PR to not just benefit marketing and profit-driven businesses but in the social responsibility and social change areas as well (Sison *et al*, 2011).

Philippine universities can also take the bridle of leadership in terms of incubating ideas for sustainable business models for the mass communication industries in which PR belongs. Contemporary PR curricula should continue to incorporate the changes in the media environment brought about by the communication technology revolution.

The trend is toward fast, virtual environments with increasing demand for customized information and interactive platforms. The existence of a digital divide though continues to worry both communication practitioners, scholars and policymakers as countries like the Philippines establish priorities to give its citizens the competitive edge required in technology-driven knowledge societies.

Since PR is a creation of the West, it is not difficult to see why Philippine PR is Western-like in its practices, including how practitioners are trained and educated. The challenge is to shake off some of the vestiges of its colonial past and make PR education more locally relevant and meaningfully responsive to the needs of a developing nation. Surely, there is need for consistent efforts to balance local relevance while preparing PR students for the global workplace.

If the industry is mature enough to develop its own brand of 'professional' PR practice that integrates local values and observes global standards, it is imperative that research-based educational programs exist. While companies that require PR are often private and multinational organizations, public sector and non-government organizations are also employing PR practitioners.

The paucity of PR scholarship remains an issue. This is exacerbated by the absence of a culture of research in industry and in the undergraduate PR curriculum. In the Philippines, acceptance of PR as a legitimate academic discipline worthy of scholarly attention seems to be a major barrier as well.

The negative public perceptions of PR that persist to hound the industry in the Philippines can only mean that education and professionalization are keys to turning the corners of decades of credibility shortages.

The opportunities for growing public relations practice in the Philippines lie in a concerted effort among practitioners and educators alike to recognize PR as a 'serious' academic discipline that is research-driven, and to reframe public relations as means for social change.

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The Co-Evolution of Public Relations and Journalism: A first contribution to its systematic review

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1. Introduction

The relationship between public relations (PR) and journalism is mostly conceived of as between “interdependent systems” (Grossenbacher, 1986: 730). In this context, Löffelholz mentions evidence of a “*co-evolutionary development* of journalism and public relations” that “has not to date been systematically pursued” (Löffelholz, 2004: 472; emphasis author's own). To do so would require a historical perspective of the relationship between PR and journalism, a perspective largely absent from discussions thus far. This is all the more striking as there is reasonable research on PR history in the last years (e.g. Raaz & Wehmeier, 2011; Watson, 2014). But as Lamme & Russell stress, “more research (...) is needed concerning the ways in which the rise of mass media in the last half of the 19th century (...) might have influenced alone or in some combination the motivations and methods of the public relations function” (2009: 356-357). The following is intended to provide a first contribution to the systematic review of the co-evolution of PR and journalism, with particular emphasis on their interaction during the development of PR. This is done with reference to the available discussions on the history of PR, some of which contain valuable pointers. Our contribution here is limited to the German-speaking areas.ⁱ This goes along with L'Etang's demand to explore “more deeply forms of public communication within their socio-cultural contexts” (2014: xiv). The initial findings gained on this basis are then, in conclusion, put in theoretical context. Furthermore, we refer to several studies regarding other than German-speaking areas that are supporting our findings. To start with, let us briefly outline the current level of professional debate on the relationship between PR and journalism.

2. Approaches to the Relationship between Journalism and PR

In the 1980s, the relationship between PR and journalism became a topic of sustained interest in communication science, triggered above all by the publications of Baerns (1979, 1985; Altmeppen, Röttger & Bentele, 2004; Raupp & Klewes, 2004, amongst others). This is especially true of the German-language area: “This research program received attention and response particularly in German-speaking countries” (Baerns, 2007: 43).ⁱⁱ The influence of PR on journalism had been discussed once before, in the 1920s, forming a major part of the 7th German Sociologists' Conference 1930 in Berlin (see Brinkmann [1931] 1985). As early as 1866, Wuttke had bemoaned the great influence on newspaper reporting of what were known as “Pressbüros”, of political parties in particular (Wuttke, [1866] 1875: 118ff). And in 1952, in a systematic analysis of the use of (written) press releases in media coverage, Sodeikat (1953) ascertained that those were used with a high incidence.ⁱⁱⁱ In some aspects, this study resembles the well-known investigation conducted by Baerns (1985),^{iv} which triggered the controversial 1980s discussion around what became known as the determination hypothesis.

As we know, Baerns' study posits that PR exert considerable influence on the topics and timing of journalistic reporting (Baerns, 1985). However, subsequent studies, by

Grossenbacher (1986), Fröhlich (1992), Rossmann (1993), Saffarnia (1993) or Schweda & Opherden (1995), for instance, arrived at differing results. As Schantel (2000) has clearly demonstrated by means of a meta-analysis of these and other studies (e.g. Barth & Donsbach, 1992), the determination hypothesis could not in the end be confirmed, being too uni-dimensional and too undifferentiated (see also Hoffjann, 2002). A more recent study by Riesmeyer also refutes the hypothesis that press releases determine the topics of journalistic reporting; the study uses the term “non-determination” (2006: 303). A Swiss input-output analysis on the reporting by regional TV and radio broadcasters of official media conferences, however, shows that “a good half of the reporting (...) shows no original content provided by the media outlets” (Grossenbacher, 2007). Thus, different studies continue to lead to differing results, depending also on variables such as the type of media or editorial department.

In the wake of this discussion the head of the aforementioned Swiss study, Grossenbacher, demanded as early as 1986 that the relationship between the media and PR be characterised “as complementary systems” or “interdependent systems”, and not as a uni-lateral determination. Grossenbacher used the concepts of “mutual processes of adaptation” and dependency (Grossenbacher, 1986: 730), and this is the idea that has informed the subsequent debate since the 1990s.^v Approaches such as the “interdependence model” posited by Westerbarkey (1995), the “interpenetration model” put forward by Choi (1995) and the “intereffication model” suggested by Bentele, Liebert & Seeling (1997) assumed mutual influences, adaptations and interdependencies between journalism and PR. Those approaches all use, to a differing degree, Luhmann's systems theory and the concept of structural coupling. According to Hoffjann (2002: 187), a structural coupling (*strukturelle Kopplung*) can be understood as a long-term “relationship” of a system with one (or several) environmental systems, leading to the formation of specific structures in the systems affected.^{vi} The aforementioned approaches do differ however in terms of their concept of what constitutes a system, something that needs no further discussion at this point (Lünenborg, 1999: 108ff; Löffelholz, 2004: 477ff; Schantel, 2000: 78f; Hoffjann, 2002: 183ff, amongst others).^{vii}

What is interesting is the fact that meanwhile researchers formerly criticising the so-called determination hypothesis recognise that Baerns' methodological approach was in fact adequate to investigate the interrelations between journalism and PR (Bentele & Nothhaft, 2004: 85, 98). Moreover Baerns herself (2009) clarified that she did not formulate a determination hypothesis or supposed an only one-sided influence but already referred to interrelations (also Baerns, 1985: 19, 99).

The concept of interdependence between the two (sub)systems of PR and journalism forms the basis of the idea of co-evolution put forward by Löffelholz (2004), a concept introduced at the beginning of this article and taken on board for our subsequent considerations.^{viii} However, as previously mentioned, the story of this co-evolution or development of the relationship between journalism and PR has not yet been pieced together. This would require a *historical perspective*. In order to get an idea of the origins of this relationship, it seems expedient to start with the research on the history of PR.^{ix}

3. Approaches for the Origins of PR

Searching the available literature on the history of PR for information on their origins can lead to misconceptions (also Szyszka, 2008: 382) as will be demonstrated later, e.g. “that modern PR was invented in the United States in the early twentieth century, and later exported around the globe” (Dinan & Miller, 2009: 250). In contrast, some authors see the origins or first precursors of PR in Antiquity (Oeckl, 1976: 92ff; Bernays, 1952). Ultimately, PR is equated with propaganda,^x which, to be consistent, would have to lead to a kind of world his-

tory of propaganda, as provided by Sturminger (1960).^{xi} The problem with this approach is that it yields no proper perspective on the precise specifics of PR and its relationship with journalism.

Our aim here is to clarify this by means of a short examination of the definitions of PR and propaganda, as well as of what differentiates them. For a long time, *propaganda* was used “as a concept signifying an institutionally organised movement” (Schieder & Dipper, 1984: 82), closely linked with the “political proselytising of dissenters” (ibid.) or a “policy of revolutionary change” (ibid.: 93). After 1848 the concept of propaganda found a broader use to mean “political publicity (...) in the public arena” (ibid.: 96), and by around the year 1900 it was also used as a synonym for “advertising” (ibid.: 100).^{xii} As demonstrated more recently by Arnold (2003), broadening the concept in this way, or equating the concepts of propaganda and PR (as well as advertising) is inadequate: whilst each are examples of persuasive communication (also Westerbarkey, 2001: 440ff), propaganda is connected not only with ideology but also with a totalitarian claim to absolute truth not present in *PR* (nor in advertising). The latter represents an (according to Arnold, comprehensive, in the case of advertising only “singular”; ibid.: 76)^{xiii} agency of *particular interests*, which – in contrast to propaganda – consciously takes into account the existence of rival interests and deals with them (also Ronneberger, 1977: 19ff; Merten, 2000: 151; Donsbach & Wenzel, 2002: 375).

This is a good place to bring in a distinction between PR and *journalism*, which, in contrast to the representation or communication of particular interests on the part of PR, represents a contribution – not only according to systems theory approaches – to *autonomous external observation and mediation* of the various societal interests (Arnold, 2003: 75; Luhmann, 1996: 173; Jarren, 2000: 31; Wagner, 1991: 51ff; Schönhagen, 1999; Altmeyden, 2000: 133).^{xiv} Against this background the question that arises is how the development of PR as the representation of particular interests is connected with journalism as a system of external observation and mediation.

Saxer, who argues in favour of conceiving of PR “within the framework of a theory of evolving societies” (1992: 50), describes PR as a “differentiation (...) from the advertising system” (ibid.: 60) in three phases: rudimentary beginnings in the late 19th century,^{xv} a further flourishing following the First and then Second World War,^{xvi} and the expansion of institutional PR into practically all societal subsystems in the 1970s and 1980s with the transformation into “information societies” (ibid.: 62).

However, on closer inspection, this conception of the development of PR does not stand up to historic facts. To mention only two aspects (which will be explored later), PR (1st) established and institutionalised themselves in diverse areas of society much earlier than the 1970s/1980s, and (2nd), by no means did this always happen by way of differentiation from advertising, as can be seen in the example of communal PR.^{xvii}

For a long time, systematic examinations of the (German-language) history of PR were rather basic (e.g. Binder, 1983; Hategan, 1991) and the findings they yielded still “fairly slim” (Szyszka, 2008: 382). One push towards paying closer attention to the subject was certainly provided by the conference organised in 1996 by the PR section of the German Communication Association (Deutsche Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft, DGPK). On this occasion, the central significance of a historical perspective in the defining of PR was mentioned several times. Various participants furthermore expressed the opinion that the *genesis of PR* stood in close *conjunction with the history of journalism* and the development of mass media. The thesis that PR was as old as humankind was, however, rejected (Fröhlich, 1997; Liebert, 1997). The following year saw the interesting case study of German PR history by Kunczik (1997), which is most relevant for the article in hand. Since then, a few more contributions have been published, detailing the history of PR in the 20th century (Heinelt, 2003; Szyszka, 2008; Szyszka, 2011; Lange, 2010 amongst others). The

“early history” (Szyszka, 2008: 386; Szyszka, 2011: 28) or “proto-PR” (Watson, 2014: 874) however,^{xviii} which appears fundamental to our central question of how PR emerged in mutual interaction with journalism, has barely been pursued further. Recently, the doctoral dissertation of Bieler (2010) targeted this question by investigating several German institutions and the development of their PR departments or activities.

4. First results on the Co-Evolution of Journalism and PR

Interesting pointers to a co-evolution of PR and journalism or mass media can be found in a few publications on the history of PR, most of which refer initially to press relations.^{xix} To date, these pointers have not been systematically merged. This is the task we aim to perform over the following pages, at least by means of an initial examination of the available literature, taking into account the beginnings of PR in the most varied areas of society. Alongside external representations of the early days of PR, the self-portrayals of early PR protagonists can be particularly illuminating sources.

A first pointer to a connection between the emergence of PR and developments in journalism may be found in the speech held by sociologist Brinkmann at the aforementioned German Sociologists Conference in 1930. Brinkmann refers to the fact that it had been modern newspapers themselves, with their “unstoppable integration of all areas of life in its ‘publicity’ that nurtured (...) their own *adversary* or even master as it were of their insatiable thirst for information”: “the press offices and press departments”, which these days everyone in the public eye, or hoping to be in it, “from state and municipal authorities to the great artists and hospital doctors” considers necessary to establish. Thereby “an unforeseeable competition with the autonomous news production of newspapers, telegraphic and news agencies” has been opened up (Brinkmann, [1931] 1985: 499; emphasis author's own). This perspective would make the differentiation of PR a kind of backlash against the development of the press or “autonomous news production” by the mass media. However, Brinkmann's reference to an expansion of “publicity” of the press does not explain what exactly triggers this backlash.

Taking Brinkmann's suggestions as a starting point, in the sense of a guiding question or first thesis, and following it up in the historical material, in many cases a typical pattern in the emergence of PR becomes apparent. As we will demonstrate in the following, using various examples, one can distinguish *two main motivations* for the beginning of press relations:

- a lack of, or, from the viewpoint of those concerned, falsified reporting, connected with the partiality of the media or journalism in general
- the fact that large target groups or sections of the public, or indeed the entire public realm, could not be reached anymore without using mass media.

Both motives can be found in the realm of state publicity^{xx} as well as in companies such as Krupp or Siemens (Zipfel, 1997; Kunczik, 1997: 188ff; Hategan, 1991: 120ff; Binder, 1983: 72ff; Bieler, 2010: 204-206, 220-221; Szyszka, 2011: 23) and with associations and lobby groups, such as the Union of German Iron and Steel Manufacturers (*Verein Deutscher Eisen- und Stahlindustrieller*, Kunczik, 1997: 273).^{xxi} There, systematic press relations began or were intensified in the second half of the 19th century. This is also true for municipalities which started working with the press in parallel to stronger local reporting, becoming increasingly institutionalised as early as 1906 in Magdeburg with the foundation of press departments (*Nachrichtenämter*) (Küppers, 1914; Schöne, 1922/23: 516ff; Herbst, 1923; Groth, 1929: 347ff; Mäncher, 1983: 39ff; Liebert, 1999; also Szyszka, 2008: 385). Bieler retrieved another example from Stuttgart (2010: 93-109). This shows that PR were neither imported,

post-1945, from the US nor institutionalised and extending to all societal subsystems only from the 1970s/1980s onwards.

As for the *first motivation* behind the emergence of PR, i.e. the lack of, or from the viewpoint of those concerned, falsified reporting, the given cause is nearly always a partisan reporting serving vested interests. The background to this is the heyday of the personality and opinion press in the 19th century in Germany (Wilke, 2008: 261 ff). Wuttke, for instance, is one source who tells us about the beginnings of the PR work by the Catholic associations, which had, “[taken] offence at the news reaching the public on the negotiations of their 'general assemblies' and (...) [complained] about misrepresentations”. In order to prevent this, in 1865 Germany's general assembly of the Catholic associations in Trier had “lithographed reports produced and sent to the big papers” (Wuttke, [1866] 1875: 119) – with some success, as noted by Wuttke, and also by Lukas (1867). The latter adds that in “earlier years (...) the public papers, the liberal ones in particular, [had] published reports on the meetings that were often distorted to near-caricatures. As there was no reason to doubt the honourable intentions of the relevant editorial departments, *if only they were better served*, the assembly decided to authorise an ad hoc correspondence bureau (...)“ (Lukas, 1867: 52; emphasis author's own).^{xxii}

Explicitly stating the same reason – to counter lack of or partisan reporting – the Union of German Feminist Organisations (*Bund Deutscher Frauenvereine*) founded a press department (*Presse-Zentrale*) in 1912 (Kunczik, 1997: 345; Bieler, 2010: 232). As described by Sperr (1939: 30), in the early 20th century the municipal authorities also began public or press relations as they were unable to “effectively counter the false reports” frequently appearing in the press and “[were seeing] significant disadvantages for their work in the current reporting practices of the local newspapers, which had increasingly become the bearer of public opinion and with whom a good understanding was desirable, not least for reasons of common sense”. Liebert (1999: 409) too explains that communal PR in the first third of the 20th century had seen themselves as a “counterweight to the increasing politicisation (...) of communal life and the ‘biased’ media landscape”.

Again, in all areas of society we find pointers to the *second motive*: those involved in PR are conscious of the fact that large target groups or sections of the public, or the public in general, might now only be reached through mass media.^{xxiii} Thus in 1920 the German Empire's Post and Telegraph Administration (*Reichs-Post- und -Telegraphen-verwaltung*) stated in its official publication (*Amtsblatt*) that the relationship with the press required “constant and sustained care”. This was more important still in current times, as the audience repeatedly turned to the newspapers with complaints about the state of the postal, telegraphic and telephone service: “However, the editorships are only able to counter these complaints in an informed yet restrained manner, if they are informed by a competent authority (...) about the general causes of the complaints. Experience shows, however, that there is often a lack of sustained mutual communication between the postal authorities and the editorships of medium-sized and smaller newspapers in particular. It is those, however, who represent the great majority, *influencing a very wide circle of the population*. This makes it a matter of urgency to create (...) close contact with the local editorships” (quoted after Herbst, 1923: 109; emphasis author's own). What we see here is an obviously increased drive for legitimisation that Hoffjann (2002: 184) explains through the “increasing differentiation of society and the proportionately rising number of observers’ perspectives”, and that he considers as trigger for the “emergence” of PR.^{xxiv} This makes clear that the second motive constitutes no mere reaction to developments in the press sector. It is also a consequence of developments in society and economy, which changed the relationship that companies and organisations had with the public^{xxv} and which for its part is again linked in a reciprocal way with the development of the press sector (Wilke, 2008).^{xxvi}

Furthermore, the statements in the aforementioned official publication of the German Reich's postal system are proof of a fairly modern view of press and PR: it recommended cultivating contacts with the newspapers and the publication of news as well as “inviting representatives of the press to view large transport facilities” (quoted after Herbst, 1923: 110).

Another good example illustrating the second motivation comes from the mid-19th century: a Protestant theologian by the name of Johann Hinrich Wichern, who would go on to found the “Inner Mission”, was already using press relations in a targeted way as far back as 1832 to bring his social rehabilitation project for neglected adolescents, the “Rauhe Haus” (the pun works in both languages, translating as rough house) in Hamburg-Horn, to the attention of a broader public. In this way he attracted best potential donors (Döring, 1997).

Furthermore, there are indications that PR consciously was oriented towards journalistic routines from the start. This means we are already looking at the typical “effort by public relations to adapt to journalism” (Donsbach & Wenzel, 2002: 377). In 1924, for instance, the later head of the press office of the I. G. Farben chemical company, Hans Brettner, points to the fact that a representation of industrial interests had to know “the journalistic routines, which had over time come to form an important and [as he put it at the time] 'painstaking code of honour' of the editing profession, as to not expose themselves to a backlash in the choice of their means” (quoted after Binder, 1983: 73; see also Zipfel, 1997: 213).

Alongside press relations, advertisements and in-house media have from the start been means of PR. For instance, when in 1914 the Swiss firm Maggi was subjected to a massive press campaign against its role in the Paris milk trade, and not given the chance to communicate its views on this issue in Paris daily newspapers, the company resorted to posters and flyers (Kunczik, 1997: 215ff). Incidentally, Maggi had established an office for advertising and press relations, “Reclame- und Presse-Büro” as early as 1886 (ibid.: 209).

However, advertisements and in-house media were expensive and had limited effect. As explained, again by Wuttke, using the example of official publications, there was an awareness of the credibility issue associated with such publications early on: He described how governments, after the introduction of freedom of the press in 1848, “all of a sudden realised to their horror that their official newspapers no longer enjoyed any attention and that readers were not prepared to believe in its assurances and representations. (...) There was little confidence in the veracity of issues discussed in the governmental publication for the very reason of where it was published” (Wuttke, [1866] 1875: 136; also Kunczik, 1997: 84). This problem is once again highly topical today, given the new opportunities to spread your own media on the Internet.

The two key motivations described serve to underline the fact that PR do indeed emerge, if not exclusively, as a reaction from societal actors who do not (or no longer) see their interests adequately represented in the mass media. Brinkmann's statement may be cast more precisely, in that this backlash was not only brought about by the *autonomy* of mass-media news production, but by *access barriers* to mass-mediated communication or the media based public sphere. To a certain degree, these barriers emerged due to the autonomy of the mass media and its intrinsic constraints of selection and concentration, but most of all because of the partiality of the media at this time.^{xxvii}

The emergence of PR contributed to changes in journalism and therefore the press; this constitutes a first indication of the mutual influence of PR and journalism: PR then were one of the reasons behind the increase in journalistic material, which together with technical innovations and other changes in society enabled the emergence of the modern mass media as well as leading to the differentiation of editorial structures (Wilke, 2008: 265, 291f). Blöbaum describes in detail these processes of journalistic differentiation, taking place from the mid-19th century onwards. But he only refers explicitly to the influence of PR in the con-

text of local reporting, as well as briefly in connection with the gathering of information and role differentiation (Blöbaum, 1994: 212, 231f, 290).^{xxviii}

The historical context in which PR developed, which needs to be substantiated further by more in-depth historical studies, also serves to emphasise the view that PR by no means represent a possibly illegitimate, ‘objectionable’ attempt to gain undue influence or even a threat to free reporting. On the contrary, PR are a legitimate means of securing the participation of individual interests in public communication. Following Ronneberger (1977: 19), PR may even be perceived as a “constituting factor” in pluralistic public realms, in facilitating expression and thus the discussion of the various interests in society.^{xxix}

Taking these results as a base, we suggest the following *definition of PR* that tries to do justice to the specific co-evolutionary character of its genesis: PR are the expression of a rationalisation and professionalisation of the communicative behaviour of societal actors or organisations in the light of access barriers to the media based public sphere, in order to make their interests heard in the public discourse. Thus, they are oriented towards the principles of the autonomous mass media. Concomitantly, they are a reaction to an increasing need for legitimisation in society.

5. Discussion

The results detailed above seem to indicate that PR emerged as a process of adaptation of communicative behaviour on the part of societal actors or organisations, triggered by the performance of the journalistic system, perceived by them as limited, with at the same time an increased social pressure to increase legitimisation. What is interesting is that the theory of this very process or correlation is described in a concept of the evolution of social communication developed as part of the mediated social communication (MSC) approach. In this, Wagner (1980) conceptualises the development of communication in society, on the basis of work by Riepl (1913) and Knies ([1857] 1996, see also Hardt, 2001: 67-83) and others, as a succession of processes of rationalisation. Thus, mass communication constitutes the temporary conclusion of these processes and, in modern complex societies, enables comprehensive social communication through intermediation of mass media and journalism. It publishes the statements of various societal groups and actors in a concentrated and compact form. This makes the statements and views of the various stakeholders and organisations observable for the entire society, thereby enabling further communication. This constant intermediation of communication is performed autonomously, i.e. not serving particular interests but the public discourse as a whole (Wagner, 1980; Schönhagen, 2004: 109ff).

For its part, journalistic intermediation provokes processes of “counter rationalisation” (Wagner, 1980: 23), PR being one of them. The autonomisation and concentration of mass media and journalism leads to the fact that the communicative partners are dependent on – and thus at the mercy of – the intermediation of the autonomous mass media. Over the course of their development, mass media and journalism have increasingly tended towards partisan mediation. In order to safeguard or optimise their chances of participating in public discourse under these circumstances, communicative partners within society reacted by establishing their own, alternative media or with what is known as “message politics” (Wagner, 1980: 25) including PR.

This in fact models exactly the co-evolutionary events surrounding the emergence of PR, as demonstrated above using historical examples. As this concept of rationalisation processes forms part of a comprehensive theory of communication in society, it opens up the opportunity, as demanded time and again in the relevant literature (e.g. Schantel, 2000: 86), to integrate PR into the context of the entire mass communication process. Hence, also the public can be taken into consideration. Since the 1970s there has been a corresponding model of

mass communication (Wagner, 1978: 39ff),^{xxx} allowing to specify the role of PR therein. In this model groups or organisations and their spokespersons (acting as representatives) are conceptualised as communicative partners with changing roles as sources and addressees. Their statements are mediated by journalism. In this perspective, those involved in PR are communicative partners that can be sources as well as addressees in mass communication.^{xxxi} Thus, PR are providing vital input for the ongoing social discourse which is mediated by journalism (Ronneberger, 1977).

In fact, the MSC approach also offers links with concepts of systems theory central to (German) discussion of journalism and PR. This may be shown using the example of the specific concept of audience. According to the MSC approach, the audience of mass media is identical to the communicative partners, whose statements are (potentially) mediated by the media. This in fact correlates with the idea of systems theory, locating the primary function of mass communication in allowing society to observe itself – or to mediate “discourses of self-reflection”, as Jarren (2000: 23) puts it.^{xxxii} In this way, the members of society – as an audience – observe in mass media the communication of representatives of diverse (groups of) interests that they themselves are a member of, for instance as members of a political party, as employees, and so forth. Thus, the members of society form both the audience of the mass media and their sources.

If we look at the matter in this way, the central issue of the relationship between PR and journalism takes on a different perspective, too: it is no longer primarily about the extent to which PR releases are mediated or what share they have in media coverage. The central issue at hand is much more *whose releases* or in other words which communicative partners or groups (i.e. normally their representatives) are mediated and thus made accessible for self-observation and subsequent communication in society, and *how* this is done. It is less important whether this mediated communication is based on PR releases or other sources: as Schantel (2000: 72f, 85) mentions, within the aforementioned function of the mass media system, the opinions of journalists or the reports they have researched themselves do not necessarily have a higher value than reports from PR sources. However, this leads us to the next question, whether communicative partners or interests that are *not organised*, respectively do not run PR and do not have representatives, might have reduced chances, or no chance at all, of mediation in mass communication.^{xxxiii} If so, this would be a limitation of the function to enable self-observation by society and discourses about self-understanding. Journalism's use of PR might then lead to a situation where “the chances of mediation of those with plenty of opportunities for communication are becoming ever greater, and those of the ones already with little opportunity become ever fewer, reducing their chance of making themselves and their interests heard at all” (Wagner, 1980: 26). Both issues can be investigated with appropriate content analyses incorporating the level of mediated communicative partners (Schönhagen, 2000).

6. Conclusion

To summarise, we can say that a first historical analysis shows that the differentiation of public relations (PR) is inextricably linked with the establishment of autonomous mass media and the dominance of opinion journalism. In their origins, PR represented a reaction on the part of the communicative partners against access barriers to mass communication and the public sphere – with a concomitantly increasing importance of the media-based public sphere due to the stronger differentiation of society. This result of historical analyses can be integrated into the context of a comprehensive theory of mass communication, i.e. Wagner's (1980) approach of rationalisation of social communication as part of the mediated social

communication (MSC) approach. As mentioned above, these ideas may also be related to concepts of systems theory.

Apart from these preliminary findings for the German-language area, there are some studies concerning the history of PR in other countries, where we can find hints towards similar motives and developments. Especially the emergence of PR in the wake of expanding mass media has been observed in several countries, irrespective of time. There is e.g. evidence from Japan in the 1960s (Yamamura et al., 2013: 150) and the United Arab Emirates in the 1970/90s (Kirat, 2006: 255-259; Badran et al., 2009: 201, 210). In addition, there is some evidence for the first motive stated by Brinkmann that PR emerged due to biased reporting or the neglect of certain interests in media coverage. Following Yamamura et al., this motive also applies to the case of Japan (2013: 151). It can also be observed in Turkey later on in the 1970s (Bıçakçı et al., 2013: 95). Eventually, the second motive which states that large target groups or sections of the public, or indeed the entire public realm, could not be reached anymore without using mass media was found in literature concerning Russia and the USA (Guth, 2000, see also footnote xxvi).

In conclusion, it is to say that more intense historical research into the early days of PR in the entire German-language area, as well as beyond, is urgently needed. To achieve this, further studying of the historical sources, in particular the archives of companies, associations and syndicates, as well as other organisations, is essential.

ⁱ One reason behind this limitation is technical, as the starting point of the analysis to be developed below refers to the specific situation of the history of the German press, another the fact that there is literature available on the history of PR in the German-language area, to be used as a basis here. Our contribution focuses on the genesis of PR; naturally, it would be fascinating to also follow the further development of press relations or PR from this perspective and to demonstrate the extent to which this takes place in reaction to or in interaction with changes in the media system and journalism respectively.

ⁱⁱ A preliminary study in Germany by Kieslich in the 1970s was not published. Baerns tracks back the methodological origin of this input-output-analysis to Tunstall 1970, Nimmo 1964, Gohen 1963 and Rosten 1937 (Baerns, 1985: 39, 121). And according to L'Etang (2004: 7) another analysis by Tunstall as early as 1964 "demonstrated how the pressures on journalistic practice created a dependency on public relations services". For the research development in the US see Wehmeier (2004).

ⁱⁱⁱ Sodeikat analysed the use of press releases by the Lower Saxony Economic and Transport Ministry in 32 papers and magazines overall (daily and business newspapers, business magazines): 95.1% of the releases were used by at least some newspapers. The study also includes evaluations of individual titles and topics.

^{iv} This involved analysing the use of press releases in reporting (by daily newspapers as well as radio and TV news) on North Rhine-Westphalian regional politics in 1978.

^v This is not the place to review this whole debate, which in this guise informs mainly the German-language literature on the subject (Baerns, 2007: 43); see on this Donsbach & Wenzel (2002), Hoffjann (2002: 181f), Russ-Mohl (2004), various contributions (by Merten as well as Scholl) in Altmeyden, Röttger & Bentele (2004), Saxer (2005) as well as Merkel, Russ-Mohl & Zavaritt (2007), amongst others. In this contributions we also find a critical discussion of the approaches discussed below. An overview of the American research on journalism and PR can be found in Grunig (2007).

^{vi} "Interpenetration may be understood as a special case of structural coupling, where two systems have engaged with each other in co-evolutionary terms to such a degree that one cannot exist without the other" (Löffelholz, 2004: 480, based on Esposito). Whether such interpenetration between journalism and PR in fact exists is controversial (Hoffjann, 2002: 191f, amongst others).

^{vii} Thus, Bentele, Liebert & Seeling for instance, see the system of publicity (*publizistisches System*) as a subsystem of society, consisting of the subsystems journalism and PR (1997: 225); a similar perspective is taken by Ronneberger & Rühl (1992). In contrast, Szyszka (1997a: 212, footnote 5) and Löffelholz (1997: 188; see also 2004: 478f) conceptualise PR as a "system-inherent operation" or "operative characteristic" of societal subsystems such as politics or the economy. Accordingly, Hoffjann (2002: 185) conceives of "public relations exclusively as a subsystem of an organisation".

^{viii} As for the concept of evolution, taken originally from the natural sciences, it should be pointed out that it has "long become indispensable not least in the context of theories of social change" (Lübbe, 1977: 257). Social evolution describes irreversible processes of structural change occurring in a directional manner. Their directionality arises from the fact that social systems constantly have to adapt to changes in their environment, by reacting with changes on their part, which are effected in principle in a rational, hence targeted way – under the changed framework conditions. The evolutionary processes themselves however may be described as "aimless" as those very changed conditions are arbitrary rather than intended by the social system itself. Their consequences and end may only be understood with hindsight (*ibid.*).

^{ix} Meanwhile, this development attracted some interest from a journalism studies' point of view which deals with the rise of journalism as a profession. Kutsch proposes to investigate the co-evolution of PR and journalism because he reckons that press departments offered interesting career opportunities for journalists in the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century in Germany (Kutsch, 2008: 309). Also Brettner points to the interplay of the two vocational fields (Szyszka, 2011: 26). And according to L'Etang who is targeting the time after 1945 in the UK "a significant number of journalists moved on to become public relations practitioners" (2007: 125).

^x For criticism of equating both in such a way see also Bentele (1997: 77).

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- ^{xi} See also the three-volume work by Buchli (1962, 1966) on the history of business advertising and propaganda, which defines advertising as an overall concept for both (vol. I: 41).
- ^{xii} See also the dissertation by Bussemer (2005) on the history of the concept of propaganda (p. 24ff) as well as for more detail on the development of theoretical approaches on propaganda.
- ^{xiii} Westerbarkey (2001: 443) emphasizes the short-term aspects in the intention of advertising as opposed to PR and propaganda.
- ^{xiv} Saxer's thoughts (2005: 363ff) on the ideal type of distinction between the "professional cultures" of (news) journalism and PR as well as their overlap contain similar characteristics ("autonomy" and "self-standardisation" on the one hand, "ordered communication" and "external standardisation" on the other). At the same time, they are similar to those characterisations developed by Wagner (1991: 51ff) working from the older, ideal type of distinction between journalist and publicist, also with a view to the overlapping elements.
- ^{xv} These are seen to be connected with the growing industrialisation as well as an increased need for legitimacy in an ideologically polarised public sphere (Saxer, 1992: 58f). Oeckl creates a similar concept, stipulating a first phase (following the precursors) of PR (1976: 95f; Szyszka, 1997b: 113).
- ^{xvi} This is seen as occurring against the backdrop of established mass markets, the role of electronic media as a mass media advertising vehicle, as well as a de-ideologisation happening in pluralistic societies (Saxer, 1992: 60ff).
- ^{xvii} For criticism see also Szyszka, 1997b: 124; on communal PR see also Liebert, 1997: 87ff.
- ^{xviii} Szyszka identifies the beginnings of PR from the mid-19th as "early history", at a time when they did not yet, to his mind, constitute an "independent profession" – possibly a fairly daring conclusion given the little available work on this phase – while discerning a "professional history" proper from the 1950s onwards (Szyszka, 2008: 386; Szyszka 2011: 28). Without focusing the German-language countries Watson is approaching this a bit more sophisticated. He distinguishes between "proto-PR" which he identifies as "public relations-like strategies and actions that occurred before publicity and public relations became discussed entities in the late 19th century, (...), and 'public relations' itself" (Watson, 2014: 874). But "[t]he exact boundary may never be defined" (ibid.). He states that "publicity, press agency and institutionalised communication activities were widely evident in some countries from around 1875 onwards" (ibid.).
- ^{xix} This lack of familiarity may well be due in part to the fact that some of these publications date from the time of National Socialism (such as Sperr, 1939, for instance).
- ^{xx} This is claimed by Kunczik since at least the time of Frederic the Great (II.; 1712-1786), who, as well as using "ruthless methods of exerting influence in the media", also ran press relations (Kunczik, 1997: 69). The recurring main figure of reference however is Bismarck (Kunczik, 1997: 66ff; Binder, 1983: 69ff; Herbst, 1923: 9; Hategan, 1991: 117ff). For more detail see also Groth (1929: 3ff, 308ff). Of great interest, also with a view to an institutionalisation of official press relations in Germany before the start of World War I, is the relevant dissertation by Schmidt (2006). For more information on state-run news policy in Austria, see Dörfler & Pensold, 2001; Nessmann, 2000: 214ff.
- ^{xxi} In Buchli's work (1966: 407) one can find, unfortunately without specifying the exact point in time, a mention of a press service of the Centre Party (*Zentrumspartei*) reportedly created "early on", apparently in the 1860s at the latest.
- ^{xxii} However, no decision was taken at the time to establish a permanent central "press bureau" (Lukas, 1867: 10).
- ^{xxiii} For more on this, see also Blöbaum (1994: 298): "These press departments are an immediate reaction to the increasing significance of journalism".
- ^{xxiv} See also Szyszka (2008: 383), who relates the development of PR with "the beginning of a society of organisations", which in Germany manifested itself "in the emergence of pluralistic structures in society and the differentiation of various types of organisation in the mid-19th century", enjoying "wide consensus". See also Saxer, 1992: 58; Szyszka, 2011: 19-20; footnote xvi.
- ^{xxv} This motive was noticed also in other countries like the USA and Russia (Guth, 2000: 197).

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- ^{xxvi} This goes beneath the scope of our contribution but needs definitely to be investigated in-depth in further research as suggested e.g. by L'Etang (2014: xiii-xiv).
- ^{xxvii} What is also interesting in this context is that the development of PR in the USA is associated with attacks on "muckrakers", i.e. investigative journalists, as "a weapon in the hands of American big industry fighting back for public opinion" (Kunczik, 1997: 2; see also Emery & Emery, 1996: 300f).
- ^{xxviii} As detailed in footnote ii, we lack the space here to deepen the further co-evolutive development of PR and journalism.
- ^{xxix} For criticism of Ronneberger see Kunczik, 1993: 125ff, amongst others.
- ^{xxx} Both Bentele, Liebert & Seeling (1997) and Schantel (2000) are referring to similar but less elaborate models providing for non-journalistic "communicators": the model created by Westley/MacLean (in 1957) and/or the arena model developed by Neidhardt & Gerhards (from the 1990s). Incidentally, in terms of content the latter bears striking similarities to Wagner's aforementioned model of mass communication, developed much earlier.
- ^{xxxi} Instead of the term "sources" sometimes "speaker" or "actor" are used as well; the latter lacks precision in that it comprises both the subject and object of statements. It should be emphasized that mediation here refers by no means to a mere transference, but rather comprises the selection of both the mediated communicative partners as well as their messages and the transformation of the latter.
- ^{xxxii} While Luhmann (1996: 173) applies this function to the mass media, it could also, depending on which system concept is used, be ascribed to mass communication, journalism or the public sphere.
- ^{xxxiii} This is why comprehensive journalistic investigation is indispensable. It serves to include a wide range of voices, not only those present by PR. It is even more important "to make the silent voices heard" (Hansen, 2013: 678).

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Public Relations for Health Socialization: A Historical View of Health Campaigns in Turkey

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Public relations was exercised first in the public field in 1960s as a planned action and in the form of management function. Public relations activities of public organizations started with the formation of the press offices (Asna, 1969). The 1961 Constitution has an important role in the development of public relations. With this constitution, the codetermination of people, unionization as a way of demanding rights, and legal regulations for enhancing communication between people and government was put in execution. This situation nourished both public and private organizations in a serious way (Erdogan, 2006:113). Many activities practiced in this period were not mentioned in the public relations literature owing to the lack of field literature and research (Aktas-Yamanoglu et. al, 2013: 24).

Practicing health services in a western and contemporary way was one of the main missions of the government in the first years of the Republic during the modernization. There was no population growth in the 1920s and 1930s Turkey, due to high birth rates and low death rates caused by immigrations and effects of wars. In the 1940s and 1960s it was realized that birth rates were rising and death rates were falling. These years stood out heavily as having efficient public health services and struggle against epidemic thanks to the development in the medical technologies (Peker, 2009). However, this mentioned period has brought about new problem areas such as production-consumption inadequacy in rural areas and increase in immigration tendency among rural population. This new condition required new measures to be taken and new regulations to be made. In this period, the first systematical public relations campaign was conducted with respect to the population planning.

In this study, it is explained that how public relations was used in Turkey between 1960-1980 within the scope of health socialization which aims at controlling population growth and contributing to economic development.

Socialised Health Care and Population Planning

Health is affected by many different factors, necessitating the relevant services and policies to be multi-focused as well. Fişek states that health programmes aiming only to treat the patients and to improve individual health would not result as planned. He adds that besides these programmes, issues such as creating and preserving a health-friendly environment, a healthy diet, providing health-friendly housing, work and recreation environments are also essential to consider while preparing a health plan (1991: 735). This process is called socialisation of health care. The target is to ensure that healthcare services are offered equally to everyone without seeking profit and that the government undertakes its practice and development on a regular and planned basis.

The government took over the health care services with the *General Health Administration Legislation* dating 1871. This legislation ensured examination and treatment to poorer patients and included the independent doctors in the process by paying them a certain amount. Government handled services improved better after the foundation of the Republic.

Initiatives were taken to increase the doctor-count, and institutions were founded to fight against dangerous diseases such as malaria, syphilis, and trachoma. These institutions treated everyone free-of-charge and were present even in the smallest villages. Such institutions could be considered as the early examples of socialised health care services (Fişek, 1963: 107, Fişek, 1974: 210).

Socialisation of healthcare should be implemented through a multilateral plan. Its effects on not only the practice of the healthcare services, but also on human health, economic development, population and doctor services should be considered. Legislative regulations are also required in order to foresee the effects of the socialisation of health on public and to improve the current initiatives. Turkey has adopted "Law on Socialisation of Health Services" in 1961 to trigger this improvement.

The Need for a New Healthcare Policy in Turkey

The leaping birth rates after 1945 compelled systematic birth control. However, it has not been an easy road. In Turkey, just as well as in other countries, religious convictions, economic opinions and political investment purposes delayed the implementation of population control. Family planning has been a taboo not only in underdeveloped and developing countries but also in developed countries for a long while (Cilov, 1964: 70).

Another issue that came up with birth control or family planning was the exact definition of terms. Cilov (1964) defines birth control as presenting the families with the freedom of having as many kids as they want and whenever they want. In other words, control could mean both planning and reducing the births. Briefly, it could be defined as a medical intervention to conception as well as women deciding not to give birth to their children. When birth control is limited to families, it is called "family planning"; when it covers the whole country, then it is "population control" or "population planning" (Cilov, 1964: 71).

Population increase rate in Turkey accelerated after the year 1950. Turkey's population increased from 19.000 in 1945 to 20.000 in 1950 and to 28.000 in 1960. This reason for this leap was the increase in birth rates and the fast decrease in mortality rates (Cilov, 1964: 72; Koç et al., 2008: 11).

However, the needs and an improved life quality for this growing population could not be granted. Educational opportunities did not suffice; half of the villages and towns could not supply drinking water; 70% of the population did not have electricity (Cilov, 1966: 140). Therefore, since the economic and social needs of the growing population were not simultaneously met, an increased population was not a beneficial target. In Turkey, most of the births resulting in the increased population growth stemmed from unintended pregnancies and women's secretive, primitive and unhygienic abortion techniques against these pregnancies had unfavourable results.

Rapid population growth brings up important issues for developing countries; and more and more people started believing that the solution for the economic side of the problem laid in a planned effort rather than in the market dynamics. According to the 1960 census, 40% of Turkish population consisted of minors below the age of 15, and since they could not contribute to the economy, they hindered the active population's efforts and obstructed a rise in prosperity. In case of a constant increase in children population, creating jobs would get harder, resulting in higher numbers of unemployment. Investment and saving rates were also negatively affected by the rapid population growth. In the 1960s, 70% of Turkish population lived in villages and worked in agriculture. A prospect of unemployment in agriculture necessitated migration to certain cities (Cilov, 1966: 140). These circumstances curbed the fulfilment of government services such as facilitating housing in cities, healthcare services and education up to the desired level. Due to all these reasons, the population growth policy

that prevailed until 1960 had to be terminated.

Implementation: Population Planning Law

As during the rapid population growth, the population policy was not discussed, the possible problems could not be foreseen and necessary precautions were not implemented; the benefits of growth and prosperity could not be spread to a wider target. Thus, belated regulations and precautions brought upon socially and economically costly solutions.

Government controlled birth control in Turkey was first discussed by the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare in 1958. Ministry suggested revoking the provisions in laws concerning the prohibition of birth control and restraining abortion to medical urgencies (Akın, 2009: 3).

Following the year 1960, Turkey prioritised planning, implemented legislative regulations in many different areas and introduced revolutionary innovations. *State Planning Organization*, founded in 1960, raised the importance of population. Family planning was included in the *Five-Year Development Plan* and it was implemented following the *Population Planning Law, No.557*, enacted following its publication in the *The Official Gazette* on 10 April 1965. This law grants individuals the right to have children whenever they want and as many they want. The first article of the law defines population planning and states that to have or not to have a child is an inalienable personal right. The law forbids abortion and sterilisation except medical urgencies. In short, population planning in Turkey is restricted to "having the right to use contraception" (Akın, 2009: 4).

Population Planning Law is the product of countless advocacy movements, conferences and seminars by the government, scientific groups, community leaders, non-governmental organisations and independent institutions.

Prof. Nusret Fişek, as a leading figure in public health issues, played an important role in family planning and State Planning Organisation formed the very first "antinatalist population policy" as well as defending the subject on both national and international levels. During this period, leadership, co-operation between industries and advocacy gained importance. Informative programmes by the Turkish Family Planning Association, for example, founded during the same period, had very positive effects and contributions to the advocacy of the subject (Akın, 2009: 5).

5-year development plans since 1961 have all included different views on population policies. Law acknowledges population planning as a economic, medical and social necessity and provides for the announcement of these necessities. Whereas the economists agreed that population planning was a necessity, certain members of the parliament and the senate denied its economic necessity. The law stated that issues concerning the quality and practice of the medicine and equipment to be used for population planning to be designated with participation of a scientific commission. Law provides for contraceptive pills and equipment to be distributed to the poor either for a cheaper price than the production cost or for free (Akın, 2011: 6).

As did Prof. Nusret Fişek who played an important role in preparing the law; Dr. Zekai Tahir Burak, who advocated the subject on national and international platforms, contacted other important opinion leaders and non-governmental organisations and led the work to implement the legal amendments (Akın, 2009: 5).

Family Planning in Development Plans

Nine *Five-Year Development Plans* have been implemented since the foundation of the Turkish State Planning Organisation. These plans could be categorised based on their

financial philosophies and approaches as follows: plans before 1960: statist, partial; plans between 1960-1980: mixed economy, totalitarian; plans between 1980-2000: liberal, strategic. Regulations and work on family planning was brought along following the inclusion of family planning in the Development Plans (www.kalkinma.gov.tr).

The *First Five-Year Development Plan* (1963-1967) mentioned a new population policy and points out that rapid population growth hinders economic development; a population policy based on population planning is necessary, the structure of the current population can enable economic flow and other dynamics and that today, different efforts are required to improve the quality of the population. The new population policy changed the anti-contraceptive laws; and allowed the healthcare personnel to train those willing - themselves in the first place- on population planning and contraceptives. Free contraceptives were provided if asked (Akın, 2009: 6).

The most important change in the *Second Five-Year Development Plan* (1967-1972) is that the concept population planning left its place to family planning. While family planning works began on one hand, on the other, governments started to lose interest in the fertility planning, partly due to the decrease in fertility.

The *Third Five-Year Development Plan* (1973-1977) promoted the idea that family planning cannot be excluded from healthcare services. As a result, family planning services and maternity and infant care services were combined. Although the total fertility rate dropped during this period, population growth rate still increased due to improvements in healthcare services and decrease in mortality rate thanks to the co-operations between concerning institutions. Within the scope of this policy, it was clearly stated that interaction between social, economic and demographic factors and population policy were derivatives of social and economic policies. It was affirmed that high infant mortality rates and insufficient maternity and infant healthcare services were population problems and that family planning should be included in maternity and infant healthcare services.

Turkey was going through an economically and socially difficult time during the *Fourth Five-Year Development Plan* (1979-1983). Since, during this period, the country faced negative economic growth and was in a state of chaos, such policies could not successfully be implemented.

Family Planning Public Relations Activities

Turkey achieved the efforts in family planning through, in particular, the advocacies between 1960-1970. Advocacy is a "catch-all word for the set of skills used to create a shift in public opinion and mobilize the necessary resources and forces to support an issue, policy, or constituency" (Wallack, 1993: 27; Sezgin, 2013: 147; Sezgin, 2011: 133). The term *public advocacy* is also used in reference to being a spokesperson for the public and to the efforts of creating public policies. Public advocacy based on the strategic use of the media is named *media advocacy* (Schiavo, 2007: 143). Media advocacy is to utilize the media and defense strategies in order to define or activate the wide-scale scope of a medical or social problem to reframe and reform the public policy debates aiming an increase in public health policies and the support to improve these policies (Atkin ve Arkin, 1990: 25; Wallack, 1993: 73; Sezgin, 2011: 135).

Family planning works did not consist of planned and organised advocacy works during 1960s, yet in retrospect it was a successful public relations work and an example to advocacy.

a) Field Research

In the early 1963, Turkish government requested a field research from the United Nations Population Council. Population Council conducted a *Knowledge, Attitude, and*

Practice Study in Family Planning in 1963. More than 5000 people were interviewed in almost 300 villages and towns. This was the first study on a national level on fertility. The 1963 national *Knowledge, Attitude, and Practice Study* and other similar studies have illustrated the extent and negative outcomes of excessive fertility as well as the negative attitude of Turkish families towards family planning. According to this research, 22% of families try to prevent conception through ineffective methods. However, it was also stated that the public was interested in finding out about the subject, preferably from a healthcare personnel (Akin, 2009: 3).

Following the first nation-wide study in 1963, *Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies* and the *Ministry of Health and Social Welfare* co-operated to conduct a *Demographic and Health Survey* every five years. Thus, Turkey's tendencies in demography and reproductive health could be regularly surveyed. These surveys showed an increased tendency to use family planning methods in the society. However; this increase consisted mainly of traditional and less effective methods; and intentional miscarriages, although illegal, have also shown a consistent rise. Using the results of these field studies to support advocacy has also played an important role in changing the population policy (Akin, 2011:7).

In the year 1979, a healthcare study on the "development of family planning training methods and materials for non-physicians and physicians" was conducted with *World Health Organisation*. This study demonstrated that trained non-physicians could also be authorised to insert intrauterine devices.

b) Local and National Efforts Regarding Social Benefit

Family planning practice was limited since most of the population lived in rural areas and literacy rates are particularly low in these areas. The social environment in the cities facilitated relevant studies whereas the rural areas required first developing such social environments and educating the public.

By the end of 1965, Ministry of Health and Social Welfare allowed the application of intrauterine devices and the prescription of oral contraceptives. 215 family planning clinics were founded, 3 mobile village health teams were formed, 482 gynaecologists, 624 general practitioners, 2790 midwives, 842 nurses and 2061 healthcare personnel were trained on the subject. Mobile teams in provinces were formed in order to locally sustain the training and practice works in the central areas.

Between the years 1967-1972, during the Second Five-Year Development Plan, the target was to get 5% of women in reproductive age group to use family planning. During this period, intrauterine devices were applied to more than 50.000 women; and almost 60.000 women used oral contraceptives. During the Third Five-Year Development Plan, between 1973-1977, it was aimed to reach one third of women in the reproductive age group.

c) Turkish Family Planning Association

Turkish Family Planning Association was founded in 1963, before the law on family planning was adopted. Association held meetings for the members of parliament on family planning, briefed them, and published a notice on the draft law. It played an important role in the adoption of the law on family planning and keeping the public informed.

Association carried out many activities that include; *Family Planning* journal (1964), *1. Family Planning Conference* (1964), co-operation with the *International Planned Parenthood Federation* (1965), several regional seminars on family planning, *International Conference on Family Planning* (1972), sex/family life education (1973), co-operation with the Ministry of National Education Public Education General Directorate and Presidency of Religious Affairs (1975), educating the Turkish workers abroad on family planning (1977), educating the workers on family planning (1978), educating village leaders on family planning (1979), Family Counselling services (1981) and family planning trainings within Turkish Armed Forces (1983) (Bakay, 1988: 32).

The Association also published a number of books and leaflets to educate the public: *Turkish Family Planning Association Training Manual* (1970), *Islamic Views on Family Planning* (1970), *Family Planning and Education* (1971) and *The Turkish Family Planning Association. A Historical Review of Activities 1963-1971* (1972) are examples to these books. As for the leaflets; *Your Doctor Says* (1968), *Newly-weds* (1968), *Why Family Planning* (1968), *What is Family Planning? For Whom? How? Where?* (1971) and *Family Planning and Islam* (1985) are some examples (Bakay, 1988: 49).

d) Public Education Activities

Population planning works faced some difficulties in Turkey in the beginning, as it did in many other countries. The most important of these difficulties were that the public did not know about contraceptive methods, they did not accept the small family norm and they were not willing enough to show some effort on birth control so they went with the flow.

Studies on family planning in Turkey set clearly forth that there is not a planned nation-wide programme, yet it is a multilateral subject that needs support from all government institutions and public education (Kışmişçi, 1974: 70). One of the reasons that the population planning practices did not spread in Turkey as rapidly as planned is the lack of public educators, and the indifference of the majority of physicians' responsible of the programme towards public education. Fişek (1967) indicates that physicians are hesitant because they fear hurting a healthy person, causing reactions in certain circles and thus losing patients, and the fear of meddling in Allah's business as well as political concerns.

In order to educate the public, one-to-one educational programme was set for nurses and doctors to visit houses while they were in villages, and to talk to women during their visits in health centres. Following the couples' briefings, again during the regional visits of nurses and doctors, such briefings were aimed solely on women. Each briefing lasted around an hour or so (Fişek and Sumbuloglu, 1978: 281).

Considering the patriarchal family traditions in Turkey, men hold the absolute power of decision over the subjects concerning the family and therefore, the success of family planning depends on men's attitude towards the subject. In order to get wives' consents, the details of family planning had to be explained to men. Moving from this point, it was decided that men should be briefed on family planning during their military service. It was imperative that men should be briefed about the subject and consent since women cannot go to the hospital to ask about family planning without their husbands' consent and permission. Therefore, one-to-one educations and group educations for married or single men above the age of 15 were held as well. Village headmen, religious leaders and teachers joined these meetings as well, and the meetings started with the daily problems of the village, and then moved on to family planning. Every village was visited twice a year and a total of four group educations were held for each village. These programmes lasted around an hour or so (Fişek and Sumbuloglu, 1978: 282).

There was a strong opposition to family planning, particularly from non-medical decision makers. It is important to note that quite surprisingly this opposition was not a religious one. To convert the opposition, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare in co-operation with the universities held many advocacy activities such as conferences and seminars.

Besides the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, other institutions such as Ministry of National Education Public Education, General Directorates of Primary Education, Educational and Technical Co-Operation, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Affairs, Presidency of Religious Affairs, and Turkish Radio and Television Corporation also co-operated with the Ministry and included the subject in their services. With the works in co-operation with the Presidency of Religious Affairs, educational preaches that raise awareness were printed and distributed.

Within the scope of population planning, mobile exhibitions illustrating the works of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare and relevant health education were held and received great attention.

e) Using Mass Media

Health education was limited until the year 1963 when it turned into a rationally conducted service based on research, planning and evaluation rather than a haphazard one. Nation-wide health educations were planned and education personnel and educational tools were procured. Educational equipment such as books, leaflets, posters, slides and films were also prepared.

Education units within each provincial directorate of health have been improved since 1963 through purchases of cinematographs, generators and projectors. The number of educational films used in public health services leaped from 37 in 1963 to 812 in 1972. Radio talks by physicians for the purposes of public health education, which began in 1946, were restored in 1960s. However, Cilov indicates that in such a country where literacy is low and thus radio emissions are the optimal way of reaching the public, radio still was not used in the best way. He verifies that 50,2% of women found out about contraceptives through family and friends, 35,9% from newspapers, and 2,2% from advertisements and notices (1966: 72).

Conclusion and Evaluation

During 1940s-1960s in Turkey when birth rates increased and mortality rates decreased, struggle against epidemics were successful thanks to the improvements in the public health services. However, during the rapid population growth, the lack of vision and precaution caused new problems such as the government failing to tackle its duties like the increasing need for housing in cities, public health and education on a sufficient level. Therefore, the population growth policy that has been practiced until 1960 had to be terminated.

Between 1960-1980, major steps were taken in family planning and the rapid growth of population was curbed. Nonetheless, this period is still characteristically a “transitional period” since all the work performed was unplanned and disorganised.

Advocacy for policies on family planning between 1960-1980 was successful. Public relation works towards changing common thoughts and convictions of the public also aided in these advances. Finally, it should be underlined that these successful works on mentioned dates were all conducted without knowing they were public relation works.

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1964 – 2014: 50 Years PR-Agencies in Austria. Analysing the Development of the Agency Scene and Diverging Relationships with Neighbouring Disciplines

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1. Introduction

This contribution primarily aims at reconstructing the evolution of the public relations agency's scene in Austria. The research on the history of the agencies sheds light into the motives, activities, challenges and the diverging relationships with neighbouring disciplines during the past 50 years. According to the actual quantitative report 'PR-Praxis in Österreich' [PR-practice in Austria] by Spatzier (2014), it can be noted that the understandings of public relations and the activities by practitioners in agencies demonstrate a heterogeneous field, which is not demarcated by other communication disciplines. In addition, referring to the respondents in the field of the agencies (n=303), it can be noted with Spatzier (2014) that only 27.1% pure PR agencies were identified in Austria. The vast majority (62.1%) of the respondents were working in agencies that provide PR as an additional service.

In view with the development of the agency field in Austria, an economic upswing at the end of the last millennium was recognizable. Sturmer (2014) notes an increase in the turnover among the ten largest agencies between 1998 and 2000 in the amount of 10 million euros. By 2008 sales further increased by 30 million euros. From that point it went economically downhill. However, the economic decline and the 50th anniversary of the public relations agencies are an opportunity to reconstruct the history of the agencies in Austria.

However, little is known about the history of the public relations agencies in Austria. Nessmann (2008) emphasises some superficial data about the evolution of PR agencies in Austria. Spatzier (2014) provided an overview at IHPRC on the development of PR practice in Austria, mentioning a few key points regarding agencies. However, this paper sheds light on the development of the agencies in Austria, with regard to diverging relationships with neighbouring disciplines.

This contribution gives answers to questions such as: Which motives led to the founding of agencies? To which extent did customers' orders play a part? What were the challenges faced by agencies? What measures and instruments were used in the different periods? Which relations to neighbouring disciplines could be noted?

The habitus approach elaborated by Bourdieu (2009), and the symbolic interaction paradigm according to Cooley (1964) and Mead (1934; 1973) can give some conceptual background for the research in the direction of the behaviour dimension. Furthermore, starting from the definition of PR as "the management of communication" outlined by Grunig/Hunt (1984) the findings highlight the various kinds of interpretations by practitioners in agencies during different periods. The analysis is based on both archival analysis and interviews with witnesses.

The outline of the paper follows a three-step sequence. First, a literature review examines the connection between the symbolic interaction paradigm and the habitus concept. It will be argued that the interaction is the bedrock for the development of group thinking. In line with these considerations according to Spatzier (2015), collective meanings are not incorporated as noted by Bourdieu (2009), but collective patterns arise out of interaction and find expressions as habitus. A sequence on methodology completes the framework and presents the principles, which guided the analysis. Second, the results of the analysis will be presented to highlight the development. Last but not least, the concluding part indicates

understandings, challenges and the relations to neighbouring disciplines.

2. Theoretical and Methodical Background

The attribution of meanings through interaction is the bedrock of the symbolic interaction paradigm. According to Cooley (1926/27, p. 59) there are “material conditions” and “human or social conditions”, which influence the attribution of meanings. Additionally, Cooley (1909, p. 62) emphasised that only interaction enables individuals to produce reality. By interaction Cooley (1909, p. 61) meant communication, which is central and

"meant the mechanism through which human relations exist and develop – all the symbols of the mind, together with the means of conveying them through space and preserving them in time. It includes the expression of the fact, attitude and gesture, the tones of the voice, words, writing, printing, railways, telegraphs, and whatever else may be the latest achievement in the conquest of space and time. All these taken together, in the intricacy of their actual combination, make up an organic whole corresponding to the organic whole of human thought; and everything in the way of mental growth has an external existence therein."

Considering groups, a collective behaviour is the product of interaction in view to contexts. Due to this, collective patterns are not incorporated. A consistent interaction is needed to get a habitus. On the way, there are many different facets on habitus. The more independence of contexts and the more consistent behaviour is recognized in practice, the stronger the habitus of a field. In view of public relations, it can be assumed that there is no strong habitus according to the heterogeneous perspectives and there are various dependencies in view to understandings and attitudes towards public relations. With Mead (1934, p. 142), the mind of the individual enables the definition of the situation. Moreover, the practitioner's mind is crucial in the attribution of meanings, but in relation to the conditions given. Due to this, neighbouring disciplines as well as the circumstances among agency-start-ups are of particular interest. Moreover, the knowledge of the usage of instruments and measures over the course of time can give answers to questions concerning the understandings and meanings attributed toward public relations.

Against this background, the reconstruction of the development of the agency field in Austria is based on both archival analysis and interviews with witnesses. For this purpose, important and renowned agency founders could be interviewed; The founder of the first public relations agency in Austria, a staff member of the first public relations agency in Austria and a founding member of the Austrian Public Relations Association (PRVA). Additionally, the founder of the first agency in Salzburg and a future agency founder shed light into the evolution of PR-agencies in Austria.

3. Results

The research findings demonstrate that the agency scene has comprehensively developed late as a whole in Austria. Considering the time history compared with, for example, US-America or England, this is not surprising. On the one hand, according to Hanisch (1992), Austria was an empire until 1918 that was not really based on democratic principles. Due to this, the state was responsible for everything, even for companies. With Hanisch (1992), it can be assumed that those conditions may be the cause of an underdeveloped civil society in Austria. This may be one reason why the self-employment in Austria developed so slowly. In addition, Austria was connected to Germany in 1938. Due to this, people remembered the propaganda

style used, which disabled a positive attribution to public relations for a long time. Furthermore, Austria was losing by two world wars that affected cultural and economic prevail. On the other hand, self-employment in Austria, also for public relations, is linked to a business license application. There are no requirements needed for such an application today, but regarding the underdeveloped civil society, it is plausible that PR practitioners prefer staff- ratio in comparison to the risk of self-employment.

According to Holzer (2010), the first advertising agency was established in July 1914 by the graphic designer Herbert Mandl. By comparison, according to Sturmer (2014), *the first two PR-agencies were founded in Vienna 1964*. Ernst-Haupt-Stummer (*1933) founded 'Pubrel Public Relations' and Herbert Mittag (1919-2001), the agency 'Publico'. Haupt-Stummer (2013) noted that PR's foundation in Austria emerged from the proposition to get organisation information into the media without having to pay for advertising. In the 1970's a small agency scene was visible in Vienna. The main activities during that time seemed as a kind of *product public relations* and not as the management of communication. According to Skoff (2013), practitioners went on behalf of their clients to journalists with products under their arms in order to convince them to write about these products. However, the agencies were not able to earn much money with public relations. The turnover was achieved with conventional advertising. Another idea can be recognized in the starting era of the agencies; sponsoring. Haupt-Stummer (2013) remembered a client who wanted to fund an event in order to invite his customers. However, the most important task during that time for the agency owner was the educational work. Clients need information about public relations.

At the beginning of the 1980's two indications for an upswing were recognizable. On the one hand, there was the *battle for the profession*. The trade union of journalists as well as the PRVA (Public Relations Association Austria) and the chamber of commerce struggled over the assignment concerning the occupational profile and the sector affiliation for agencies. This led to public attention for public relations. According to the trade union of journalists (1980, p. 25-28), public relations was seen as a kind of journalism, called 'press offices' or 'information departments' in organisational units with the task to write press information and to observe the media. In contrast, the PRVA (1984, p. 169) defined public relations as the whole communication for an organisation. However, in 1987 the chamber of commerce published an official profile for public relations agencies. Regarding this, the conception task was added to advertising agencies and the communication task to public relations agencies. Following this, many agencies were founded under the umbrella of advertising in order to work on conception and campaigning tasks.

On the other hand, public relations became a *topic at the University*. This circumstance influenced the public relations practice in the west of Austria. According to the institution report (1984), the first kind of agency was founded in Salzburg in 1983 as club at the University of Salzburg (research group media and communication), in the department of communication with the aim to link scientific methods with PR practice. *The first order was from the working chamber to get a sense about the 8th of December* (holiday in Austria and working in neighbouring Germany). The aim was at finding a solution for argumentation to maintain the holiday despite the loss of purchasing power. In the 1980's the biggest challenge of the agencies was to gain recognition for public relations. Windischbauer (2013), who founded together with Horschinger and Autischer the first agency in Salzburg out of the club at the University called 'ikp', remembered that he went to companies throughout Austria in order to explain the possibilities of PR.

The PR-agency field in Austria was a very small one in 1983. According to Skoff (1984) 21 agencies and independent consultants were listed in 1981 and in 1983, 27 agencies operated in Austria. Most of those agencies were located in Vienna, only one in Graz, one in Linz and one in Salzburg. The activities mostly end at the state boundary. The number of

employees was anywhere from one to ten. The one-person consultants operated from home with a half-time typist and an answering machine. Regarding this, the consultants advised the clients and they designed some instruments. However, the realisation of public relations activities, on the other hand, was a focal point for the clients. With Skoff (1984), some of those small units were specialised in topics such as cultural public relations or producing PR-films. On the other side, agencies with more employees offered full-service, from communication planning to realisation.

At the end of the 1980's and during the 1990's crises of companies fostered the development of the agency scene. With Skoff (2013), large industrial companies had problems due to pollution. Based on that, the *companies needed help in the direction of public communication.* Striving for crisis management, they commissioned to the agencies. However, with a few exceptions, many practitioners in agencies did not offer public relations as the management of communication, but offered individual measures such as press conferences or events together with press releases. The offers were close to the orders. Haupt- Stummer (2013) notes the gradually increasing recognition of public relations by companies. *Beside crises communication, companies commissioned PR-agencies with the organisation of press conferences or company anniversaries.* Hass (1987) noted that the main tasks of PR-agencies in the 1980s were writing articles, organising press conferences and disseminating press releases. This remained for long time. Only in a stepwise development, influenced by US-American understanding of public relations, more activities in the public were added such as arranging fashion shows or openings in order to provide pseudo-events, which should cause journalists to report on attractive events. However, with Eiselt (2013), *PR was seen as part of advertising, sales and marketing* during that time. Due to this, the competition with advertising was still visible.

According to PRVA (1987), the PRVA awarded the first National Award for Public Relations in 1984/85. Following this, the first prize was awarded to the agency 'Publico Public Relations GmbH' for the project, 'recycling of aluminum beverage cans' on behalf of Ranshofen metal industry. The measures used were a means of expression for the understanding of public relations at that time. According to Publico Public Relations (1987), large public events were in focus, which should provide the necessary incentive regarding information and reporting by the media. Publico Public Relations (1987) called large-scale press conference and two public events as main activities. For the starting public event within this project, two elephants went on and off in front of a shopping center in Vienna, live music played in the background; and banners disseminate the message that recycling protects the environment. This event aimed at attracting attention, for the purpose of journalistic reporting. Regarding this, public relations was recognised as a form of event management that should bring public and media attention. Comparing this with the understanding of public relations as communication management, differences can be found. Activities by agencies during the 1980s were nothing more than event organisation to provide a starting point for media reports. In contrast, communication management requires much more; concrete baseline analysis, segmentation of target groups and corresponding target formulations for different target groups as well as the formulation of customised messages, and finally evaluation. The only target we find in public relations during the 1980s was attention and journalists defined the main target group. Due to this, Skoff (2013) confirms this in her statement that journalists requested agencies. The journalist approached the agency to obtain information. *The search of such ordered information* could be seen as yet another major task of agencies during the 1980s.

Nevertheless, according to Eiselt (2013), only a handful of agencies can be recognised in the 1990s in Austria. Additionally, in view of the winners of the National Public Relations Awards, more honoured companies and less PR agencies can be found.

However, crises and conflicts effected not only the development of public relations practice, but also the agency field in Austria.

Skoff (2013) and Windischbauer (2013) remember particularly above all, crises of the paper industry in connection with environmental protection. Greenpeace and citizens' initiatives especially attacked the paper industry because of chlorine bleach and put them on display for the public to see. However, Skoff (2013) reported that the attacks no longer corresponded with reality because the paper industry had already developed and implemented environmental protection measures. The loss of reputation, however, was very high. The paper industry now ordered PR-agencies to adapt the image to reality. For instance, one measure was an environmental report for the umbrella organisation of the paper industry. In particular, the crises were responsible for a slow but progressive quantitative development of the agency field in Austria, which led to the founding of a special group within the PRVA.

According to PRVA (1994), the Division of agencies (APRVA) was established within the PRVA in 1991, which especially focused on the quality of practice in agencies. Nevertheless, a qualitative development covered not all agencies in Austria. In order to reach the media, general event organisation continued to be the main task for many agencies. The distribution of information through media relations can be furthermore denoted as the main public relations instrument. In this context, PR lends itself to the vicinity of advertising. The focus was, for instance, on the application of anniversaries, new products or innovations.

However, some agencies can be named as examples for best practice in the area of strategic communication management at the beginning of the new millennium. Both examples: the strategic communication concerning the Euro-conversion and the strategic concept with regard to a transport infrastructure project were awarded with the National Award for Public Relations in 2002 and 2003. Both examples demonstrate clear communication goals that initiated strategy and tactics. In addition, different defined target groups led to specific messages. Nevertheless, information and advertising were still the main part of the concept. For instance, Skoff (2004) reported about some measures in case of the Euro-conversion such as an information folder for bank and industry, brochure and video material for partners, press releases and press events, and finally classical advertising. Horschinger (2014) with regard to the conflict infrastructure project, emphasised also the media baseline, but highlighted in addition, discussion rounds and lobbying in order to arrive at an agreement between population and the Austrian federal Railways. Although the practitioners may say they did strategic communication, only a view did so. The strategic communication managers mainly operated in the information paradigm. Additionally, advertising was always part of the campaigns.

Nowadays, PR is still connected with advertising and marketing. The actual report on PR highlights that practitioners from agencies indicate advertising to be 40.1% of public relations and marketing to be 38.9%. In addition, media work is furthermore denoted as the main task for practitioners in agencies. The journalism orientation is also visible. Creating brochures is an important responsibility in agencies in addition to the presswork. According to Haupt-Stummer (2013), nothing has changed regarding the intention and orders, but the orientation and practice became more professional. Nowadays, fewer professionals are practicing in agencies in Austria. Only one third consists of pure PR agencies and two thirds offers public relations as an additional service to advertising, marketing or graphic design. In comparison, more PR-professionals are employed in companies and more are engaged in non-profits and politics.

4. Conclusion

The paper demonstrates the development of the public relations agencies in Austria from

1964 to 2014. The agency field in Austria established relatively late. This contribution outlines some reasons for the late development. On the one hand the late establishment of democratic principles, on the other hand the distance to public propaganda due to the tragedy concerning World War II. In line with the theoretical background, this paper highlights the attribution of meanings with regard to the measures and instruments used by practitioners in agencies during the time line. Although the practice of public relations is heterogeneous, a consistent pattern of orientation can be evaluated. Information in connection with advertising seems to be the strong paradigm for public relations practice in agencies in Austria. The measures demonstrated in this paper are close to advertising, marketing and journalism. Crises due to pollution led to reconsideration as a first step. However, the information paradigm was still in mind, also concerning conflict resolution. Although a small agency scene focused on strategic communication development at the beginning of the new millennium, the dissemination of information is still dominating the behaviour of practitioners. Nevertheless, the proximity to advertising, marketing and journalism is still visible. The development is recognisable in quantity. In 1964, there were two PR agencies, 1981 approximately 21 and in 1983, there were 27. In 1988, 66 agencies were members of the PRVA and in 1990, already 71. According to Vogl (2015), the PRVA notes that the estimated number of PR-agencies today is continuously increasing. However, with Pöhacker (2015), there are many more agencies, which are working under the umbrella of advertising because of the wider range of possibilities regarding campaigns. This observation also shows that PR is offered mainly in connection with advertising. Finally, it can be noted that the habitus of public relations practice in Austrian agencies is undoubtedly connected with the neighbouring disciplines; advertising and marketing. Against the elaborated approach by Cooley (1926/27, p. 59) concerning “material conditions” and “human or social conditions”, it can be assumed that the conditions given in Austria led to the connection between public relations and advertising. Although the agency field started in order to differ from advertising, practice could never solve it. On the one hand, at the beginning, the PR-agency owners need advertising in order to gain money; on the other hand, most of the agencies now offer public relations as an additional service. Furthermore, PR agencies are committed to the customer. If a customer wants publicity, advertising is offered under the umbrella of public relations. Due to this, the development of public relations in Austria’s agencies is visible in quantity and not in the attribution of meanings.

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One Woman – Two Sides of One Coin? – Journalism and Public Relations: the Case of Bertha von Suttner, Austria

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1. Introduction

This contribution demonstrates the relationship between journalism and public relations in the case study of Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914) – Nobel Peace Prize Winner from Austria in 1905. Starting with the idea, Bertha von Suttner was not only a renowned journalist and writer, but also a propagandist for peace and women's rights. This paper notes that journalism and public relations are not just two sides of the same coin, but particularly in view of campaigns, stand side by side for a cause. Furthermore, the results highlight some perspectives, which logically illustrate that both journalism and public relations are based on the same intentions regarding public campaigning. Due to this, journalism and public relations merge into one activism field.

This contribution gives answers to questions such as; Are there differences in the contemplation of campaigns with a view to journalism and public relations in the late 19th and early 20th century? What instruments did Bertha von Suttner utilize for peace and women's rights to raise awareness and consciousness? The results show that Bertha von Suttner is an extraordinary example for production and deployment of issues, which, in turn, gave peace and women a voice. This kind of act is a specific element within public relations. However, Bertha von Suttner used not only public speaking and events, but also the journalistic environment, which propelled her life. The following excerpts from the results show that the intention to convince people of peace was carried out using both journalistic means and instruments of propaganda by one person.

The outline of the paper follows a three-step sequence. First, a theoretical discussion questions the differentiation between public relations and journalism with a view to the early phase. It will be argued that public relations and journalism were not two sides of one coin in the pre-phase of public relations. Second, the results of the literature review will be presented to highlight the work of Bertha von Suttner. Last but not least, the concluding part indicates the merger of public relations and journalism.

2. Theoretical Discussion

Public relations can be defined as propaganda and public activism. However, with Ronneberger & Rühl (1992) we can hold public relations as system, which produces and deploys issues for public discourse. Against this background, public relations focuses with Signitzer (1992) on the functioning of society. Comparatively, Rühl (1992) defines journalism as a system that produces and deploys issues for public discourse. Thus, journalism focuses also on the function of society. Following the definitions presented by Ronneberger & Rühl and Rühl for public relations and journalism, no differences are recognisable. The differences can be seen with Baerns (1985) by defining PR as self-presentation of particular interests through information, and journalism as objective third-party representation regarding society's interests. However, Bertha von Suttner had connected both orientations; journalism and public relations in order to fight for peace and women's rights. Against this background, public relations and journalism aims at the same. No differences can be found. Additionally, Bertha von Suttner combines on the one hand, public relations activities, in order to write as a journalist on such events. On the other hand,

she used the journalistic articles as a public relations-instrument. Following this, public relations can be seen as a tool within journalism and not as an opponent tool. Journalistic articles can also be seen as public relations-instruments. In a more concrete vein, it can be assumed that there are examples throughout history, which demonstrate that journalism and public relations have the same roots and aims. Thus, it may be difficult to separate public relations and journalism as two sides of one coin with a view of the pre- and early phase. With Liebert (1999) and Schönhagen (2008), the origins of public relations are related to the development of journalism. Against this background, it is not surprising to find only one side of the coin in view of the pre-phase of public relations. Public relations emerged from journalism. At the beginning, people, who were well versed in writing, served two purposes: the self-presentation and the third-party representation. Only later, differentiation between the disciplines was distinguishable. Schönhagen (2008) notes two motives regarding the distinction of journalism and public relations. Firstly, missing or corrupted reporting, which were close to partiality by the media. Following that, presswork in organisations seemed to be required. Practitioners meant that presswork would be helpful to overwhelm the corrupted media relations. Secondly, organisations or representatives of interests realised that audiences can be reached only through mass media. In their views, only mass media was able to give interests a voice.

Looking back at the history of the Austrian development of public relations, it can be noted that the paradigm of public relations as part of journalism was a central focus until after World War II. A first kind of differentiation between journalism and public relations took place after 1955 in Austria because of the increase in advertising. Until that time, public relations was a tool of journalism. However, parts of the practice remained rather assigned to journalism. Even in 1980, the journalist's union published a professional image of public relations not only demonstrating a journalistic task, but rather illustrating public relations as a journalistic field. However, the partition between the two disciplines cannot be seen as completed today. Current job postings with the denomination "PR-Journalist" illustrate the still existing fusion of the two disciplines. Following this, it is logically plausible that the here presented case study of Bertha von Suttner in view of the early phase of public relations clearly shows the connections between public relations and journalism. Regarding that, there is no doubt about the same roots.

3. Bertha von Suttner – One Coin, One Aim, One Side

Bertha von Suttner was born in 1843 in Prague as daughter of the aristocratic Kinsky family. Kaut (1950) described that she enjoyed the good life of a noblewoman. Especially the many varied travels with her mother in sophisticated resorts in Germany, Paris and Venice. However, in 1873 her mother suddenly lost all of her assets. From that point on, both mother and daughter were not accepted in the aristocratic society. Due to this, Bertha von Suttner had to earn money for herself. This phase was very important for her development and way of thinking and led to independence. With Morris-Keitel (2014) "Suttner uses her own personal development from an aristocratic debutante to a self-sufficient governess and then intellectual companion of her husband, Arthur Cundeccar von Suttner."

The view of the relationship between Bertha and Arthur von Suttner and the emergence of it express an important detail concerning her further development. The employment of a nanny to young Arthur turned into love. Bertha had to leave because the family was against this relationship. However, Bertha went to Paris to win distance and find employment as secretary of Alfred Nobel, who motivated her to write on her studies.

Nevertheless, in 1876 she left Paris and secretly married Arthur von Suttner in Vienna. The couple were again not accepted by the family. For this reason, Bertha recalled

the acquaintance to Russian Empress, who invited them to be guests in Mingrelien. According to Klaus & Wischermann (2013), Bertha von Suttner began to write together with her husband during their stay in Mingrelien (1876-1885) to escape from financial distress. Kaut (1950) emphasised that Bertha von Suttner dealt during that time with Haeckel, Darwin and Spencer. Her first literary work, "Inventarium einer Seele" (1883) was written on the considerations out of her studies in the direction of nature, life, science and politics. Moreover, this literature also emphasised the peace problem in the world. However, she published her work under a different name. Furthermore, Klaus & Wischermann (2013) note that she used a male pseudonym. Subsequently, according to Klaus & Wischermann (2013), she mainly published fictional texts mostly in illustrations and family magazines, initially, again under a male pseudonym. However, her husband was also referenced actively in her writing. Following Strobl (2014), her husband worked as war correspondent of the Russian-Turkish wars. In view of the tragedy of war, Bertha von Suttner's way of thinking against war was strengthened. At that time, her views were holding as unrealistic. However, Kaut (1950) emphasised that Bertha von Suttner highlighted the ethical-human side, which was under no circumstances utopian. In contrast, Kaut (1950) noted that her intentions were based on the real background of international human law.

Next to the message of peace, the equality of women was another concern. In her second work "Maschinenzeitalter", Bertha von Suttner highlighted the stereotype against women's thinking skills. However, this literature was published under the pseudonym "someone". Although Bertha von Suttner wanted to spark a war between genders, she critically emphasised women, who played their role of a distinguished beautiful woman. Furthermore, she noted that physiological differences did not lead to ethical differences. Following this, Bertha von Suttner aimed at the liberation of women, which benefits men. According to Götz (1996), Bertha demanded that the freedom for women required the opening of the pathways.

Although Bertha von Suttner was driven to highlight much of this activity, she reached central attention with the message of peace written under her own name. In particular, the discrepancy that a woman wrote on the tragedies of war to fight for peace, led to criticism and excitement. 'Lay down your arms' was Bertha von Suttner's world successful novel under her own name. With Enichlmair (2005), this book can be held as a stirring indictment of the war. Although she had difficulties publishing the book, the first edition of 1000 copies was carried out in 1889. The book aroused great public attention, praise and criticism. According to Strobl (2014), the main public criticism focused on the fact the editor was a woman. In contrast, intellectuals were full of praise. The novel was translated into 20 languages and offered a realistic view of war and violence, which Bertha von Suttner showed in order to demonstrate for peace. Götz (1996) has commented that this novel was based on elaborate research methods adopting both literature review and interviews with witnesses. Morris-Keitel (2014, p. 36) cited: "Suttner's narrative models a path to social progress based on intellectual development that permits her protagonists to achieve a critical distance from their social milieu, thereby allowing them to question long-held assumptions and traditions." Bertha von Suttner's novel led to a critical debate, which can be seen as the attention needed.

In Bertha von Suttner's work, two issues were central: peace and freedom for women. In order to reach attention for that, she used both journalism and public relations. In the case study of Bertha von Suttner there is no differentiation visible between journalism and public relations. It can be assumed that Bertha would have achieved less success with only one selected form. The integration especially demonstrates the speciality in the following period.

Through Alfred Nobel, her former employer and friend, she came into contact with Hodgson Pratt, who founded the 'International Arbitration and Peace Association' in 1880.

According to Götz (1996), Bertha von Suttner was enthusiastic and determined to support the peace movement, through work not only derived from editorial means. However, this attitude was quickly corrected by reality. According to Strobl (2014), Bertha von Suttner joined the 'Peace Conference in Den Haag' as the only woman. Moreover, she reported as correspondent in several newspapers about this conference. One year after the peace conference in Den Haag, Bertha von Suttner published excerpts on the articles about the peace conference in a diary form. In the foreword she noted (1901, p. III): Between the writing and publication of these papers has passed about a year. This period is too short to denote the here recorded dates historically and too long to make them appear more up to date. There have occurred since then events that had brought the passionate participation of the whole world, and what their character to be presented at the conference principles diametrically opposed are: Unleashed war - is declined arbitration - spurned mediation - reinforced arms. The result is that the conference is regarded as having failed in the judgment of the crowd, or what is equally bad that it has been forgotten.

Bertha von Suttner was not satisfied and validated results of the peace movement. Consequently, she repeated formulating embassy. In a more concrete vein, the instruments used by her are typical for strategic communication today. Thus, Bertha von Suttner was an extraordinary public relations professional. In addition, the following examples illustrate especially her work in the sense of public relations and journalism.

In 1891 Bertha von Suttner founded the 'Österreichische Gesellschaft der Friedensfreunde [The Austrian Society for Peace Friends]'. Likewise in 1891 she gave the first international speech of a woman at the Peace Conference in Rome. In addition, Bertha von Suttner suggested Nobel establishing the foundation of the Nobel Peace Prize as compensation for his weapons idea to peace. In contrast to Bertha, Nobel was convinced that only the fear of a weapon is leading to peace. During this period Bertha worked hard on both propaganda and journalism with the aim to lead the majority of the public toward peace. Götz (1996) cited Bertha von Suttner, who summarized her actions in 1891: 'I stood in the mid of the young movement. I had to preside over a new association, to edit a journal, to lead a regular correspondence with colleagues acquired in Rome.' In summary, Bertha von Suttner perfectly combined journalistic activities at that time with public relations. She reported not only about the peace movement and wrote novels, but also made speeches and lectures, organised the movement and was a pioneer in the field of networking. Bertha von Suttner also showed her persuasiveness in this case that led to a rethinking by Nobel. In 1904 she appeared in her first US tour. In 1905 she was awarded with the Nobel Prize for Peace. At the same time in November and December 1905 she held 31 lectures in Germany to promote women's rights and peace. In 1912 embarked on her second US tour, which became a triumphal procession. She died 10 days before the outbreak of World War I, thus she was preserved to witness that her warnings before the war were ignored. According to Hamann (1976), Bertha von Suttner pursued one main goal: 'Creating a sufficiently informed public opinion.' For this purpose, she used both journalism and propaganda instruments. The results show that in the intentions by journalism and public relations, no differences were visible with a view to campaigning. In this case study, journalism is closely related to public relations in order to activate the public.

4. Conclusion

This paper reports about the connection between public relations and journalism in view of the case study of Bertha von Suttner. Bertha von Suttner's work aimed at emphasising peace for the world. Bertha von Suttner defined war as an unwanted clutter, which was supported by the arms industry. In order to raise awareness of this ethical distress, Bertha von Suttner

used both journalistic and public relations tasks. On one hand, propaganda was undertaken by Bertha von Suttner with the aim to promote ethical morals to peace. For this purpose she used typical instruments such as public speeches, lectures, conferences and lecture tours. On the other, such events were suitable occasions in order to write about as a journalist. Although Bertha von Suttner started with journalism, her work cannot be seen only in that context. Especially her task to give peace and women a voice is very next to public relations. Public relations and journalism merge in this example into tools of public concern. In this context, it should be noted that the journalistic intension by Bertha von Suttner did not differ from her propaganda function. Bertha von Suttner made her personal concern with both journalistic articles and propaganda into a public concern. Due to this, both sides were inextricably linked and cannot be separated from each other. Against this background, it can be rather assumed that just the connection of both journalism and public relations led to the incomparable success of this woman. Additionally, the literary works should not be forgotten, which could be assigned to both journalism and public relations, depending on your perspective.

In line with the theoretical discussion, the findings and illustrations highlight that journalism and public relations are not two sides of one coin. On the one hand, mass media was important to reach the public and to set the agenda in the public discourse. On the other hand, public relations instruments, such as conferences and lectures were important to set up occasions in order to write about in the mass media. The opportunity to take control of writing articles was a way to avoid being victimized by corruption or deletion. Journalism and public relations stand side by side in this case study. Against this background, Bertha von Suttner combined definitions for journalism and public relations noted by Baerns (1985). Bertha von Suttner represented with her work self-presentation of particular interests through information and journalism as objective third-party representation regarding society's interests. Finally, it should be finished with the words of Pierson's Verlag (1912) about Bertha von Suttner: Bertha von Suttner is one of the noblest manifestations of the cultural life of the present, she is a person whose work and pursuit is part of the civilizing effectiveness of the German people. Her name is everywhere called with awe. She is a woman liberated from the shackles of spiritual bondage, a woman, who cooperates to the reorganisation of human history. Her reputation "Lay Down Your Arms" has found an echo in every land far across the seas, which has enthusiastic great masses and strive to make the idea into action. Her reputation "Chess agony" has become the gospel of modern humanity.

This sequence was published in the 38th edition of "Lay down your arms!", which was published at the request of Bertha von Suttner as a cheap popular edition to reach even more people. Following that, Bertha von Suttner intentionally used all communication channels to enforce not only her own interests, but rather general interests for the benefit of society.

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The Next of Kin:

Propaganda, realism or a film with a purpose?

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe use of realism in the World War II propaganda film, *The Next of Kin*. *The Next of Kin* expressed in film one of the most enduring themes of World War II propaganda, the campaigns targeted at military personnel and civilians that have entered the lexicon with phrases such as ‘careless talk costs lives.’ The project shows how the careless talk message was delivered using the medium of a full-length feature film and furthers knowledge of an important World War II propaganda campaign that has attracted ‘relatively little scholarly attention’ (Fox, 2012, p. 936).

The originality of the work lies in the discussion of realism as a tool for propaganda in cinema. The paper examines historic material relating to *The Next of Kin* in the archives of the British Film Institute National Archives and the personal papers of the director, Thorold Dickinson, to explain Dickinson’s view of cinema propaganda as films with a purpose that use a realistic approach to convey a message.

The paper argues that *The Next of Kin* represented a new approach to film propaganda that merged elements of documentary with feature film. The end product is a film that used real people rather than actors in a plot that was itself based on an assembly of real events and which used intertextual references to existing poster campaigns as reinforcement of its didactic message. The paper places the film’s development in the context of a wider government policy for feature film propaganda and a wartime film-making infrastructure which mixed civilian and military resources for delivering messages through cinema.

UK cinema and film propaganda in World War II

Film historians have recorded that World War II was a golden age for British cinema (Dickinson, 1983, p. 76) but there was little optimism at the outbreak of World War II, when all cinemas were closed on 3 September 1939 by the government due to fear of air raids. By 11 September they were reopened, according to a report by Mass Observation (1940), but these early impediments for cinemas – the distributive side of the UK film industry - were soon followed by restrictions on the production arm. Output was reduced due to shortages of materials, loss of personnel and reallocation of production space as studios were requisitioned for storage or factory use. 228 long films were made in 1937 falling to just 103 in 1939. 108 films were made in the best wartime year of 1940 and 46 in the worst year, 1942, the year in which *The Next of Kin* was made (Aldgate and Richards, 1986, p. 2). Yet despite rises in seat prices, due partly to an Entertainment Tax, audiences grew as cinema offered a convenient way of relaxing, making cinema by far, ‘the most popular entertainment,’ (Calder, 1971, p. 423) at the time.

In a book examining British film-making, Shaw (2006, p.1), claimed that ‘all wars...are fought in part through words and images.’ In an analysis of a single US-made wartime propaganda film of the 1940’s, Arnett and St John (2014, p. 104) define propaganda as ‘an initiative that features systematically-constructed messages (whether appearing in

news, books movie houses, or in speeches).’ The aim of propaganda is to influence and persuade an audience to acceptance of attitudes, assumptions and behaviours that will benefit a defined group, which is often a government in war time propaganda (Cunningham, 2002). UK public relations historians have classified the pre-war use of documentary film as a public relations tool. L’Etang (2004, pp. 32-33) described the emergence of the British documentary movement in the 1920s and 1930s and the ‘educative mission’ of the film maker, John Grierson, who worked at the Empire Marketing Board (EMB) as head of its film unit, under Sir Stephen Tallents, director of the EMB. Moloney (2006, p. 8) refers to one of Grierson’s later films for the UK’s General Post Office (GPO) Film Unit, as ‘promotional documentary....a minor classic today.’

The GPO Film Unit became the Crown Film Unit in World War II and part of the UK’s complex and interwoven infrastructure for war time film-making, which included various service film units. The Army Film Unit (AFU) which made films and the Army Kinematograph Service (AKS) was responsible for production and distribution of films within the Army, for example. Similar structures existed in the Navy and Royal Air Force but the Army’s film operations were by far the largest with eighty cameramen and eight directors by 1943 in what became the Army Film and Photographic Unit, (Chapman, 2008, p. 139). Coordination of the diverse organisations generating film propaganda was undertaken by the Ministry of Information Films Division. The unit was involved in commissioning and distributing films, with experienced public relations specialists, such as Jack Beddington (previously head of publicity at Shell) among its staff.

The Ministry of Information Films Division

The function of the Ministry of Information (MOI) was to ‘present the national case to the public at home and abroad’ and to co-ordinate ‘the preparation and issue of national propaganda,’ McLaine (1979, p. 12). The organisation was formed in September 1939, following a pre-war report by Sir Stephen Tallents, head of public relations at the BBC, which defined the template for the MOI (Tallents, 1938). Tallents (who had been Director of Public Relations at the Post Office and went on to be founding President of the UK’s Institute of Public Relations) was appointed as the Designate Director General. It was not long before what McLaine (1979, p. 13) has described as ‘highly disruptive intrigue’ led to Tallent’s dismissal and to many further changes in personnel.

There was a similar pattern of early change then stability at the MOI’s Films Division, which was led by a Sir Joseph Ball until end of 1939. Ball, previously Director of Publicity for the Conservative Party, attracted ‘scathing attacks from several quarters,’ some of it based on Labour suspicions about Ball’s ‘record as a propagandist for the Conservatives,’ (Dickinson and Street, 1985, p. 112). The art historian Sir Kenneth Clark took over until April 1940. Around this time, the MOI was subject to review by the House of Commons’ Sub-Committee on Home Defence, which produced a report to the Select Committee on National Expenditure (1940). The report was highly critical of several aspects of the MOI’s work in film but explicitly recorded disapproval of Clark’s decision to finance feature film projects that the MOI felt had value as home front propaganda. Film historians have recorded that this use of feature films as propaganda was an innovation which led to tension due to the potential for a clash of the propaganda motives of military and government paymasters with the narrative priorities of the film-makers, an issue that surfaced in the making of *The Next of Kin*.

This form of sponsorship was a new departure, since previously the production of propaganda or public relations films was associated with practices distinct from those involved in profit-making entertainment...In practice the lines were not so clear cut as that since some sponsors expected returns from a cinema release and the motives of those involved in entertainment film were often very mixed. (Dickinson and Street, 1985, p. 115)

While head of the MOI Film Unit, Clark circulated a *Programme for film propaganda* paper which suggested using three types of film formats – feature films, documentaries and newsreels to put across the principles underlying British wartime propaganda. A copy of the paper is included in Thorold Dickinson's personal papers (Clark, 1940a, p.1) as well as the National Archives, suggesting Dickinson had at least read the paper and thought it worth keeping. Clark suggests three purposes for wartime film making:

- i. An official record of the war
- ii. To form propaganda film for showing both in the country and abroad
- iii. For issue to the newsreels to supplement their own material

This in turn can be delivered through different formats:

- iv. Instructional films for the forces
- v. Home propaganda
- vi. Direct propaganda (presented free of charge to cinemas)
- vii. Home front entertainment propaganda
- viii. War time films for children (Clark, 1940a, p.2)

Clark argued in a MOI Policy Committee meeting for the value of an entertainment component to all films, even those with a propaganda purpose. 'If we renounce interest in entertainment as such, we might be deprived of a valuable weapon for getting across our propaganda,' (Clark, 1940b, p. 2). Kenneth Clark was promoted to Controller of Home Propaganda in April 1940, but during his short tenure, the GPO documentary unit was brought into the MOI Films Division under the new name of Crown Film Unit. Three of the films commissioned by Clark were produced by Michael Balcon, but despite this patronage, Balcon was a frequent critic of the MOI, complaining in a letter that:

'Many of us have done our best to harness ourselves to the Films Division of the Ministry of Information with, alas, very little encouragement. (Balcon, 1940)

Clark was replaced by Jack Beddington, who was 'very much his own man and had considerable professional experience of publicity and public relations,' (Aldgate and Richards, p. 7) acquired during his years as assistant general manager and director of publicity at both Shell Mex and BP. Beddington had used film in his previous roles and commissioned documentaries for public relations campaigns, and so it was no surprise that the *Documentary Newsletter* trade magazine, welcomed his appointment in its report that 'he will bring to his new post both taste and a sense of need – two qualities only too rarely associated with commercial ability,' while specifically praising his support of artists to commercial ends as 'one of the most noteworthy achievements of public relations in this or any country ('Notes of the Month,' 1940). As well as favourable retrospective assessments by film historians of MOI product at this time, the period up to 1942 was recognised at the time as a period of high quality film production, with the Parliamentary Secretary for the MOI, Ernest Thurtle, reporting to the House of Commons that while 'British film production

has necessarily fallen in quantity during the war, I think it can be fairly claimed it has risen in quality,' (HC Deb 7 July 1942).

Careless talk costs lives

The didactic content of *The Next of Kin* is based on the two separate but linked themes of gossip and the danger of a fifth column of enemy agents in Britain. It takes up a longstanding MOI campaign against dangerous gossip during war time in a cinema format and integrates this with the theme of a fifth column. The risks of a fifth column had been the subject of a speech by Prime Minister, Winston Churchill after the evacuation of British troops from Dunkirk as they retreated from mainland Europe, in which he referred to a 'malignancy in our mist,' (HC Deb 4 June 1940). The uncertainties and fear in Britain in 1940 after the retreat from Dunkirk led to varied and often entirely false rumours spreading throughout a locality. The MOI could not deal single handed with the problem of nationwide rumour and a Mass Observation report stated that the 'distribution of facts and the interpretation of facts' alone would not be enough. An improvement in the country's prosecution in the war would be needed in order to eliminate the fear which led to rumour in the first place.

In July 1940, a month after his speech in the House of Commons after Dunkirk, he ordered a 'wide campaign....against the dangers of rumour.' (Ministry of Information, 1940a). This led to Kenneth Clark commissioning an advertising agency to deliver the Silent Column campaign that implored all gossips to 'Join Britain's Silent Column!' in press advertisements, (Ministry of Information, 1940b).

The campaign included a pamphlet which stated:

There is a fifth column in Britain. Anyone who thinks there isn't has fallen into the trap laid by the fifth column itself. For the first job of the fifth column is to make people think it does not exist. (McLaine, 1979, p.75)

The careless talk campaign was part of this wider initiative on rumour and gossip and the Lives poster campaign remains one of the most enduring public information efforts of World War II, with reprints still sold widely today. The careless talk theme linked well with the fifth column scare, and was a recurrent theme of wartime propaganda, which was delivered initially through a poster series, featuring the slogans 'Careless talk costs lives,' 'Keep it under your hat,' 'Keep mum she's not so dumb.' Another poster in the series shows Goering and Hitler seated on a bus listening to gossip. Despite the general popularity of the careless talk campaign, Lewis (1997) has drawn attention to the negative portrayal of women in some of the posters, arguing that women are pictured as 'irresponsible in their garrulity' while at the same time 'sinister in their silence.'

Rather like the threat of fifth column, careless talk harming operations was something of a myth, with Lord Swinton's Committee on National Security concluding that 'there was little evidence of careless talk and less evidence it was put to good use by the enemy,' (Ministry of Information, 1941). Historical assessments based on German files confirm that it is now a matter of fact that there were no successful German agents in Britain during the war. 'All active agents either left for Germany in 1939, or were interned in 1940; the 115 who landed after the war started were either executed or turned to feed false information back to Germany,' (Gough-Yates, 2008, p.168). The poster campaign went through various creative treatments but the artist commissioned by the Ministry of Information to illustrate the campaign felt humour was more compelling than horror as a propaganda tool, which he

used as a 'corrective device' to counter the serious messaging that fifth columnists and enemy spies were ubiquitous in wartime Britain (Fougasse, 1966, p. 38). Fougasse, whose real name was Cyril Kenneth Bird, was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire for this work in 1946 (Taylor, 2010, p. 17).

Michael Balcon, Thorold Dickinson and the making of *The Next of Kin*

According to Shaw (2006, p.22) the obligation to fight a propaganda battle in tandem with government helped to politicise many film makers, and for Michael Balcon, 'making films about the stresses imposed by conflict and the nation's future reconstruction highlighted the failure of film-makers to reflect the agony of unemployment and poverty in the 1930s.' Balcon's choice as director, Thorold Dickinson, has been described as:

A mediatory and proselytiser...it was a natural development that he should be engaged in the major propaganda exercise that became *The Next of Kin*. It provided an opportunity for him to exploit his exceptional enthusiasm for the authority of cinema and was an important enactment of his concern with the processes of communication.' (Gough-Yates, 2008, p. 166)

Michael Balcon received £20,000 of funding for *The Next of Kin*, at a time when both the Army Film Unit and Crown Film Unit started to produce documentary features. Ealing agreed to provide a further £30,000 to make a total of £50,000 (Aldgate and Richards, 1986, p. 99). This mixed funding reflected political thinking at the time that state funding was provided towards production of films that 'while not treated as features in production, obtained a commercial cinema release as either first or second features,' (Dickinson and Street, 1985, p. 117).

The Next of Kin was the first full length film on the subject of careless talk, and followed several 10-minute fictional short films from Ealing on the topic, including, *Dangerous Comment*, *Now You're Talking* and *All Hands*. The project was born when General John Hawkesworth, director of military training, contacted Michael Balcon at Ealing Studios about a War Office 20-minute short film on security. Dickinson had just finished making *The Prime Minister* for Warner Brothers and was released from his Warner contract after an approach by the War Office.

The military funding led to some tensions between military objectives and the civilian pressures (from, the MOI) for wider distribution, as Dickinson records, predicting the later public distribution which came to pass.

The idea of public exhibition has been discouraged but never ruled out; the stipulation has been that no concession to public entertainment should be made in the film, which is primarily an instructional film for the armed forces. The latest opinion from the D.M.I. was that the film in his opinion should not be shown to the public. There is every reason to suppose that a discussion might change his opinion or a higher authority might overrule it. (Dickinson, 1940a)

1942 was a turning point in terms of awareness of a need for varied output in film propaganda and what the British Film Producers Association (BFPA) called a 'balance between war and non-war propaganda,' which might include 'realistic films about everyday life dealing with matters not directly about the war,' (Kinematographic Weekly, 1942, as cited by Richards, 1986, p. 102). From the outset, the shared priority of the military

commissioners and the film makers was for a top quality production to achieve its propaganda goals, as Dickinson records.

The G.C.A. (Mr Hughes Robert) did not so much advocate abandoning production as suggest the Treasury review the situation in the light of the forthcoming budget. He certainly emphasised his opinion that nothing but a first rate film would have any value as propaganda. (Dickinson, 1940b)

The film was shot between 26 July and 24 October 1941 (Dickinson, 1949) under the working title of *Security*. Casting involved a blend of service personnel and character actors, although star names were avoided. The battle scenes at the climax of the film were deliberately not scripted but based on realistic combined operation procedures. The invasion plan at the Cornish beach of Mevagissey was put together by Dickinson with help from Captain Sir Basil Bartlett Bart., a writer who was assigned as liaison officer, and officers from the Royal Worcestershire Regiment who played with invading commandos. The resulting plans were used by Cecil Dixon, production manager, to coordinate filming in a way that reflected the reality of offensive amphibious operations and looked less like film and more like an insider's view of a genuine military operation.

The film starts with a scene in France, with a Free French agent and a local resistance worker exchanging intelligence. This opening scene is soon undercut by pre-title captions which clearly convey the purpose of the film.

SECURITY

This is the story of how YOU – unwittingly worked for the enemy.

YOU – without knowing gave him the facts.

YOU – in all innocence helped write these tragic words.

The Next of Kin title then appears along with stirring music from the score composed by Sir William Walton.

Several recurring and directly propagandist cinematic devices are used to put the 'careless talk costs lives' message directly before the audience. Throughout the film, the camera pauses and then goes in close on propaganda posters bearing careless talk messages and slogans such as 'Keep it under your hat.' This familiar graphical propaganda is then reinforced verbally and visually in the on-screen drama, when the soldiers in the operation receive a lecture from the security officers, reminding them, that 'You are the real security men, not us.'

The theme of careless talk and its consequences also informs the film's narrative structure. Tension is generated as a result of the initial series of information leaks, which are all based on factual breaches of security relating to secret operational information. Dickinson himself records how that fact that so many breaches occurred as a result of Royal Air Force officers' clumsiness led to inter-service tension, especially so in a film made by the Army (Dickinson, 1949). Additional narrative tension is generated by cuts to scenes in Germany, which show the growing interest in the operation by Nazi commanders and finally the tragic consequences of those leaks as the raid is met with an ambush from well-prepared German defenders, resulting in heavy British casualties. The film skilfully combines a casual tone with realism in a way that makes the propaganda message more threatening, giving a vivid

illustration of the meaning of the recurring careless talk slogan in an absorbing espionage thriller.

For Gough-Yates (2008, p. 171), the film was a 'supreme product of Dickinson's didactic temperament, with a sense of unifying purpose behind what Dickinson described as 'the idea of security, of how in wartime human weakness, largely thoughtlessness, can drain away fragment by fragment the whole fabric of safety of hundreds of people.' Dickinson, who later became a film scholar, teaching at the Slade School at University College London, regarded this focus on a single message as an exceptional and innovative approach to film-making and central to the success of the propaganda elements of *The Next of Kin*. 'Where our film broke all convention and has rarely been matched before or since was in its insistence on following one idea and sacrificing all of what is called 'human interest' in its ruthless following of that one idea.' (Dickinson, 1949).

Reviews and results

The War Office was so impressed with the film and the effect on audiences that it appointed Dickinson to be head of production for the Army Kinematograph Film Unit and he was soon promoted to the rank of major. Balcon (1969, p.134) described the film as 'one of the most important films made in the life of Ealing.' There was widespread and positive press reaction, with a review in *The Observer* recording the film as 'a masterly team job, slick, unself-conscious, and about as dull as dynamite,' (Lejeune, 1942). *The Next of Kin* was judged an 'excellent propaganda proposition, a box office certainty for all classes,' by *Kinematograph Weekly* (1942, cited by Richards, 1986, p. 102).

The purpose in *The Next of Kin* (the security messages and propaganda) is delivered through a combination of fictional drama and fact-based propaganda which references existing poster material and other relevant messages on careless talk. The result is cinema which engaged the audience at an emotional and intellectual level. This fact-based and informational propaganda approach to film-making produced is 'one of the most significant British films of the Second World War and arguably Thorold Dickinson's most important film, noteworthy for its successful negotiation between propaganda and entertainment, and its combining of dramatic artifice and pedagogic skill,' (Gough-Yates, 2008, p. 166). In terms of propaganda impact, according to a summary by the director of Army Kinematography, a research panel of 1,000 members of the Inter-Services Research Bureau, concluded that the film 'had achieved more than one would hope to do in 12 months by talking.' (Kimberley, 1942). General Alexander told Dickinson (Aldgate and Richards, 1986, p.110) that 'the film was worth a division of troops to the British Army.'

Awareness of the key messages was tested in checks on 90 London cinema goers undertaken by Mass Observation. 65% said they very much liked the film, 25% said they liked it with 5% saying they disliked it. 80% recalled the film's propaganda message warning against careless talk with many of those interviewed actually mentioning the slogan in their responses (Mass Observation, 1942). Dickinson himself recorded people fainting as a result of the realism in the battle scenes, with women having hysterics:

The military cinema manager had to indent for a case of brandy and often called me across from my office across the road to come and help him talk people back to calmness.

One woman told a doctor who was called to see her that the whole film was a newsreel record of actual events. When we told her the scenes in France were staged

at a Cornish fishing village, she said we were lying.....Until this experience, I had never realised the appalling power that lies in the film and how slight are the margins that control the powers of suggestion in the cinema. (Dickinson, 1978, p. 5)

After initial distribution to the military, the film was put on general release, gained glowing reviews and generated £120,000 in profits for the Treasury – a 400% return on investment. The film was based on a raid on a German submarine pen in Northern France, and was released just ahead of the St Nazaire raid by Royal Marine Commandos. This unforeseen anticipation of a real event led to UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill intervening to get the film withdrawn as it was too close to the detail of the forthcoming raid, although it was put back into distribution afterward (Dickinson, 1949).

The film was distributed to allies but Gough-Yates (2008, p.171) has also speculated that press reports seen by Dr Goebbels in the Nazi Propaganda Ministry may have led to the German's own propaganda film on careless talk. Certainly, the plot of *Die Goldene Spinne* (The Golden Spider) by Erich Engels, closely follows the plot and intention of *The Next of Kin*.

Intertextual references and realism

This is a film with a purpose. It is not propaganda, in the current sense of the word, for that word has come to have a debased meaning; it now means persuasion by means of revealing much but not all of the truth. This film quite uncompromisingly reveals every point for and against its purpose. (Dickinson, 1949)

Dickinson's own appraisal of the persuasive dimension of *The Next of Kin* is instructive and the sense of purpose in its propaganda has been praised by the film director, Martin Scorsese, who has described the film as a 'fascinating picture' for the 'degree to which it sticks to its guns (just following the procedures and the transmission of information).....Dickinson succeeds in giving the film a life of its own, which is more than can be said for many propaganda films.....it sticks so closely to its purpose, following the information and showing the effects of leaks, (Horne, 2008, p. 30).

The sense of purpose in the propaganda elements of the film was partly achieved by the sense of unity around the Careless Talk theme that is generated by a series of intertextual references. Intertextuality was defined by Kristeva (1980) in relation to literary texts as existing at the semiotic and linguistic levels but has since applied to film and other media, with individual texts and films not seen as an isolated phenomenon but a 'mosaic...any text is the absorption and transformation of another.' *The Next of Kin* includes intertextuality from the outset in the titling itself. *The Next of Kin* phrase was a reference to the wartime radio announcement of combat deaths that the next of kin have been informed. Despite the varied wartime scenes in *The Next of Kin*, including night clubs, hotels, bookshops, Army barracks, almost all the posters in the film relate to the need for security. The success of the film's dramatization of the propaganda slogan, 'Careless Talk Costs Lives,' is achieved partly through what Aldgate and Richards (1986, pp. 101-102) described (using the language of intertextuality) as 'a mosaic of stories and incidents constructed around that single central idea.... (careless talk) which gives the film its dramatic unity.' The intertextual references help to maintain momentum and purpose, despite the film's lack of a conventional central hero and narrative thread. The references to the careless talk posters are themselves a further example of realism which relates to the core didactic purpose of *The Next of Kin* on conveying the careless talk message in film format.

The success of *The Next of Kin* also confirmed the popularity and potential of realism in British wartime cinema. Realism in the general sense and as a historical movement in the visual arts has been defined as the 'willed tendency of art to approximate to reality,' (Levin, 1951). In notes of a talk Dickinson (1949) gave to accompany a screening of the film, he records that the deliberately realistic style of film making in *The Next of Kin*, 'anticipated by several years.....the mood of intense realism,' that was adopted in the Italian post-war realism film making of Roberto Rossellini and others, referring his audience to the 'post-war trend in realism and factual re-construction in the American and Italian cinema' and specifically the films of the American producer, de Rochemont, which were 'reconstructions dramatised from actual events.....that take a more honest and truthful line of approach than the ordinary film.' This realistic approach to film making was itself a device that contributed to the propaganda purpose of *The Next of Kin*, by making the issue and consequences of careless talk something to which the military audience could relate and respond to at an emotional level.

We were asked to appeal not merely to the intelligence of the ordinary soldier but also to his emotions. For it was usually under conditions of emotional stress that leakages occur. (Dickinson, 1949)

This realistic approach was reflected in the decision to use active service personnel and non-star names, which also contributed to the propaganda or didactic effect, and specifically, the blend of fact and fiction in the plotline and the blend of propaganda and drama, the screenplay that makes *The Next of Kin* so compelling. This combination of realistic elements in the film was intended to force viewers to confront the fact that ordinary people such as themselves could unsuspectingly supply information to the enemy with disastrous and unintended consequences. Dickinson's film follows almost to the letter the *Programme for Film Propaganda* written by the leader of the MOI Films Unit, Kenneth Clark, who was intrigued by the potential mixture of documentary and newsreel to add realism to feature films and cites a German film on the invasion of Poland called *Baptism of Fire*, which used documentary film making technique and yet was directed throughout and shot to a prearranged plan:

Newsreel technique is entirely different from that required for ordinary films, and professionally there would be no question that the services of a director are vital for the success of the film work for which the units would exist. (Clark, 1940a, p. 5)

Shaw (2006, p. 21) has written that one of the reasons British cinema is said to have come of age during the second world war was partly because 'film-makers exploited the opportunities provided by the conflict to explore new subjects and to use innovative techniques.' Dickinson's use of realism was one such innovation and although *The Next of Kin* was a fiction, the level of realism in its plotline anticipated live offensive operations that were to take place after the film was conceived.

Winston Churchill caused our film to be withdrawn after a few performances because its subject matter too closely resembled the forthcoming raid on St. Nazaire. Only after that raid was successful was our film put back into circulation. (Dickinson, 1949).

A limitation of this paper is the focus on a single film. Findings from this initial analysis open up opportunities for further study on the use of neo-realistic film-making as a bridge between documentary and entertainment in propaganda campaigns in World War II. The single film has also been analysed through the lens of public relations history and war

time propaganda, rather than cinema history and film criticism. Additional insights on the place of *The Next of Kin* in cinema history and comparative insights on the techniques used and the impact and importance of the film would be welcome as additional dimensions of analysis which would potentially enhance the project.

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ABSTRACT

Public Relations – a maturing discipline? Results from a citation analysis (1998 to 2014)

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The history of public relations as a professional practice might be quite old, the history of public relations as an academic domain, however, is fairly young. If one agrees to the assumption that an academic domain is built around a specific academic journal at its core, then the year 1977 is the birth of the domain because the Journal “Public Relations Review” was published first time as the first journal solely devoted to public relations in that year. Undoubtedly, the field has grown significantly over the last 36 years. One of the most important developments in the field was and still is the rise of new journals. In the eighties the Journal of Public Relations Research was founded, in the nineties the Journal of Communication Management followed. Just recently Public Relations Inquiry followed. As the first two journals originated in the United States, the latter ones more or less are located in Great Britain.

This study presents citation data coming from four academic journals. It aims at measuring the interdisciplinarity of the academic domain public relations over the years 1998 to 2014. More than 25.000 citations were collected in order to reconstruct the input of literature into academic public relations research. The study collected material from Public Relations Review (PRR), Journal of Public Relations Research (JoPRR), Journal of Communication Management (JoCM), and Management Communication Quarterly (MCQ). The latter one was chosen in order to compare PR-Journals with a journal that focuses more on Organizational Communication research. Public Relations Inquiry was not chosen for the sample because the journal is too young. The data is gathered in steps of four years: 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2014.

The data show a growing rate of self-citation over the years. Especially PRR and JoPRR do have a high rate (more than 60 per cent) of disciplinary self-citation. However, JoCM is no exception even the rate is slightly lower. MCQ, more devoted to organizational communication research, has a significantly lower rate of self-citations and is, as such, more interdisciplinary.

As Pasadeos, Berger & Renfro (2010) stated, the domain matured over the years: Based on citations collected in the year 2005 and compared with previous studies (Pasadeos, 1989; Pasadeos & Renfro, 1992), the authors described maturation as a significantly growing rate of disciplinary self-citation. The idea: the more self-citation the more likely there will be a growing body of theory building coming from within the field of public relations. As logical and charming this idea is at first glance, other authors still interpret a growing rate of self-citation as isolation (McKie, 2001). By choosing a very common definition of public relations as the management of communication between an organization and its publics (Grunig & Hunt, 1984), public relations research and theory building at least has to do with communication, management, organization and publics. This implies that disciplines such as communication, management studies, organization studies, sociology and psychology should be heavily involved. Taking the high rate of self-citations into account it can be doubted that

a theory building based solely on knowledge produced in the field of public relations is attractive for practitioners or academics from other fields, because it does not reflect the complexity of the process of public relations. The paper closes with a plea for more openness instead of closing the door for 'foreign' knowledge, having in mind that also political systems find identity through closing the borders, in historical dimensions won't last very long.

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ABSTRACT

Historical analysis of the International Public Relations Association education Gold Papers 1976-1997

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Purpose

This paper aims to make a contribution to the International History of Public Relations Conference theme relating to the history of *public relations professional bodies and their impact on education and professionalisation*.

The paper reports historical archival research (Watson 2011) involving Gold Papers on public relations education published by the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) between 1976 and 1997. The analysis identifies public relations topics and tactics highlighted for inclusion in public relations education programmes within the 21 year period in which the IPRA published its four public relations education Gold Papers (1976, 1982, 1990, 1997). These gold papers are an important focus for research since they are credited with having a global impact on the development of public relations (Sharpe 2005).

Methodology

The study employs a qualitative historical approach (Daymon and Holloway 2011). The data analysis of the historical archival documents is informed by the thematic template analysis method (King 2004; Easterby-Smith et al. 2012) and benefits from Miles and Huberman's (1994) advice on the matrix analysis process.

Findings

The paper's findings include a discussion of the topics deemed important for public relations education programmes by the IPRA over the 21 year focal period of the historical analysis. The results include identification of tactics included in the Gold Papers. Additionally the study addresses the question of to what extent the education Gold Paper recommendations encouraged a strategic approach to public relations practice. Furthermore, the analysis and discussion considers themes relevant to public relations pedagogy.

Implications/limitations

The study is limited to publicly available archive material published in the English language by the IPRA. The paper draws out practical pedagogical implications for public relations education. In addition, social implications relating to the role of professional bodies in public relations education are considered.

Originality

The article contributes to the literature on public relations education with a historical analysis of all four of the IPRA's education Gold Papers. A thorough literature search has been unable to identify other studies that have analysed all four education Gold Papers from the perspective of topics, tactics and strategy. So this paper makes an original contribution to the field of historical public relations research in this regard.

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ABSTRACT

European Judaism, Freud, Bernays and the birth of Public Relations

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Generally regarded as the ‘father of public relations,’ Edward Louis Bernays (1891–1995), was a public relations theorist and practitioner whose methods revolutionised the field and who originally coined the term public relations counsellor or consultant. Born in Vienna, a double nephew of Sigmund Freud, his parents migrated to New York when he was a baby.

After graduating from Cornell Agricultural College in 1912, Bernays worked as a medical journalist before becoming a show business publicity agent. Bernays was PR counsel to Enrico Caruso, Otis Skinner, and Diaghilev's Russian Ballet. He was a key staff member of Senator George Creel's World War One Committee on Public Information. Bernays' first private client was Professor Thomas Masaryk, father of Czechoslovak independence. After 1920 Bernays was recognized as the leading public relations counsellor for major American corporations. He wrote the first book on public relations, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, in 1929 and taught the first college course on the subject in 1930.

This paper comprises the first detailed analysis of the German and Austrian, Jewish family, religious and cultural background of Bernays. It suggests that his unique patrimony of traditional, fin-de-circle diluted Judaism, Viennese philosophy and Freudian psychology created the optimal personality and skills to father the new industry and the new profession that would revolutionise business and political communication throughout the 20th century.

Bernays also led the way for other Jews, products of a common oral and textual cultural tradition, such as Byoir, Sonnenberg, Weissman, Gottlieb and Dietz who were to make major contributions to the early development of the new discipline.

Using both previously published biographies of Freud and Bernays and new and original research gathered by investigating their family, religious and cultural milieu; the paper will present original and pioneering cross-curricular conclusions based on Jewish history, central European social history, psychology, journalism and the history of diplomacy.

ABSTRACT

Growth and Development of Public Relations Codes of Ethics in English Speaking Countries: A Historical Analysis

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This paper reports on an analysis of the growth and development of public relations codes of ethics in Australia, Canada, India, Ireland, Great Britain and the United States. It also examines such codes – as well as certain declarations of principles – for several international professional societies serving public relations, most notably the International Public Relations Association (IPRA), the International Association of Business Communicators (IABC), the Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communication Management, and CERP, the European Confederation of Public Relations.

The analysis reported on in this paper attempts to deal with long-time concerns about public relations including those who criticize the entire public relations industry for lacking ethics, those who refuse to realize public relations offers more than lying and spin-doctoring, those who continue to insist the term “public relations ethics” is an oxymoron, and those who continue to believe public relations has a tarnished history and will never be accepted as a legitimate occupational group. This analysis finds ethical codes do not vary much from country to country and that some of these codes have been shortened and converted into extremely vague documents in recent years. Serious problems involving the monitoring and enforcement of public relations codes throughout much of the free world also are addressed.

The paper also follows changes in ethical concerns within public relations as the practice has grown and matured from something not much more than one-way communication such as publicity and press-agentry, where ethics were not necessarily perceived to be of prominent importance; to the two-way, executive-level communication that has become a major part of public relations in today’s contemporary and forward-thinking organizations that seek public relations counsel regarding organizational decision-making.

An overview of public relations ethics research will be included in the paper, particularly those studies that make mention of ethical codes including the work of Bivins, Bowen, Chase, Curtin, Dozier, Grunig, Heath, Kruckeberg, Martinson, McElreath, Parkinson, Pearson, Verčič and Wright.

Finally, the paper confronts the uncomfortable question asking if codes of ethics and declarations of principles actually show any impact in a public relations industry plagued by an unusually high number of ethical problems within recent years. This includes issues Ketchum faced while working for ConAgra Foods, problems experienced by Burson-Marsteller in its work on behalf of Facebook, Edelman’s ghost-blogging on behalf of Wal-Mart Stores, ethical issues that developed within public relations efforts of the BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, and serious double-billing issues involving FleishmanHillard, and other case situations.

ABSTRACT

Public Relations Activities of National Economy and Saving Society during 1930s in Turkey

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Public relations practices have pivotal role in a society about connecting production to consumption. It facilitates market exchanges and relationships through formulating and circulating discourses that inculcate particular consumption patterns and norms. In this process, public relations work involves crafting and disseminating symbolic meanings, acceptable or legitimate values, attitudes, and actions in order to structure consumption field. Besides, public relations activities are employed in order to stimulate interest and produce demand to consumer goods and promote new consumption habits.

Facing up to the world economic crisis in 1929, young Republic of Turkey had to follow new economic policies to protect national economy from the severe effects of crisis. In this process, significant public relations activities were employed to secure national economy through promoting the use of domestic goods and raising a public consciousness to thrift. National Economy and Saving Society were established in 1929, and this institution was charged to encourage thrifty living, educate public about saving and trigger awareness to the importance of using domestic goods. Although the activities were not regarded as public relations during that time, National Economy and Saving Society served to develop and mobilize public opinion, produce consent and raise public concern through employing persuasive and informative communication practices.

National Economy and Saving Society organized countrywide quickly in the form of city branch offices, each office prepared an activity program based on the vision of the institution (Duman, 1992). For instance, İzmir office organized women branches and these branches gathered women together at homes and gave information about saving and promoted domestic goods. Publicity and Propaganda Committee of the institution realized most notable public relations efforts. This committee was responsible to produce and publicize special materials such as films, announcements, posters, and bulletins. Every year, Domestic Goods and Saving Week (12-18 December) held by National Economy and Saving Society, and celebrated as national festival especially in schools to inform pupils (Duman, 1992). As Duman (1992) mentions, these weeks were regarded as an opportunity to communicate with the public and served as a period for campaigning. During this period, shops selling domestic goods were giving discounts and designing special windows. National Economy and Saving Society was organizing a competition for best window design, and giving rewards (Duman, 1992). Besides, special exhibitions were organized to promote domestic goods in different cities.

This study focuses on public relations activities of National Economy and Saving Society during 1930s in Turkey and highlights the role of public relations to form consumption patterns and norms in this period. To identify and elaborate

different public relations activities of the institution, a historical research was undertaken using archives and many secondary sources. Turkish newspaper archives were scanned to identify important events and activities. Publications of National Economy and Saving Society and the Magazine of *Kadro* were thematically examined. Books, articles, essays, dissertations, conference papers, documentaries were collected and also reviewed thematically.

According to Duman (1993: 16) during 1930s, some other European countries such as Austria, Switzerland, Germany, France, Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece held special weeks devoted to promotion of domestic goods as well. This study may also offer an opportunity to discuss the similarities/differences in public relations activities during that period.

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