

# **THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF PUBLIC RELATIONS CONFERENCE 2013**

Held at Bournemouth University

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## **Presentations from speakers: Demetrious to Lemes de Castro**

<b>Author(s), affiliation and email</b>	<b>Paper</b>
Kristin Demetrious, Deakin University	"Corporate Affairs"- Public relations and asbestos production: a social history
Anne Gregory & Gregor Halff, Leeds Metropolitan University & Singapore Management University	The Asian Century: but what do comparative histories tell us about practice?
Kirk Hallahan, Colorado State University	Public relations on trial: the U.S. commission on Industrial Relations' investigation of the roles of John D. Rockefeller, jr. and Ivy Lee in the Colorado coal strike, 1913-1915
Kevin Hora, Dublin Institute of Technology	'As you are the Guardians of the Nation's Peace be also the Guardians of her Honour.' Official propaganda and policing in the Irish Free State, 1922-37
Tomoki Kunieda, Sophia University	The Evolution of Tokyo's PR: Case Study of a Local Government
Cheryl Ann Lambert & Yuehan Wang, Boston University	Planting messages: A narrative paradigm analysis of the WW2 Victory Garden campaign
Lucy Laville, Leeds Metropolitan University	Learning from the past to develop the future of the PR profession: benchmarking PR's professional status in relation to established business professions
Julio Cesar Lemes de Castro, University of São Paulo	Edward Bernays and Freudian group psychology



# **“Corporate Affairs”**

## **Public relations and asbestos production: a social history**

Kristin Demetrious  
Deakin University, Australia



# This presentation is in three parts:

Part 1: Asbestos production overview

Part 2: PR and Knowledge Asbestos

Part 3: My research approach and findings



# Asbestos

- Asbestos is a naturally occurring mineral, now known to have dangerous carcinogenic properties, that was mined, commoditised, manufactured and sold commonly throughout the twentieth century as a building material and in other products.
- Its industrial production dates back to the nineteenth century and occurred in many countries including Australia, South Africa, Canada and the US.



# Global players

- In the 20<sup>th</sup> century the major global players were the UK-based Cape Asbestos and Turner & Newall, and US-based Johns-Manville Corporation “which became the biggest asbestos miner and manufacturer in the world” (Hills 1989, 10).
- Hills said that the “Big Three” “dominated the industry that was to put “tens of millions of tons (an estimated 20 million tons in the US alone) of asbestos into ships and planes, office blocks and suburban homes, cars and kitchens, railway carriages and water pipes on every continent, even Antarctica” (1989, 10).

# Publicity shot for Turner & Newall circa 1957



<http://blogs.mirror.co.uk/asbestos-campaign/2009/03/how-turner-newell-condemned-it.html>

# Australians and asbestos:

- Australia has one of the highest rates of asbestos-related death in the world.
- Health risks associated with asbestos are long term and growing:
- “As these can take a number decades to develop, it is likely that the effects on the Australian community of exposure to asbestos will continue to increase into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century” (Australian Government “Asbestos Related Diseases”).



# James Hardie Industries Limited

- The principal Australian company that manufactured asbestos products used in both public and private buildings for the Australian and British markets.



# Asbestos production in Australia



James Hardie Factory Rivervale, Western Australia

Source: <http://www.asbestosdiseases.org.au/asbestos-in-the-community.html>

## Aerial photograph of James Hardie Industries, Welshpool, Western Australia, 1964



State Library of Western Australia

<http://innopac.slwa.wa.gov.au/record=b2405343#.UbKtKVfQp8E>




Source: <http://monash.edu/library/collections/exhibitions/home/virtual/photos/photo13.html>



State Library of Western Australia

<http://innopac.slwa.wa.gov.au/record=b2405085#.UbKi7IfQp8E>



# Known risks of the industrial production of asbestos

- Traced to the nineteenth century, when people began to notice the ill effects on millworkers from asbestos factories in Manchester and Birmingham.
- Hills (1989) states that in 1906 the British Government established a Parliamentary Commission to investigate conditions in the factories which, by 1927, led to the classification of the disease “asbestosis.”
- “The alarming social effects were also prominently canvassed in 1964 in a conference hosted by the New York Academy of Sciences” through the efforts of Dr Irving Selikoff



# Production grows despite known risks

- Tweedale and McCulloch argue that production of asbestos continued to increase between 1960 and approximately 1980 despite the growing concerns about the health risks it presented (2011, 1).
- They explain that “[t]he asbestos multinationals – Johns-Manville, Turner & Newall, Cape Asbestos, Eternit, and James Hardie – were powerful enough to influence the media and scientific debate”.
- “Most leading asbestos scientists had links to the industry. The asbestos industry’s critics were dismissed as subversives or accused of having links with trade unions and personal-injury lawyers” (2011, 1).

# PR and Asbestos

- Public relations was a key tool in the suppression of information about the lethal and long term effects of asbestos and in the management of the activist groups that mobilised to expose the hazardous nature of the material and to seek reparation.



## In the US and UK, Hill & Knowlton:

- In 1968, T&N circulated a confidential five-point plan entitled “Putting the Case for Asbestos”. Drafted by the international PR firm Hill & Knowlton and designed to enable staff to field questions about asbestos cancer, it began, in capital letters: “NEVER BE THE FIRST TO RAISE THE HEALTH QUESTION.”
- T&N Board meeting minutes of 25 May 1967 “Under the heading ‘Publicity in the UK’ ... suggest that much of what was being said about asbestos was ‘alarmist’ and ‘ludicrous’”. (Rochdale Online 11/9/2013).
- Ed Howker: “When government departments did raise questions about the safety of asbestos, the Board of Trade intervened, arguing that any suggestion that asbestos presented a danger would damage British jobs. So, the sale of asbestos products continued to grow in the UK throughout the 1960s and 1970s.” *New Statesman* (28/8/2008)



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## CONFIDENTIAL

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# PUTTING THE CASE FOR ASBESTOS

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### Five key points

Many of us who work in the asbestos industry are being asked questions on the health risks associated with asbestos and some asbestos products. This leaflet is not intended to provide answers to such questions, because other literature has been designed for that purpose by the Asbestos Information Committee and by individual companies.

By now therefore you will probably be familiar with the queries which people outside the industry are raising, and with the facts which enable you to put this

matter in perspective for them. Knowing the facts, however, is not enough. Facts only convince when convincingly presented. Remember, when discussing asbestos and health with others, that for your audience *you* are the asbestos industry. This is a great responsibility, and these notes are intended to help you carry it effectively.

**NEVER BE THE FIRST TO RAISE THE HEALTH QUESTION. If it is raised with you, then observe the following principles:**

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## 1 Make clear our concern

Disease which may be related to its products, whether serious or not, is naturally a matter of deep concern to the British asbestos manufacturing industry. The industry sets an example to the world in the precautions it takes to safeguard its own workers, in the Codes of Practice produced

by the Asbestosis Research Council to guide customers concerned with the health of their workers and in the medical and scientific research it sponsors on health matters. Reflect the industry's concern in your own attitude.

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## 2 Emphasize rarity



Automatic Zoom



been sensationalised because some recent medical research is of a kind which readily attracts headlines, and because asbestos

become greatly exaggerated in the minds of people unfamiliar with the facts.

### 3 Stress that control is effective

The solution to the health problem is *not* to seek substitutes for asbestos, particularly as the majority of uses for asbestos products involve no dust and therefore no risk. In those operations where any significant amount of asbestos dust is likely to be regularly produced, effective measures of control are required. This control is achieved by following the recommended Codes of Practice. Experience has proved control to be effective. For example,

an expert statistical study of the mortality of long-service workers in a large asbestos textile factory has shown that as a result of the preventive measures taken since 1933 both the total cancer rate and the lung cancer rate for men employed for twenty years or more since 1933 are no greater than for the population as a whole.

### 4 Be positive

Asbestos is used because it saves lives, because it affords protection.

*For example:*

**asbestos-based brake linings**

produce a safe stop and cut down road accidents

**asbestos-based bulkheads**


contain the spread of fire through passenger and crew quarters at sea

**asbestos protection for steelwork**

delays the collapse of burning buildings

**asbestos-based fire partitions**

make offices, schools, hospitals and other places where large numbers of people congregate, safer



## In Australia, Eric White and Associates (EWA)

- Was established in 1947 founded by Eric White “who had worked for three years as Public Relations Director for the Liberal Party of Australia” (Burton 2007, 189).
- EWA’s global reach led to the company becoming an affiliate of the giant US RP company, Hill & Knowlton, which finally took over the company in January 1974” (Burton 2007, 191).

## SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

JAMES HARDIE ASBESTOS LIMITED wishes to set the record straight about the following issues, in the light of recent publicity:

### 1. ASBESTOS DUST

There is considerable confusion about asbestos as used in James Hardie products, and respirable asbestos dust.

It is only airborne asbestos dust that is the potential health hazard.

Because the small amount of asbestos fibre in our products is locked in by cement, it cannot escape into the atmosphere as dust, and therefore poses NO RISK TO HEALTH.

It is only when asbestos cement products are sawn, drilled or machined that the asbestos can escape as dust. However, dust levels generated by manufacturer-recommended tools and methods meet the requirements set by the National Health & Medical Research Council in industrial situations.

Asbestos cement sheet products carry a warning label detailing simple



# PR disseminating knowledge

- “Such tragedies are seen to arise out of a complex web of relations between capital, government, public, consumers and the workforce. Each of these sets of relations is mediated through the opinions, prejudices and actions of technicians. Those technicians are centred in state and federal authorities, in industry and in medicine. “  
(McCulloch 1986 p 257)
- The role public relations played in bridging these position is not fully understood.



# PR and resistance

Conditions that enabled a long-term public relations campaign to sanitise the serious health issues associated with asbestos over the late twentieth century:

- Socio;
- Economic;
- Cultural.



# Socio conditions

- A general expectation a passive, obedient and malleable “publics”; and a level of international networking between parent and subsidiary public relations companies.



# Socio Conditions

A context that PR was failing in the 1970s

- Freeman (219) discusses the fact that he has interviewed public relations and public affairs executives “in a number of organizations, and several who were active in the various PR/PA professional associations.
- “Our publics don’t listen to us. They want to speak to someone who can make decisions.
- “Investigative reporting has gotten out of hand. When the media call I am not sure if I should even talk to them. The press is impossible.
- “What we have been doing for the past 20 years, and doing well, just isn’t enough these days.
- “There is no reason to doubt the veracity of these sentiments. We take on trust that these are the views of senior practitioners, long serving and honest about the constraints and limitations of the field.”



# environment & industry

Reporting on current  
action against pollution  
in Australia

Issued monthly by the Environmental  
Health Unit of Eric White Associates



No. 1

MAY, 1970

## INTO THE STREAM

What existed for many years as a tiny trickle of generally local interest in pollution has in recent months grown into an ever-widening and quickening stream of concern about the state of man's environment.

As recently as one year ago few people looking at the clear, blue Australian skies would have believed pollution could become the sort of problem here that many years ago brought air pollution regulations to England and America, but now alarm is sounding in both urban and country areas about smoke, dust and toxic gases in those skies. Australian beaches, long a source of national pride, are now the objects of national concern.

In past months "pollution villains" have been accused, among them industrial

firms, users of agricultural chemicals and Government bodies responsible for sewerage disposal; seldom-used words such as "ecology" and "environment" have gained new vogue and extended meaning; experts, both domestic and imported, have appeared bearing claims and counterclaims; governments and men in politics have been moved to words and actions. At the same time, Press reports on these events have multiplied beyond the capacity of most people to benefit from them.

ENVIRONMENT & INDUSTRY now leaps into this stream of activity, not to control, filter or enlarge it, but to sample its current composition and to distil into useful form information that will ultimately affect every Australian

IN COMING MONTHS - Legislation, State by State



# Economic conditions

- An example is Eric White and Associates, the Australian arm of US public relations firm Hill and Knowlton, which had links to US-based Johns-Manville Corporation: “which became the biggest asbestos miner and manufacturer in the world” (Hills 1989, 10).



# Asbestos Information Association

- Non-profit publicity and promotions body which represents more than fifty American and Canadian firms” (McCulloch1986, p32).
- Their activity included suppressing adverse publicity about the industry and deflecting attention from the health issues. Despite the moral and ethical implications for society, public relations was able to achieve their goals and objectives.
- Haigh writes that in 1973 spokesperson for the Asbestos Information Association “Matthew Swetonic ...insisted ‘The good news is, despite all the negative articles on asbestos-health that have appeared in the press over the past half-dozen years, very few people have been paying attention’” (2006, pp.110-111).
- Did public relations firms such as EWA delved far deeper into unethical territory because of such associations?



# Cultural conditions

- Corporate cultures within public relations
- An overriding belief that the instrument of public relations could be used with impunity to stifle dissent by activists
- PR had close proximity to centres of political power.



# EWA and Australian Secret Intelligence Service

- Toohey and Pinwell discuss:

“The fact that a public relations has a secret relationship with the Australian government also raises serious question of conflict of interest – questions which must cause concern to other PR companies and their clients. One objective of PR firm and lobbyists is to win favour for their customers with government ministers and bureaucrats. An aspect of this role was explicitly described in a book published for the American market by the world’s biggest PR company Hill and Knowlton: ‘Public relations in Australia...has been used to break down government or public resistance. There are examples of campaigns being conducted to achieve relations of government regulation that inhibit the sale of a product’”. (1989, 164).



# Conflict of Interest

“By providing cover for ASIS spies – who routinely engage in deception misrepresentation, bribery and law-breaking – the Australian PR firm breached at least seven of the seventeen articles of this (Public Relations Institute of Australia) code of ethics” (Toohey and Pinwell 1989, p.164).



# My research:

This is an emerging area of study for me.

In investigating the relationship between PR to the growth of the asbestos industry I will focus on:

- Resistance and protest movements
- The lives of ordinary people
- Labour relations
- Class, gender, ethnicity and race



# Why is my research applicable

- The suppression of information and creation of a climate of complacency has led to real world tragedy – deaths by asbestos production are high and are expected to grow;
- I don't believe that, within public relations, there is sufficient understanding of these events and that therefore the mistakes of the past could be repeated. An example is within the carbon pollution crisis and the social, economic and political response.





# My approach

- Is situated in critical PR – in as much as I am looking through the critical paradigm at power relations – but there is also a cultural studies aspect to my work. I am looking at problems but not trying to find solutions – I am looking at phenomena and trying to understand them.
- A critical public relations approach seeks to investigate the power relations within and through public relations “in stimulating emancipation and social change” (Daymon & Holloway 2011, 5).



# Knowledge reconstructions:

- My research shows that we need to look at this from a global perspective. I am looking for new interpretations of these events.
- The concept of “dialogue” hinges on access to good information – that is not what has happened in these cases. Instead it was inauthentic engagement with the public that sought to exclude them from knowledge – in search of a specific outcome – so its purpose was to shut down knowledge.
- I ask if distinctive patterns emerge that were replicated in other risk producing industries.
- I also would like to know more about how we understand the roots of this behaviour – and when did it first emerge ?
- Need to look at policy failures in particular.



# Conclusion

- There was social action in the 1960s, 1970s and 80s that was pointing society in new directions that might well have had different consequences for climate change – but instead PR chocked this mini renaissance and we changed direction.
- The enormous back lash against PR can be explained by this analysis; for example, the slew of critiques that appeared in the 80s, 90s etc.
- My contention is that when activism changes PR changes.

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# THE NEW ASIAN PACIFIC CENTURY: TOWARD AN HISTORICALLY INFORMED ASIAN MODEL OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

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Anne Gregory, Leeds Metropolitan University

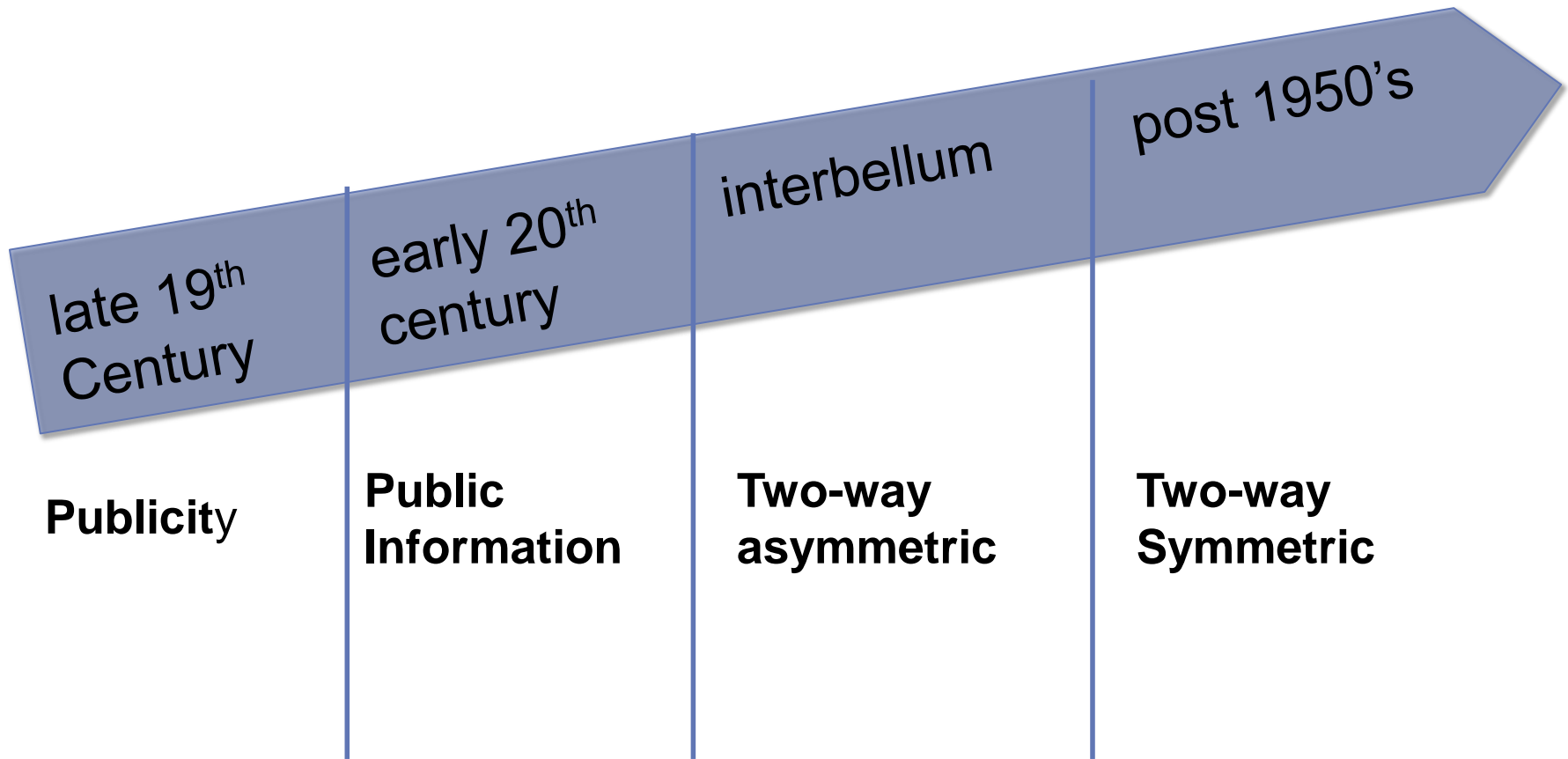
Gregor Halff, Singapore Management University

The epistemology of  
'generic principles and  
specific applications' is  
enabling progress  
toward understanding  
public relations outside  
of the 'West'?

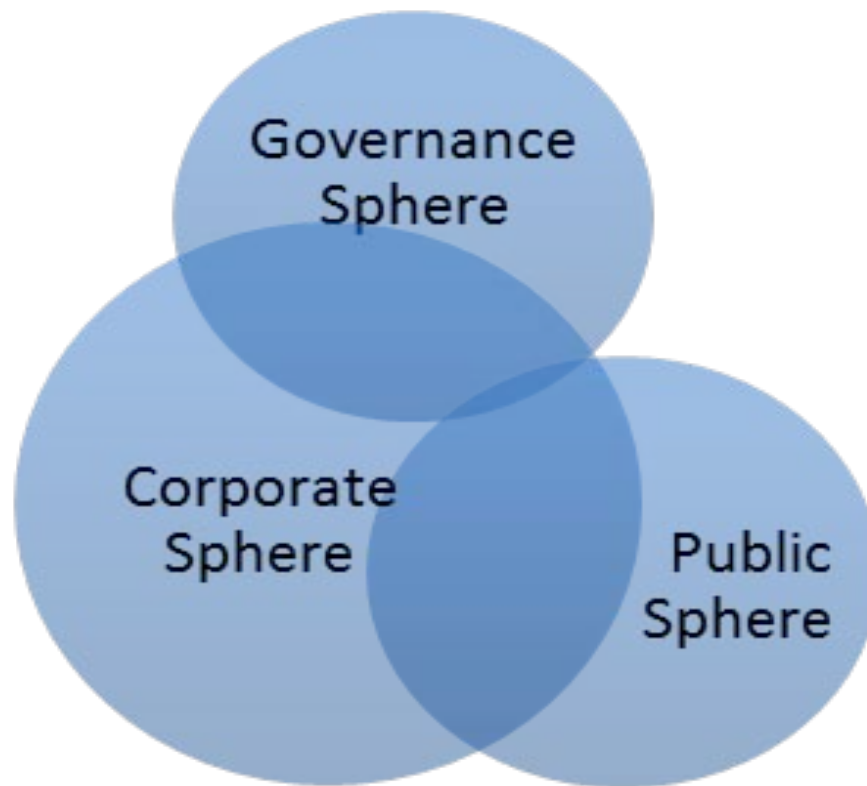


Two implicit assumptions are getting in  
the way.

# Assumption 1: history is teleological



Assumption 2:  
the corporate sphere is universally dominant

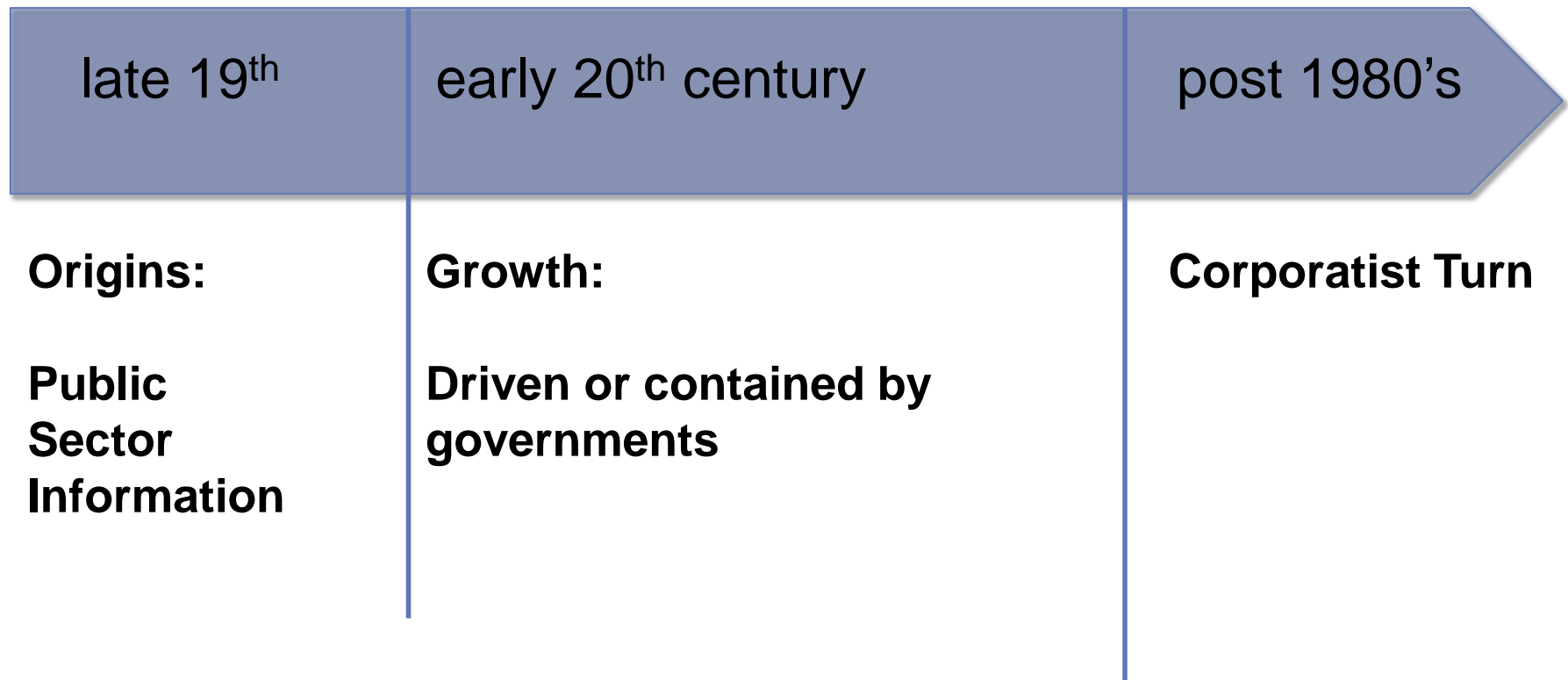




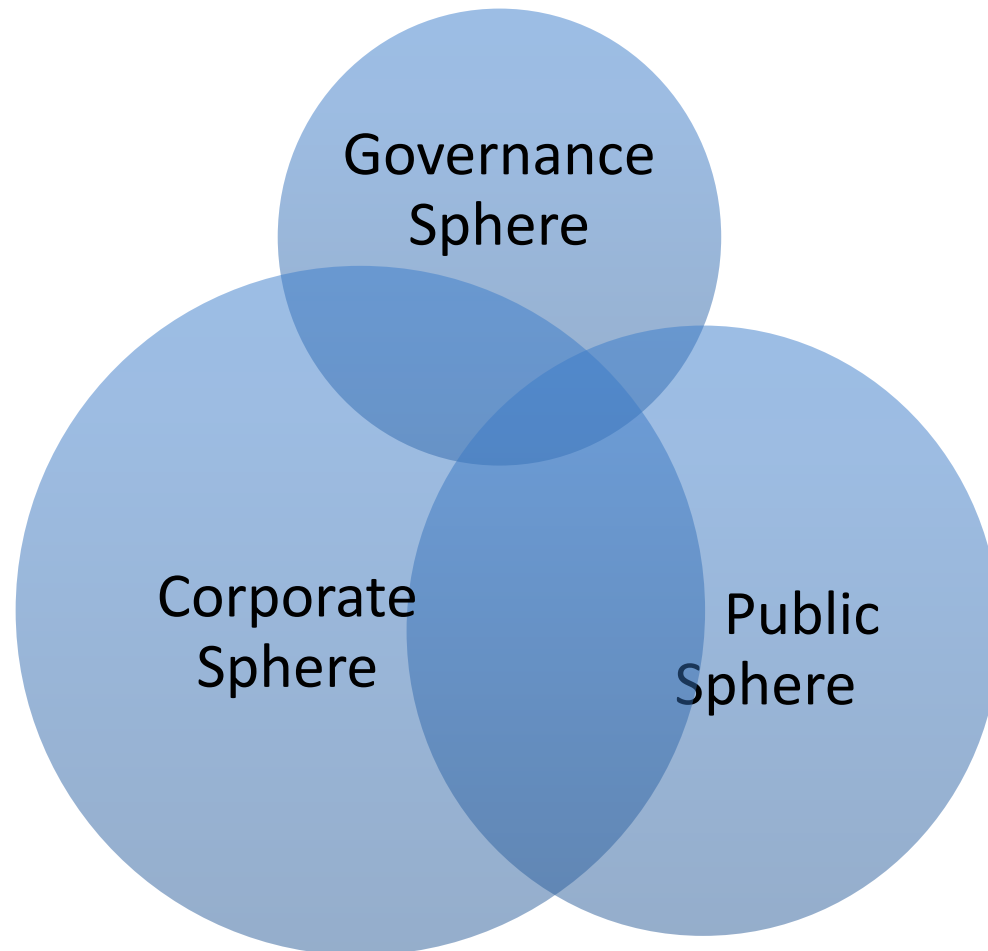
Even for Europe, these two assumptions are flawed. Both its public relations history and its dominant sphere are different.



# European PR history



## Two dominant spheres in European PR today



Even for Europe, these two assumptions are flawed. Both its public relations history and its dominant sphere are different

The European model PR (van Ruler, Vercic et al.) is ahistorical and consequently does not fully incorporate these indigenous specifics

# Toward an Asian-Pacific model of Public Relations

- refutation of historical teleology
- analysis of the indigenous histories of PR
- a (temporary) suspension of the 'generic principles & specific applications'



# Toward an Asian-Pacific model of Public Relations

- meta-analytical periodization of all historiographies (51 published sources) of public relations in Asian-Pacific countries
- identification of origins/growth/turning points
- identification of the dominant sphere



# Meta-Analysis of Asian PR historiographies

## Post-colonial Nation-building

India 1945  
China imperial/1978  
Taiwan 1949  
Singapore 1965  
Vietnam 1945/75  
Post-war Korea  
Post-war Philippines  
Thailand 1932  
Japan/Manchukuo 1932

## Growth by Governments

Government-linked organisations grow  
PR in all countries, except Japan, e.g.  
Indian national industries  
Korea's Chaebols  
China's harmonious socialist society  
Singapore's quest for national unity, growth policies in  
Thailand, Philippines

## Entrance of Global PR

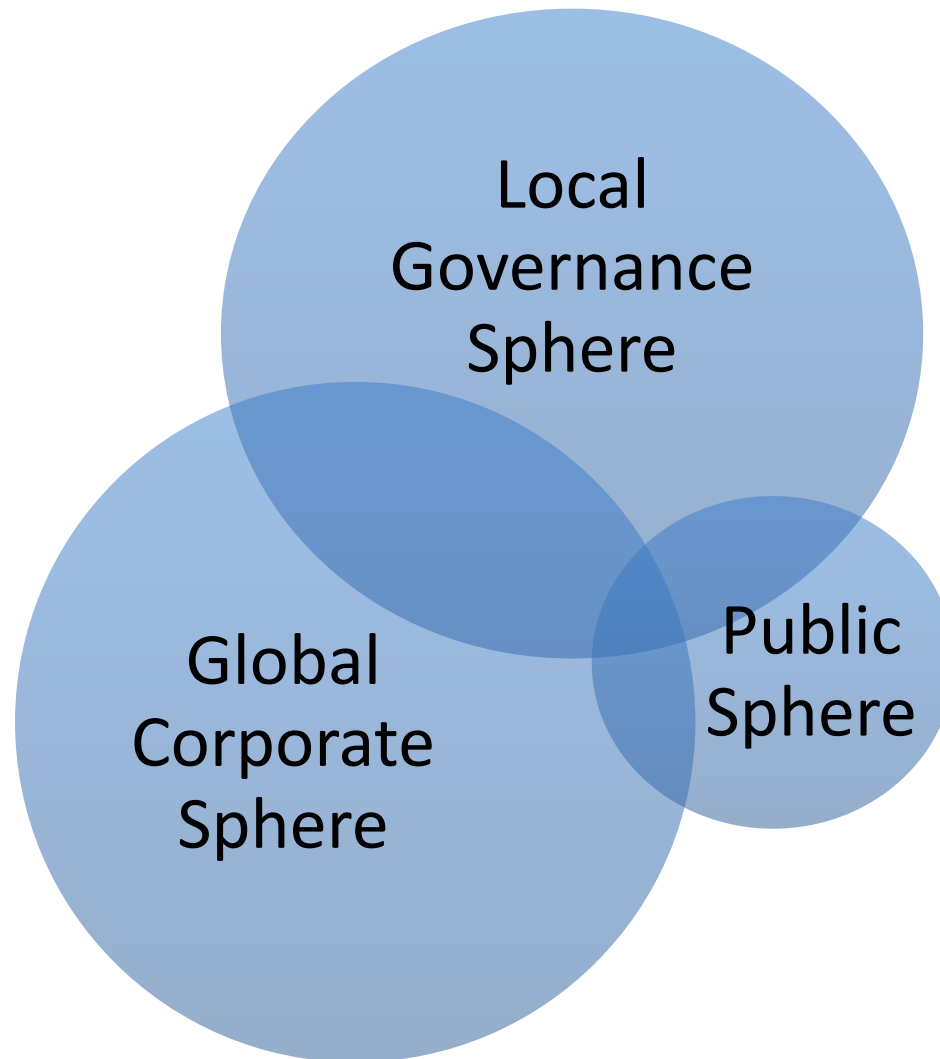
Market liberalisation by governments and rapid entry of corporate PR, e.g. Vietnam 1986, Taiwan 1987, Korea 1987, India 1990s, China 1990s, Singapore 1980s

Indigenous phenomena of Asian-Pacific PR aren't anomalies within an otherwise teleological development.

The profession in Asia-Pacific comprises a dual set of norms, structures and practices: one dominated by the national governance sphere, the other by the global corporate sphere



## Two dominant spheres in Asian-Pacific PR



# Components of an Asian-Pacific model of PR

Main agents: governments and administration	Main agents: corporations
Structure: national dominant coalition	Structure: transnational economy and its local peripheries
Purpose: maintain unity of the public	Purpose: cope with diversity of publics
Practice: information and public education	Practice: two-way interaction
Origins: indigenous	Origins: foreign

A large, dense crowd of people, primarily of Asian descent, is shown from the chest up. They are all looking directly at the camera with neutral expressions. The background is a soft, out-of-focus light blue or grey, making the crowd stand out. The overall tone is professional and formal.

# THE NEW ASIAN PACIFIC CENTURY: TOWARD AN HISTORICALLY INFORMED ASIAN MODEL OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

# Thank You

# **Public Relations on Trial: U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations**

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Investigation of Roles of John D.  
Rockefeller, Jr. and Ivy Lee in  
Colorado Coal Strike, 1913-1914

**Kirk Hallahan**

Colorado State University USA

# The Strike

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W. W. WOODWARD

# The Commission

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# The Chairman

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Frank P. Walsh



# The Rockefellers

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# First Hearing

## New York May 1914

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- ❑ Maj. Edward J. Boughton (for governor)
- ❑ Judge Ben B. Lindsey and two miners' wives (dispatched by labor interests)





# Ivy Lee



## THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 1

JUNE 22, 1914

### THE PRINCIPLE AT STAKE

In order to set forth specifically the real issue at stake in Colorado, independently of any personal relations, the managers of the coal mines in that State, other than the Colorado Fuel and Iron Co., have addressed a letter to the President of the United States, presenting their position. In brief, that letter sets forth these facts:

The aggregate production of our mines is between sixty and seventy per cent. of the total annual coal production of Colorado. Neither John D. Rockefeller nor John D. Rockefeller, Jr., nor any controlling stockholder in the directory or officer in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company has any interest.

In the present issue we are not opposing or waging a war against organized labor as such.

Since this strike was called, certain of our former employees, under the leadership of the paid agents and officers of the United Mine Workers, supplied with guns purchased with moneys from its treasury, have in armed force openly and successfully defied our State government and have caused a state of insurrection and anarchy to prevail in this commonwealth.

We submit with all deference that we ought not to be asked to deal with an organization whose officers, leaders and members have been guilty of these acts.

The military forces of the United States are now in control of the strike districts in Colorado, and we earnestly and respectfully ask that law and order be made to prevail in this State to the end that we may operate our mines and conduct our business in that possible and orderly manner guaranteed



# THE STRUGGLE IN COLORADO FOR INDUSTRIAL FREEDOM

BULLETIN No. 6

JULY 15, 1914

## NEARLY 10,000 MEN NOW AT WORK IN COLORADO COAL MINES

The coal mine managers of Colorado issue this statement in order that the public of the United States may know the exact state of affairs in Colorado today :

Out of a total of 141 coal mines which were in operation in August, 1913—the month before the strike—132 are now in commission.

Last August 12,059 men were employed; A DAILY AVERAGE OF 9892 MEN WERE AT WORK IN APRIL, 1914.

The coal mined amounted to 549,953 tons in May this year as against 859,047 tons in the month before the strike. The State Coal Mine Inspector's reports for the first five months of this calendar year show a production of 3,066,174 tons in the five months. This is 69.6 per cent. of the total production of 4,403,913 in the corresponding period of 1913, when business was more normal and no strike had occurred.

Production of coal for June shows a further increase. < All the coal is now being mined that the market will absorb.

In September, 1913—the strike was called September 23d—12,346 men were employed. The number that went on strike, including the men who on account of their families or otherwise left the State to avoid trouble, was 4650, or only 38 per cent. of the total. A considerable percentage of even these men have returned to work.

\* \* \* \*

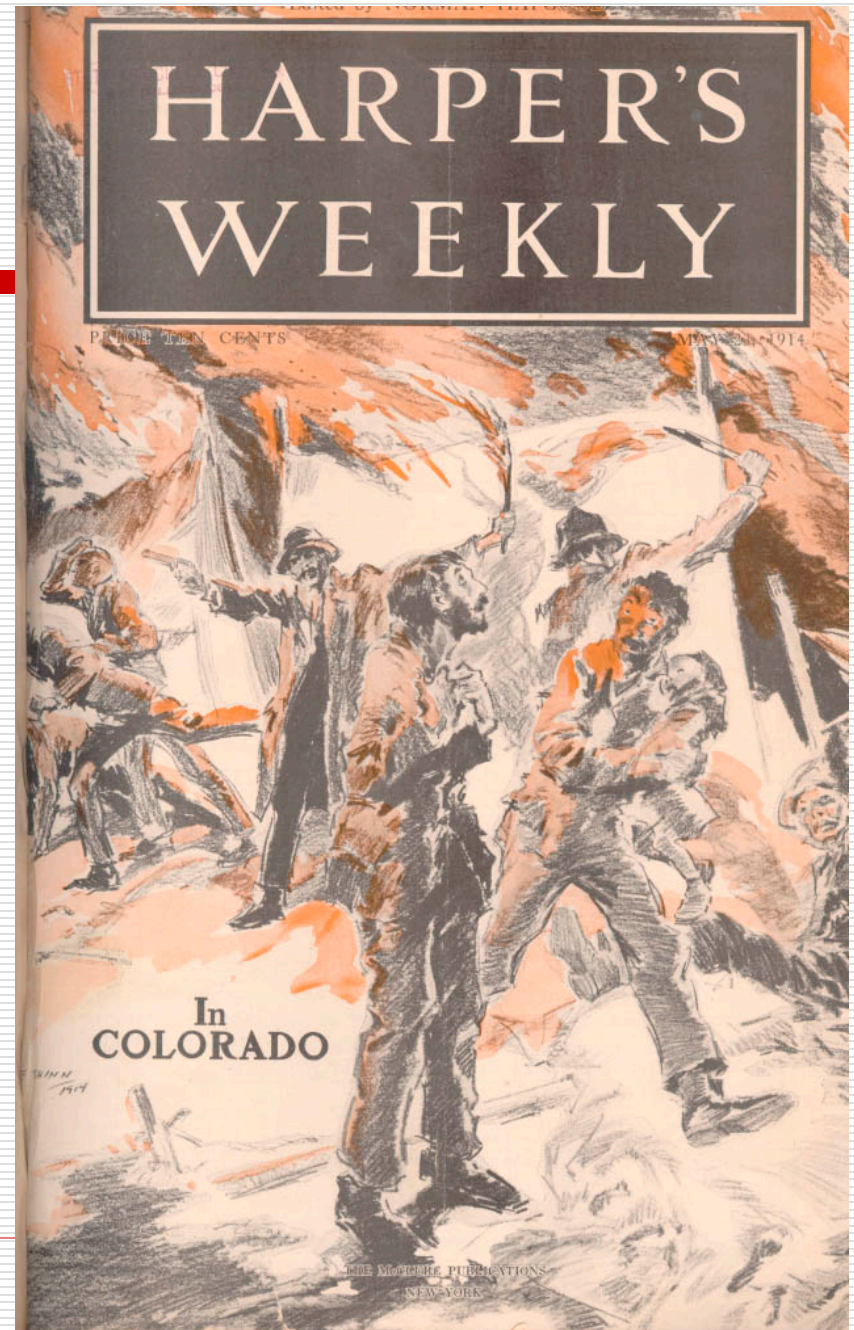
This strike was not the work either of the managers of the mines or of any large portion of the miners, less than 10 per cent. of whom were members of the United Mine Workers of America. It was planned outside of the State of Colorado, led by outsiders, and financed from outside.

It was designed to shut out from employment all but miners who were members of a particular union and compel the mine owners to collect from the men's wages dues, assessments, benefits and fines, and turn them into the treasury of the United Mine Workers of America.

# Opinion Magazines

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- ☐ Harper's Weekly
- ☐ Nation
- ☐ Everybody's
- ☐ Collier's
- ☐ Chautauquan



# Second Hearing

December 1914 - Denver

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John C. Osgood



Lamont Bowers



Elias Ammons





# Second Hearing

## December 1914 - Denver

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\* \* \* \*

The Committee in charge of the campaign in Colorado consisted of Frank J. Hayes, John McLennan and John R. Lawson. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer of the general organization covering the period ending November 30, 1913, shows that out of the daily wages of the miners of the country there had been collected money to pay, among other things, salaries and expenses as follows:

Frank J. Hayes, nine weeks' salary . .	\$4052.92
Frank J. Hayes, nine weeks' expenses . .	<u>1667.20</u>
Total for salary and expenses . .	\$5720.12

Frank J. Hayes was thus paid over \$90 a day, or at the rate of over \$32,000 a year.

For this same period of nine weeks, John McLennan received for salary \$2683.55; for expenses \$1469.55—\$66 a day.

John R. Lawson received for nine weeks' salary \$1773.40.

Mother Jones, whose sole duty was to agitate, received \$2668.62 as salary for the same period—\$42 a day.

\* \* \* \*

# Third Hearing

## January 1915 – New York

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© 1945

J. D. ROCKEFELLER JR. ON STAND 1/25/45

3359-11

# Fourth Hearing

May 1915 – Washington, DC

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# The Advisers



14

## A Skilled Publicity Man

Herbert J. Seligmann

"**D**ESIRING as I do that you should understand some of the ideals by which I work, I am venturing to enclose you a manuscript copy of an address I delivered before the American Railway Guild in New York some weeks ago." So Mr. Ivy L. Lee wrote to Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., early in June, 1914, explaining his willingness to undertake a campaign of publicity in behalf of the Colorado coal operators.

The public, he said in this address, must be educated, and certain misconceptions as to railroad management dispelled. In his mind there was no doubt that "the extraordinary achievements of our railroads, the wonder, as they are, of the industrial world, constitute a fact of overwhelming significance, a fact embodying the effort, the fidelity, the enterprise, the patriotism of ninety-nine out of every hundred men who have given their service to the public through the railroad since the railroad started to run in this country." To bring this to the consciousness of the public certain factors must be taken into consideration. If the managers of the railroads were to become popular leaders, as they very easily could, they must consider the psychology of the multitude.

This psychology Mr. Lee laid down in general propositions. In the first place, crowds do not reason; again, crowds are led by symbols and phrases; "success in dealing with crowds, that success we have got to attain if we are to solve the railroad question, rests upon the art of getting believed in"; the problem of influencing the people *en masse* is that of providing leaders who can fertilize the imagination and organize the will of crowds. This then is Mr. Lee's province; the art of getting the Pennsylvania Railroad, or the coal operators, or whoever his employer may be, believed in.

The instances with which he illustrates the methods of applying this knowledge of psychology are illuminating. The German government offers the anomalous example of a despotic form of government and a contented people. Its success is due to the Kaiser who has got himself absolutely believed in by his people. The inference is clear. If the railroads and the coal operators can get themselves absolutely believed in by the people, success must come. To accomplish this belief railroads must use the phrases and symbols which lead mobs, they must employ leaders who can fertilize the imagination of crowds.

Such a leader if he were proposing a "full-crow" law would impress the public with the justice of his contention by changing the name to "extra crew" law; he would persuade reluctant investors to stretch their confidence in an institution by referring to certain proceedings as "readjustment of finances" instead of "bankruptcy." Mr. Lee narrated with approval the newspaper publicity which was used in a certain strike. In some isolated cases the miners had asked for wages three times as great as were being paid. A headline appeared saying, "Miners Ask 150 Per Cent Increase in Wages." It was true, said Mr. Lee, that the article did not describe a general situation; it was, however, a method, the only method of calling public attention to the essential truth of the case, and that was that the men were making extortionate demands.

These are the ideals with which Mr. Lee entered upon his campaign of publicity in Colorado. He wished to call public attention to essentials by making truth concrete in phrases and symbols. For "little facts so often carry a convincing thought to the public mind."

The correspondence between Mr. Lee and Mr. Rockefeller shows that Mr. Lee was active in "a broad educational campaign of publicity." The impression is confirmed by reference to the bulletins sent broadcast for the coal operators. These bulletins were issued at intervals of a few days beginning June 22, 1914. The series accompanied by an explanatory slip was entitled, "The Struggle in Colorado for Industrial Freedom." By sending these leaflets "to a large number of leaders of public opinion throughout the country" Mr. Lee expected to be able to put "certain ideas" before them which would be of value. He quoted in this same letter Senator La Follette, who spoke of the influence of a similar publicity campaign to increase freight rates 5 per cent. "The Baltimore & Ohio, New York Central and Pennsylvania railroads conducted a publicity campaign," said Senator La Follette, "through the publicity agent of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Thirty-two anonymous ex parte bulletins, reprinted below, have been issued and scattered broadcast over the country. They have formed the basis of thousands of news items, editorials, and addresses. They played no small part in influencing a large proportion of the upward of twenty-two thousand newspapers in the United States." This was the method Mr. Lee employed in the Colorado publicity campaign. It was, he thought, preferable to establishing a string of daily newspapers.

Not that Mr. Lee confined his attention to spreading broadcast bulletins and leaflets. He spent some time revising his draft of a letter for Governor Ammons to send to President Wilson; he arranged that, from twenty to thirty thousand copies of Congressman Kindel's speech on the Colorado coal strike should be distributed; he followed the newspapers with sufficient care to notice that the Northampton, Mass., Herald used as an editorial the first page of his first bulletin; and he sent Mr. Rockefeller a particularly gratifying editorial by Mr. Brinkman. Finally he got the assurance of Mr. Delano of the Commission on Industrial Relations that the Commission would not go to Denver till the "pending difficulty" was over. "That," wrote Mr.

Lee, "will prevent a reopening of the flood gates on this subject." The bulletins were designed to "get abroad certain elemental truths on which we can build an even more aggressive superstructure of reality." In other words, Mr. Lee's intention was to get the Colorado coal operators believed in.

That he did not succeed was due not only to the facts which overwhelmed him and the "unbridled license" of the press, but to missteps of his own. In an attempt to discredit the efforts of the United Mine Workers of America, who were conducting the strike, figures were published in one of the bulletins charging that Frank J. Hayes had received for expenses and salary \$5,720.10 in a period of nine weeks, or \$50 a day; that John McLennan in nine weeks had received a salary of \$2,683.55 and expenses of \$1,699.55 or \$66 per day. These figures were attributed to the report of the secretary-treasurer of the United Mine Workers of America. The bulletin was No. 34, published August 25, 1914. On January 2, 1915, it was admitted that the figures had been copied from a newspaper and that they were false and misleading. But the interval between accusation and retraction had been sufficient to fix in the minds of many of Mr. Lee's readers a conviction that the United Mine Workers of America were financially irresponsible and their leaders mercenary.

Knowing that Mr. Lee's bulletins are part of the campaign of publicity and education, one looks for some sign in them of fairness and enlightenment. The foundation of truth, as Mr. Lee sees it, is that "the struggle in Colorado has ceased to be, if it ever was, one between capital and labor. The fundamental question is, Shall we preserve law and order, and shall we maintain the constitutional privilege of every man to work where, for whom, and upon such terms as he sees fit?" It remains for Mr. Lee to prove that infractions of law and order are all on the side of the strikers. This he does by quoting from such documents as the report of General Chase, commanding the military district of Colorado. Speaking of Mother Jones' speeches, he says: "These speeches are couched in coarse, vulgar and profane language, and address themselves to the lowest passions of mankind. I confidently believe that most of the murders and other acts of violent crime committed in the strike region have been inspired by this woman's incendiary utterances." One bulletin is devoted to the bad faith of labor leaders, another to exposure of the organized tyranny of the United Mine Workers of America in Colorado, another to proving that there was no massacre of women and children at Ludlow, still others to opinions of Colorado editors. One quotation from a summary of conditions in Colorado which the mine managers sent to Washington gives the real meaning of the strike. "Instead of a strike, this controversy is an armed insurrection against the sovereign authority of the State of Colorado, conceived, planned, financed, managed and directed by the officers and leaders of the United Mine Workers of America."

More systematic and perverse misrepresentation than Mr. Lee's campaign of publicity has rarely been spread in this country. The industrial struggle passes him by. He has hired himself out and the god of his employer is his god. In the service of his employer he enjoys believing evil of his opponents and then he publishes it. One wonders what Mr. Lee thinks of his ideals when he is alone. But perhaps these ideals are just for business, and Mr. Lee has another set for his personal use.

### "SEEK . . ."

"**S**EARCH: ye shall find."  
Great God in Heaven! We've sought  
Ten thousand years!  
What have we found? Water and Dust,  
And Blood and Tears.  
  
"Add, and receive."  
Almighty God, we've prayed  
Ten thousand years!  
And what received? Water and Dust,  
And Blood and Tears.  
  
"Knock; it shall open."  
My God! But we have knocked  
Ten thousand years!  
No answer. Only Water and Dust,  
And Blood and Tears.

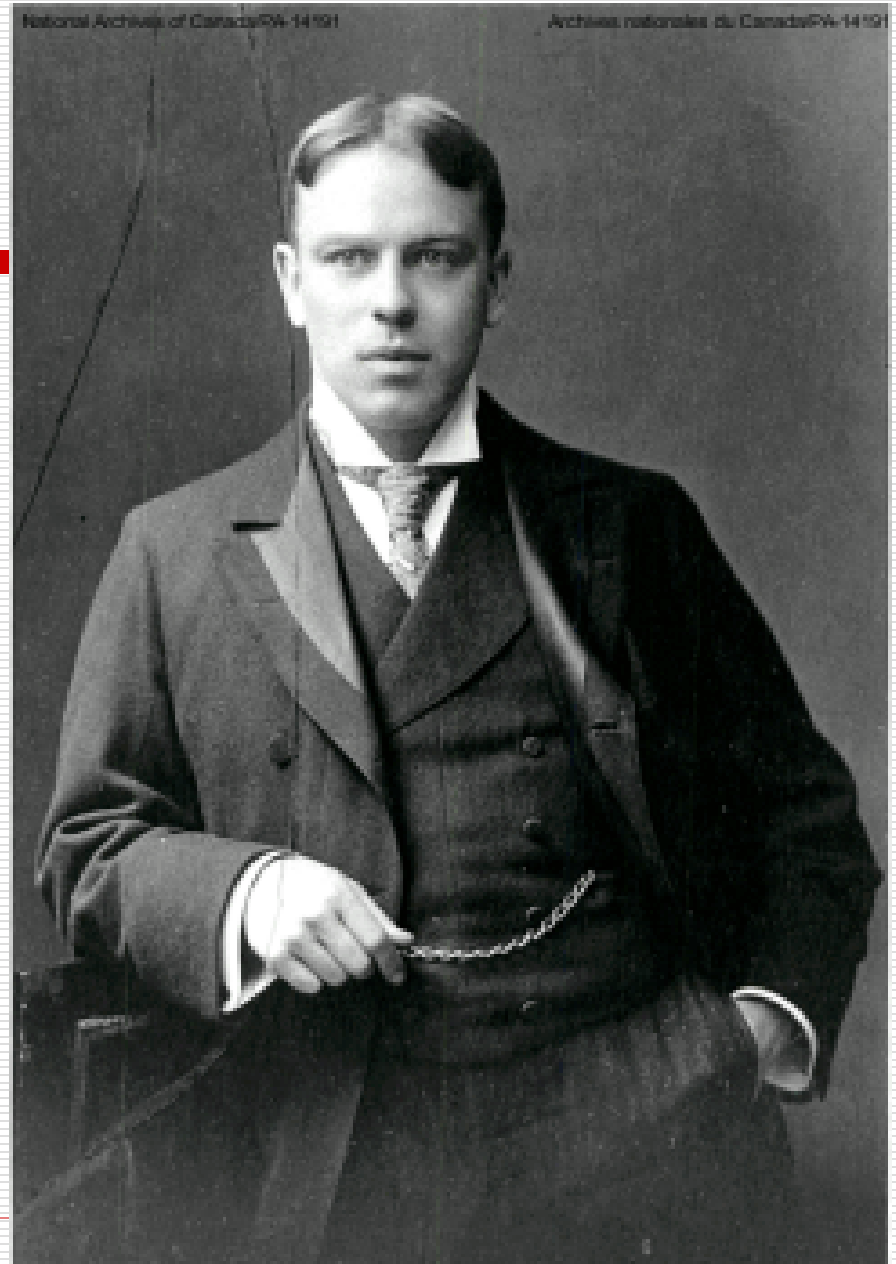
# Ivy Lee



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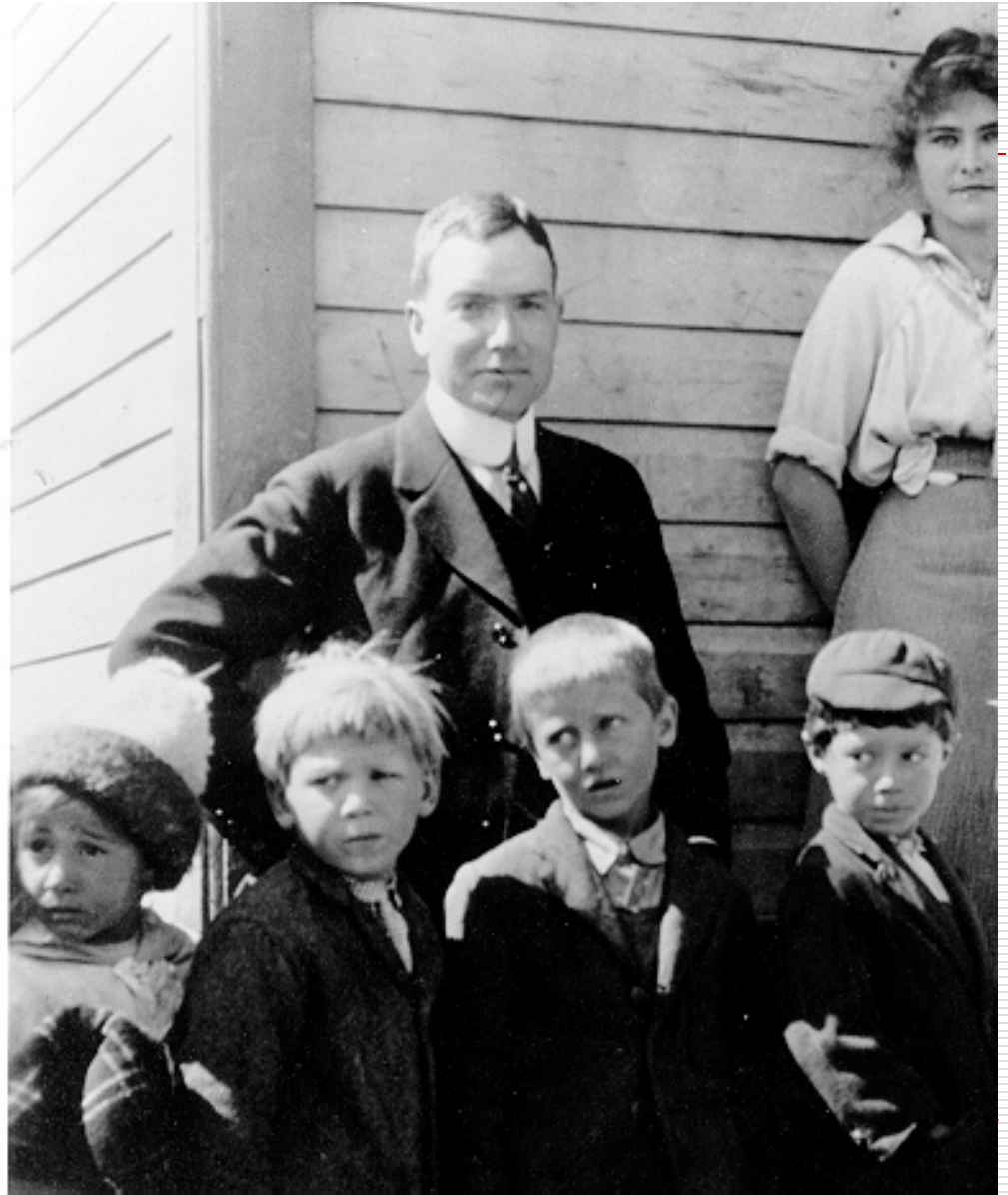
# William Lyon Mackenzie King

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# Aftermath

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# Importance of Hearings

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- ❑ First major exposé of American PR
  - ❑ Testimony created broad public visibility for Ivy Lee and public relations.
  - ❑ Lee and King were pivotal to success.
  - ❑ Walsh delayed remedies in Colorado -- and helped swing public opinion in favor of Rockefellers.
  - ❑ Historians owe much to Frank Walsh for providing details about Lee's work.
-

‘As you are the Guardians of the Nation’s Peace be also the Guardians of her Honour.’ Official propaganda and policing in the Irish Free State, 1922-37.

Dr Kevin Hora

School of Media

Dublin Institute of Technology

# Ireland, 1922

NATIONAL IDENTITY  
DEFINE IRISHNESS  
ULSTER COUNTIES  
IRISH LANGUAGE MORAL CODE  
PROPAGATE FREE STATE  
HEAVILY PROPAGANDISED  
SPORTING PROWESS  
DOMINION STATUS SPORT  
BRITAIN STATE  
INDEPENDENCE PROPAGANDA  
Gaelicism  
LITERATURE  
IDENTITY  
TREATY  
NATION  
CELTICISM REPUBLICANS  
POLICE FORCE  
Gaelic Revival CATHOLICISM  
IRISHNESS  
CULTURE IRELAND 26 COUNTIES  
NATIONALISTS JUST CAUSE  
THREE INGREDIENTS  
INCLUDING  
INTERMITTENT WARFARE  
CULTURAL FORCE  
CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED



# Policing before 1922



- Royal Irish Constabulary (L) - a paramilitary force
- Targeted by nationalists and republicans in revolutionary period
- Sister forces Black and Tans and Auxiliaries (R, 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> from left) gained a reputation for brutality
- Disbanded, 1922

# Replacing the RIC

- Irish Republican Police – inefficient
- An Garda Síochána
  - Servants of the state
  - Separated from political influence
  - Politically impartial
- Different views held by Cumann na nGaedheal (supportive) and Fianna Fáil (mistrustful)

# Promoting the Garda internally

- 3 journals: Iris an Ghárda, Guth an Gharda, The Garda Review
- Promotional vehicle for the publicity seeking commissioner, Eoin O'Duffy (R)
- Available only to Gardaí, not the public
- Sought to ground the Garda in communities
- Promoted the Garda's role in building the state and nation





# Funerary propaganda – and celebration of valour

- An unarmed force – vulnerable to assassination, especially during the Civil War (1922-3)
- Funerals of murdered Gardaí were a vehicle for O'Duffy to rouse public mourning for fallen martyrs, and stiffen the force's resolve
- Scott Medal for Valour presented from 1924
- 4,000 guests at the first presentation

# Religion and the Garda

- Overwhelmingly Catholic
- Teetotalism imbued with religious significance
- Concentration by the force against illicit distilling of spirits raised its efforts to that of a moral crusade
- Pilgrimages – Rome and Lourdes
- Centenary celebration of Catholic Emancipation (1929) and Eucharistic Congress (1932)
  - O'Duffy was Chief Marshall for both
  - Gardaí as participants and police officers

# A bilingual force?

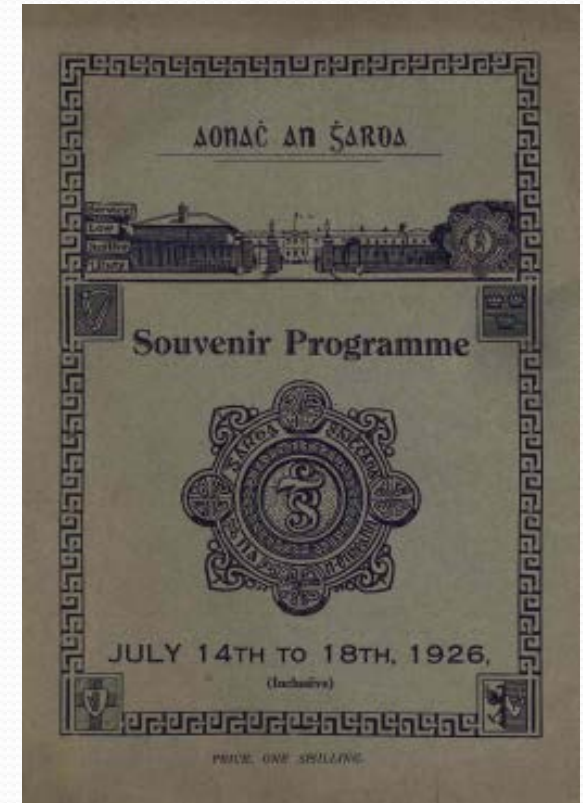
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a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	l	m	n	o	p	r	s	t	u
aw	bay	kay	dhay	ey	eff	gay	hh	ee	ell	emm	nn	oh	pay	arr	es	thay	ou
Lenited consonants																	
ḃ	ḅ	ḇ	ḉ	ḋ	ḍ	ḡ	ḥ	ḱ	ḽ								
bh	ch	dh	fh	gh	mh	ph	sh	th									

*Distinctive  
orthography  
of the Irish  
language*

- O'Duffy tended to massage figures regarding bilingualism
- Native speakers were entitled to wear the Fáinne on their tunic
- Learning Irish was voluntary, with compulsory classes for recruits!
- Resistance to showing linguistic ability Gardaí

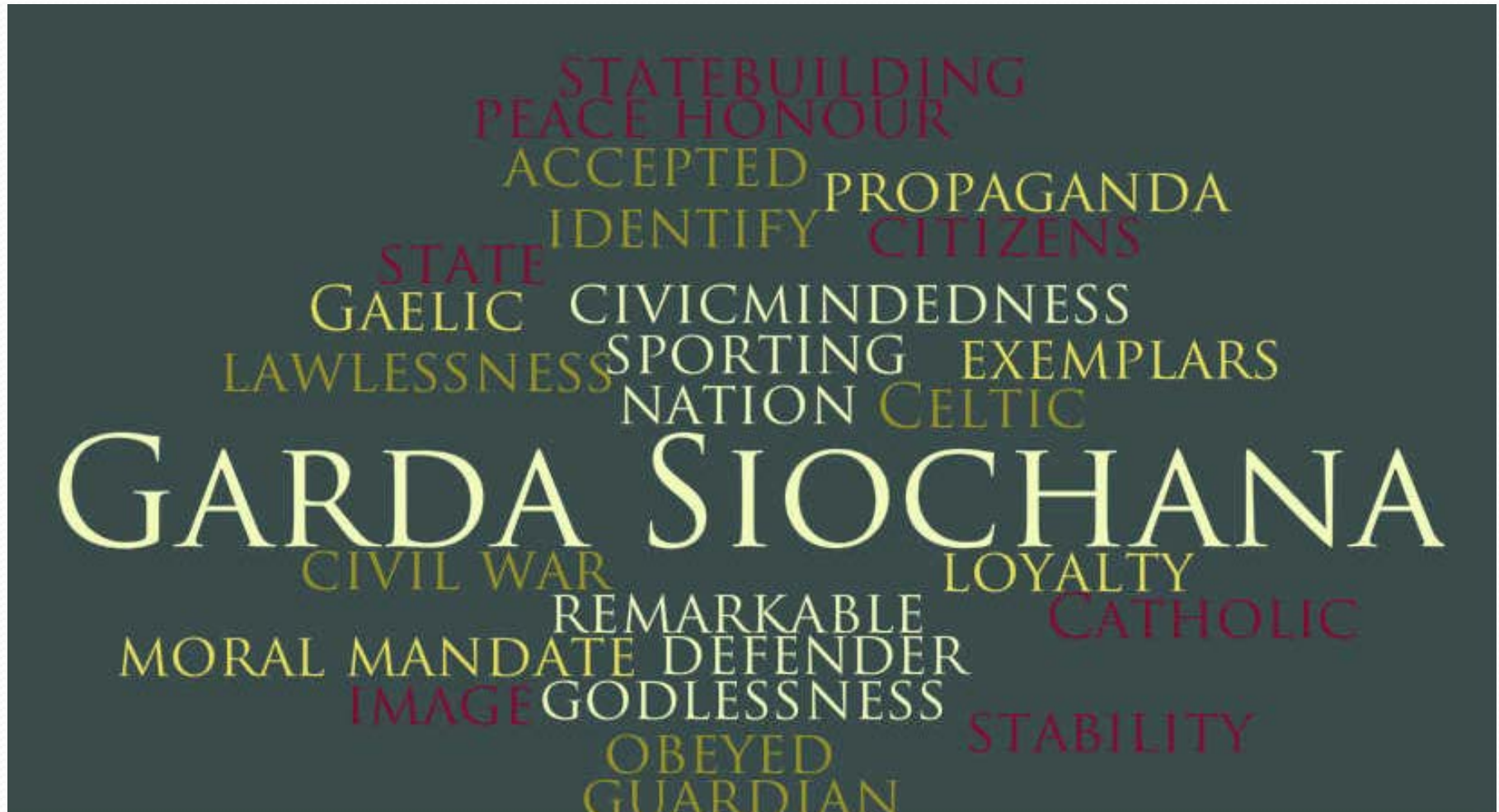
# Sport and the Garda

- 'The man who plays is bound to be a healthy and vigorous Guard'
- National and international successes
- Mainly national games (football, hurling, handball) or feats of strength



*First Aonach an  
Gharda commemorative  
programme*

# Conclusion





# The Evolution of Tokyo's PR: Case study of a local government

1



Tokyo Prefectural Office, 1909  
<http://www.ndl.go.jp/scenery/data/200/m.html>

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# Introduction

2

1. Local government as a PR history subject
2. Method
3. “Pre-modern” Government PR in Japan
4. History of Tokyo’s PR
  1. Period of Rapid Modernization (1868 to 1900s)
  2. Period of Persuasion and Enlightenment (1900s and 1920s)
  3. Period of Militarization and Efficiency (1930s to 1945)
5. Conclusion

# 1. Local government as a PR history subject

3

- “Research focus and the level of analysis produce different types of history. The national or cultural tour d’horizon is going to be different to the story of a particular agency” (L’Etang, 2008: 330)
- PR history tends to be told on a national level.
  - Many discussions about PR history often do not differentiate between the private and public sector.
- Ancient examples of government PR practice have been pointed out, but in relation to “modern PR.”



# 1. Local government as a PR history subject

4

- Government PR seem to have a long history.
  - “Public” sector inevitably communicate with the “public,” especially the local government.
  - Governments tend to institutionalize its services.
- How, then, did PR emerge in the public sector?  
Specifically, how did a “PR” department develop in a local government?
- How were the PR-related functions exercised before the establishment of a department?

## 2. Method

5

- **Case: Local government of Tokyo**
  - Tokyo Prefectural Government (1868-1942), Tokyo City Government (1989-1943), Tokyo Metropolitan Government (1943-)
- **Period: 1868 to 1945 (main focus)**
  - establishment of Tokyo government until end of WW2, right before the birth of a “PR” dept.
- **Literature and document review**
  - History of organizational structure
  - Public administration (local government) studies, legal history studies, sociology, mass communications, etc.

### 3. “Pre-modern” (~1870s) Government PR in Japan

6

- **Campaigns: Codes of Taika (701 AD)**
  - Introduction of administrative and criminal codes, centralized government headed by the Emperor
- **Media: *Kosatsu***
  - Notice board for official orders, 700s~
- **Personal network: *Gonin gumi***
  - Five-household group, 1597~
- **Department: *Yuhitsu***
  - Correspondence department,



Image of “Kosatsu” from Wikipedia

## 4-1. Period of Rapid Modernization (1868 to 1900s)

7

- **1868 Meiji Restoration**
  - General Affairs Department > Correspondence Section
- **Challenge: Informing the public about the new legal system.**
- **Change in mindset: Japanese version of “public be damned” to “public be informed”?**
  - Traditional notifications often only told what not to do.
  - New notifications needed to be understood, as changes in society affected personal lives of people.

## 4-1. Period of Rapid Modernization (1868 to 1900s)

8

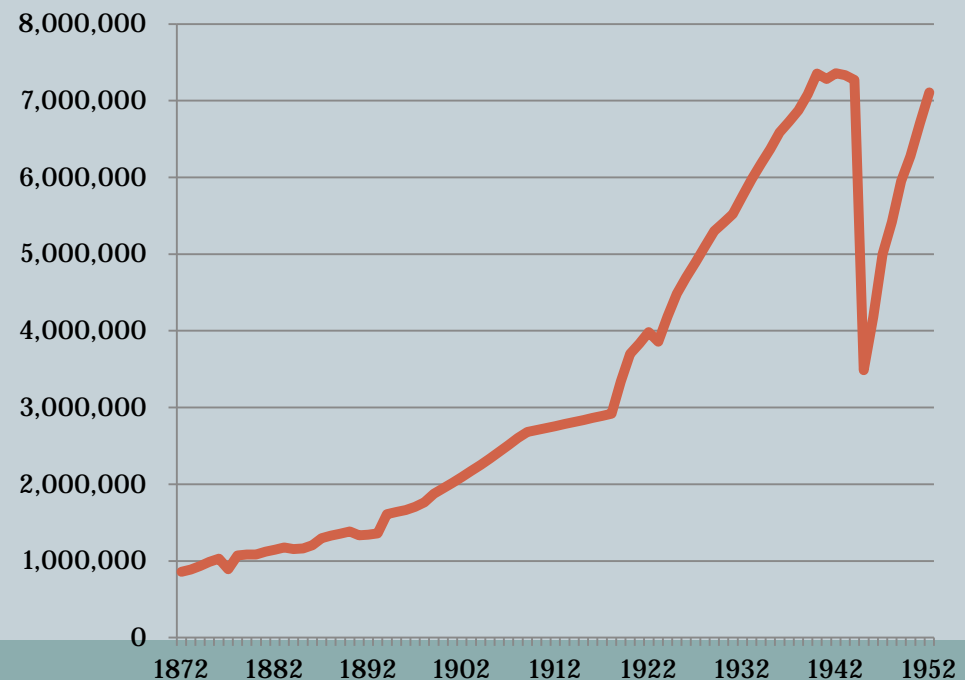
- Shift from traditional to “modern” communication system
- Outlawed *Kosatsu* (1873), a symbol of authority.
- Establishment of official notification system (1876)
- Utilized personal networks (i.e. designated local leaders became responsible for notifying 50 households each)
- Posted notifications on daily newspapers in Tokyo
  - First newspaper in Tokyo began in 1872, notifications were posted since 1876.

## 4-2. Period of Persuasion and Enlightenment (1900s and 20s)

9

- **Challenge: Urban planning**
  - how to deal with rising population, urbanization and increasing administrative workload
- **Virtually no change in PR-related departments**
- **Slow development: conflicts in city council, public resentment, etc.**

**Tokyo's Population (1872-1952)**



## 4-2. Period of Persuasion and Enlightenment (1900s and 20s)

10

- Measures were taken to gain public support
- 1914 “Tokyo Pavilion” at Tokyo Taisho Exposition
  - Introduced the city’s current and future projects
  - 2.5 million visitors



Yoshirou Sakatani  
(1863-1941)

- 1914 Published *Overview of Tokyo*
  - Mayor Shinpei Goto began its continuous publication in 1922

## 4-2. Period of Persuasion and Enlightenment (1900s and 20s)

11

- Other important events

### 1916 Publication of City's independent public journal

- Original journal sold not as a supplement to newspapers

### 1919 City Planning Act

- Limited rights of local residents for development projects
- Public discussions and lectures to raise awareness

### 1920 Survey report on public demand for the City

- 6,111 replies, demanding disclosure and reflection of public opinions

### 1923 Great Kanto Earthquake

- Emergency communication system, neighborhood association



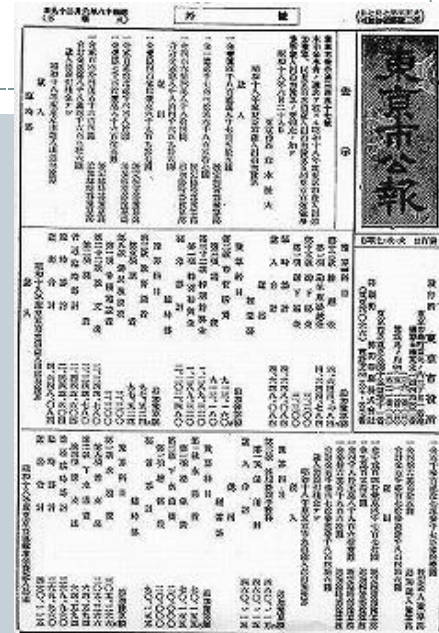
# 4-3. Period of Militarization and Efficiency (1930s to 1945)

12

- Challenge: Wartime communication.

## 1. Development of public journal

- 1916 First independent journal: official, legal announcements and reports
- 1928 Renewal: photo on cover, academic reports, official announcements, personnel affairs, city project overviews, local news, statistics, comments from the citizens (~1940), ads, etc



*City's first, independent  
public journal  
"Tokyo-shi Kouhou" 1916*

## 4-3. Period of Militarization and Efficiency (1930s to 1945)

13

- 1938 First publication of weekly journal
  - Articles on city's current events, news, interesting facts about the city, contributions
  - Former public journal focused on official announcements
- Citizen participation in publications and administration
  - Article contribution were accepted, public voices in newspapers were checked.
  - Requests for improvements were collected and shared.



*Shisei Shuho,*  
Nov. 15<sup>th</sup>, 1941

# 4-3. Period of Militarization and Efficiency (1930s to 1945)

14

## 2. Emergence of Information Department

- 1934 Correspondence Department > Announcement Section
  - *Kouhou kakari*, first section to be devoted to the PR function
  - In 1932, 20 wards joined Tokyo City, which now included 35 wards
- 1939 Information Department
  - Function: gathering, organizing, coordinating and presenting information related to the city and drafting and distributing materials or hosting events that will promote citizen understanding towards the city.
  - De facto PR Department

## 4-3. Period of Militarization and Efficiency (1930s to 1945)

15

### 3. Reorganization of Neighbor Associations

- Neighborhood associations formed in Tokyo naturally through wars, natural disasters and other difficult times
  - Farm villages and traditional neighborhood had their own associations but people in the city was often not organized.
  - Great Kanto Earthquake (1923) prompted neighborhood associations especially since people had to protect themselves.
- 1939 Neighborhood associations were made official (part of government agency), membership became mandatory
  - 100,000 associations were formed when population was 6 million.
  - Food ration, mutual surveillance, information sharing.

## 5. Conclusion

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Some implications from the case study

**1.** One of fundamental government PR seems to be law notification

**2.** Government's need for understanding, support and active participation by citizens led to series of campaigns and reader-friendly publications

**3.** Some conditions for the birth of a PR department included: major political change, urbanization, population increase, natural disasters, wars

## 5. Conclusion

17

Some of the many questions that arise from the case study

1. Why were some of the PR functions institutionalized instead of others?

2. Who made the decision?

...questions that require in-depth research

1. Was wartime experience really necessary for a PR department to emerge?

2. Can level of urbanization or size of population be used to predict an emergence of a department?

...questions that require comparative research

○Thank you for your attention!







# Planting Messages: A Narrative Paradigm Analysis of the World War II Victory Garden Program

Cheryl Ann Lambert, PhD. , Assistant Professor &  
Yuehan Wang, Master's student, Boston University

# Planting messages: Introduction

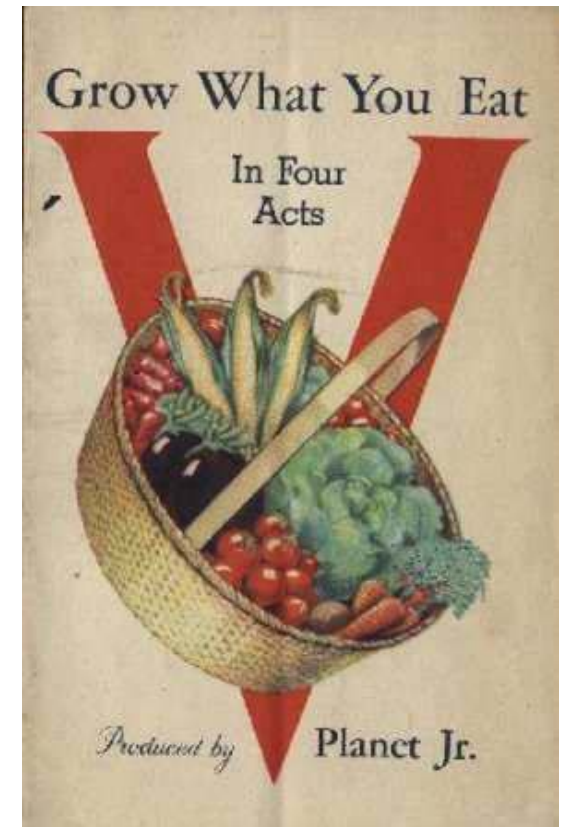
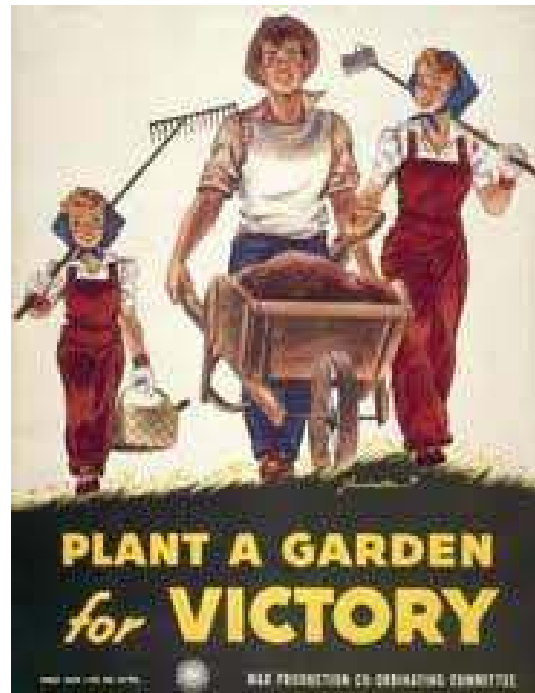
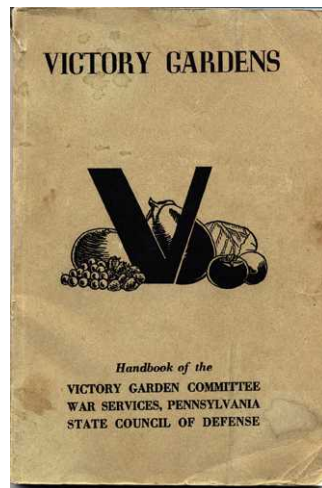
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- ▶ OWI offset food shortages
- ▶ War Gardens, Victory Gardens
- ▶ Community, school, farm, yard



# Victory Garden program

- ▶ Media: print, broadcast
- ▶ Organizations: Libraries, schools, stores
- ▶ Individuals: Trainers, scouts



# Theory: Narrative paradigm (Fisher, 1984)

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- ▶ As storytellers, people use differential reasoning to communicate & make decisions.
  - ▶ Reasoning—Narrative fidelity: If story rings true & Narrative probability: If story has coherence
  - ▶ Decisions—history, biography, culture, character
- ▶ World comprised of stories we use to re-create reality

# Method: Historical case study

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- ▶ In-context investigation of phenomenon
  - ▶ (Fullerton, 1998; Witkowski, 2007; Yin, 2008)
- ▶ Primary, secondary data

# Primary data sources

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- ▶ **Twelve posters** (Eight OWI, 1943; three U.S. Food Administration, 1943, one Bureau of Industrial Conservation, 1942)
- ▶ **Speech transcript** (Bureau of Operations Office, c1942)
- ▶ **Progress report memo** (Bureau of Intelligence, 1943)
- ▶ **Canadian wartime poster study** (Young & Rubicam, c1943)
- ▶ **Victory Garden promotional film** (OWI, 1944)

# Secondary data sources

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- ▶ Miller, C. (2003). In the sweat of our brow.
- ▶ Ryan, K. (2009, November). Poster girls.
- ▶ Yesil, B. (2004). 'Who said this is a man's war?'
- ▶ Witkowski, T. H. (2003). World War II poster campaigns.



# Method: Thematic analysis (Riessman, 2005)

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- ▶ Read, group thematically
- ▶ Read for frames
- ▶ Alternating analysis
- ▶ Self-memoing
- ▶ Discuss patterns, categorize
- ▶ Finalize themes

# Findings: Primary sources

- ▶ Emotional appeals
- ▶ Calls to action
- ▶ War words
- ▶ Ambiguous message framing
- ▶ Source credibility



# Discussion: Secondary sources

- ▶ Nostalgic appeals
- ▶ Participation encouraged
- ▶ Sense of urgency
- ▶ Soaring language
- ▶ Women targeted
- ▶ Source identification



# Conclusion: Implications

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- ▶ Victory Garden stories: troops fighting recreated as civilians serving; People could use reasoning to deconstruct ambiguous messages.
- ▶ Fidelity: family images of rang true
- ▶ Probability: Connectedness





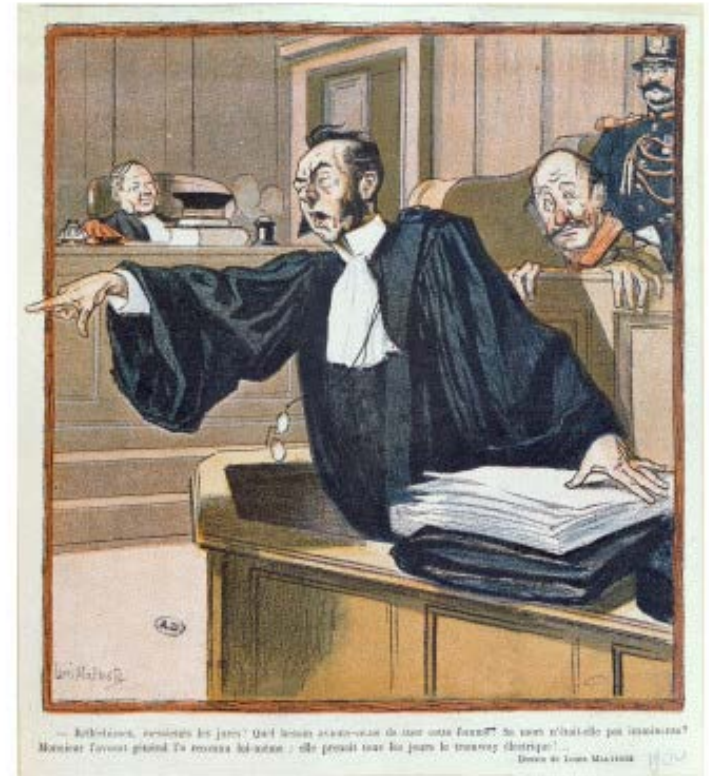
# Thank you: Any questions?

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# Learning from the past to develop the future of PR

by Lucy Laville  
Senior Lecture  
Leeds Metropolitan University



# Legitimacy to operate

- Building up a profession is a way of ensuring the legitimacy, or taken for grantedness, through an institutionalisation of the power that members of that profession exercise (Merkelson, 2010, p127).



# Brief history of Professions

- Professions of law and accountancy have developed in such a way that legislation and democratic governments cannot operate without their expertise
- 'clans within the wider social structure, operating within the boundaries of democracy', using 'socially constructed characteristics of trust, homology and reputation' (Hanlon, 2004).

# Developing control and influence

- Professional work was less about entrepreneurialism and more about protecting jurisdiction and specialist expertise.
- These areas of expertise were established up to a century ago when accountants and lawyers claimed auditing and conveyancing as key specialisms. (Hanlon, 2004)

# Becoming indispensable...

- These specialisms shaped the external environment and legislation to become essential components of business transactions and exchange.
- The social and reputational capital of the clans enabled these professions to enhance their role in society. (Hanlon, 2004)

# Fast forward to the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

- ‘Chief executives see senior communications leaders as being more influential today than ever before.’

(The Arthur Page Society, Authentic Enterprise White Paper, 2008).

# PR's legitimacy to operate

- 'Often the degree of influence and power held by PR practitioners are leading factors in determining CEOs' decisions of granting a role within the dominant coalition' (Berger, 2005, cited in Valentini, 2010, p158)

# Social capital v established practice

- As PR's status in organisations increases is it less to do with legislation and established practice and more to do with the social capital of the individual practitioner?
- Having extended personalised networks of influence is an asset for a career conscious PR practitioner' (Valentini 2010)

# PR in the UK boardroom

- 6 percent senior practitioners members of management team
  - 51 percent report to CEO
- (Gregory and Edwards, 2011)

‘the dominant coalition be educated to appreciate the potential of public relations’  
(Grunig, 2006).





# CEOs are crucial to PRs success

- Degrees of influence and power held by PR practitioners are leading factors to determining CEOs decisions to grant access to dominant coalition (Valentini, 2010)



# CEOs.....

- CEOs recognise ‘under-invest in PR and that if there were the right measures to evaluate its contribution, they would spend more’ (Gregory and Edwards, 2011)
- PR has come a long way in ten years but still considered a soft discipline rather than core for many organisations.

# Arthur Page Society, 2008

- CEOs see importance of communications likely to increase in future
- Skills and attributes they seek in PR have expanded – experience is not enough
- Business savvy, deep understanding of companies from top to bottom
- Interactive comms is the future of the profession
- CEOs see comms as critical to their team.

(The Arthur Page Society, Authentic Enterprise White Paper, 2008).

# Comms more complex and essential

- Challenges and opportunities for corporations thrust into global spotlight are catalyst for PR to rethink its role and purpose and need for strategic sustainable relationships (IPRA 2008)

# **PR' s role has already been enhanced by:**

- Technology revolution
- Subsequent globalisation
- Vulnerability and expore of CEOs
- Sustainability agenda

# Better education key to professional standards...

- Measurement for effectiveness, objectives, global standards, ethics and professional certification, like law and accounting, is a way to legitimise PR.

(Merkelson 2011)

Not just being called to the top table when there is a issues and crisis management responses required.

# Drivers in the boardroom

- Economics theory like Agency Theory – shareholder and profit is king
- Changes to the environment are challenging traditional post war boardroom theory, closer association with Elkington's 'Triple Bottom Line'
- Power of stakeholders is growing due to technology, media and global barometers that measure good practice.



# PR' s role:

- To recognise the challenges in the boardroom around transparency and legitimacy
  - Understand conflicts of interest – shareholder v stakeholder
  - Interpret the environment
  - Maintain a degree of detachment
  - Have multiple vision – be the antagonist
- ‘The future is unknowable yet recognisable’ (Derina et al 2009)

# Corporate Governance

- Business is being scrutinised on a range of levels – sustainability and ethics comes from good corporate governance
- Recent financial crisis demonstrates one-sided globalisation of market economy and lack of financial and social governance.

# Triple bottom line

- Governance should focus on economic, social and environmental issues – triple bottom line (Elkington, 1997).
- This is increasingly challenging economic theory in the boardroom.
- There is a need for a thorough review of the relationships between market, state and civil society and the design of new models of governance (Martinelli, 2010)

# Corporate Governance

- A single focus on shareholder optimisation can endanger company competitiveness and survival (Martinelli, 2010)
- More than ever companies have realised the need to manage their complex set of stakeholder relations proactively (Drews, 2010)

# What does this mean for PR

- Places PR at the heart of the boardroom?
- PR academics and practitioners need to recognise the complex relationships at play in the boardroom
- Professional body (CIPR) and trade body (PRCA) action to engage with business IOD and CBI, influence CEO training on stakeholder engagement
- PR Education needs to focus on business objectives and strategic evaluation!

## Best practice:

- Marks & Spencer: sustainability includes more subtle, subjective engagement with stakeholders that leads to outcomes that directly influence strategic performance and direction.

# The challenge...

- identify a profession that can harness this less obviously tangible approach to stakeholder engagement and align it with the tangible sustainable measurements and reporting, to influence strategic direction.
- Instinctively two way communication and stakeholder engagement embedded in best practice is public relations, or corporate communications?



# References:

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## **Edward Bernays and Freudian group psychology**

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# Bernays and his image

- Although not the founder of the public relations industry, Bernays is one of its foremost pioneers and, according to some, its true father. Widely recognized, he is the only PR practitioner among the one hundred most influential Americans of the last century, listed in 1990 by *Life* magazine.
- Part of this recognition comes as a result of his talent for unabashed self-promotion. A PR consultant quoted by Tye (2001, p. 237) summarizes this talent by saying: “My overall impression of Bernays is that he only had one client, and that was Edward L. Bernays.”
- And one fundamental element of the image Bernays projects of himself is his association with Freud.

# Bernays and the Freud connection

- For other names with outstanding contributions to the history of public relations, such as Ivy Lee and Walter Lippmann, Freud is undoubtedly an important reference too. In the case of Bernays, however, the connection goes deeper.
- Born in Vienna, in 1891, as a double nephew of Freud (his father, Ely, being a brother of Freud's wife Martha, and his mother being Freud's sister, Anna), when he is one year old his parents decide to settle in the United States, where he spends his life and builds his career.
- Throughout his life, though, Bernays keeps himself in touch with his illustrious uncle and is keen to boast that. Being known for dropping Freud's name in every conversation, he is derided by playwright Henry Denker, in the April 19th, 1961 issue of *Variety* magazine, as a "professional nephew."

# Bernays/Freud: a two-way relationship

- Arguably, they have a two-way relationship, seeing that Bernays takes care of the American edition of Freud's works, which generates for the latter a money flux in a strong currency.
- In the case of Bernays, the question here is what he really derives from Freud, besides some prestige.
- But, before assessing this influence, it is necessary to consider the context of mass psychology more broadly.

# The rise of mass psychology

- In the wake of the industrialization, the nineteenth century brings about an intensification of the urbanization process.
- The ensuing indeterminacy of social life is captured by modern sociology via, for example, Durkheim's concept of anomia.
- In the same vein, it becomes fashionable among pundits, in the end of the century, the analysis of the behavior of the crowds, which, concentrated in metropolises, had taken center stage, sometimes through revolutionary movements.

# Gustave Le Bon's mass psychology

- In the new field of mass psychology, French social psychologist Gustave Le Bon leads the way. Published originally in 1895 and translated into English in the following year, his book *The crowd: a study of the popular mind* resonates with widespread anxieties, quickly attracting a readership well beyond the academic circles. “The destinies of nations are no longer prepared in the councils of princes, but in the soul of the masses,” says Le Bon (2010, p. 2).
- The problem, from his point of view, is the irrational nature of the crowd, in which the unconscious predominates over the conscious mind, suggestion and contagion channel feelings and ideas in the same direction, and an urge is felt to put these feelings and ideas immediately into action. “By the mere fact that he forms part of a crowd, a man descends thus several rungs in the ladder of civilisation” (ibid., p. 14).

# Gabriel de Tarde's mass psychology

- If, for Le Bon, “the age we are about to enter will in truth be the *era of crowds*” (ibid., p. 2), for his fellow countryman and friend, the sociologist Gabriel de Tarde (1910, p. 11), the crowd is in fact “the social group of the past,” to which he opposes the public as “the social group of the future.”
- What enables the rise of the public is the dissemination of the press; while the crowd involves physical proximity and is ephemeral, the public has a virtual and more stable character. To change the focus from the crowd to the public marks a crucial shift of perspective, since it becomes easier to tame the dangers of mass mind.
- And the agents of this process are people strategically placed, contradicting the idea that democracy would entail the demise of individuality: “The large conversions of masses are now operated by the journalists” (ibid., p. 28).



# Freudian mass psychology

- In his *Group psychology and analysis of the ego* (*Massenpsychologie und Ich-Analyse*, 1921), Freud (1922) begins with observations made by Le Bon and articulates them with his own psychoanalytic insights.
- Although he agrees with Le Bon concerning the irrationality of the crowds, for him crowds are not irrational per se. Their behavior has to do with unconscious processes, the same processes which psychoanalysis detects in an individual.

# The role of libido

- In the mass psychology prior to Freud, there is a mysterious force that bonds one individual to another within a group, which Le Bon calls contagion and Tarde calls imitation.
- According to Freud, this force is the same libido present in the ego and which can be invested in objects of love, with the difference that the libido which unite a group is diverted from sexual aims (the exact same thing occurs in hypnosis, which differs from a group because it involves only two people).
- But how libido comes to perform the role of a bond within the group? The answer lies in the mechanism of identification.

# Horizontal and vertical identification

- In the Freudian construction, horizontal identification among the members of a group takes place around a shared symptom: the vertical identification of each individual with the leader. “It is impossible to grasp the nature of a group if the leader is disregarded” (ibid., p. 85).
- As a target of identification, the leader represents an idealized version of the subject, replacing, for each follower, his own ego ideal.
- Thus, “a primary group of this kind is a number of individuals who have substituted one and the same object for their ego ideal and have consequently identified themselves with one another in their ego” (ibid., p. 80).

# Outsourcing control in a group

- Since the ego ideal (the heir of the relationship with the parents, which Freud will later call superego) is an instance of control, the fact of replacing them by an outer object has the effect of disabling self-control – or, more precisely, of outsourcing control.
- In the case of organized, “artificial” groups, like the army and the church, the group ego which replaces the ego ideal is relatively stable and rigid – but, even so, control applies there only in some areas. In other cases, like those of ephemeral crowds which gather in the street, with a very informal leadership, the group ego is looser.
- This explains why otherwise perfectly rational individuals may behave wildly when banded together in a crowd, where "the individual is brought under conditions which allow him to throw off the repressions of his unconscious instincts" (ibid., 9-10). They revert then to a state equivalent to that of so-called primitive people, children, and dreams.

# Bernays and unconscious motivations

- Bernays stresses the fundamental importance of unconscious motivations in order to explain human behavior.
- This means that, for him, the most efficient way to reach people is to appeal to these motivations: “This general principle, that men are very largely actuated by motives which they conceal from themselves is as true of mass as of individual psychology. It is evident that the successful propagandist must understand the true motives and not be content to accept the reasons which men give for what they do” (Bernays, 1928, p. 52).

# Bernays and the recourse to leaders

- As a way to control the masses, Bernays recommends the recourse to leaders.
- “Clearly it is the intelligent minorities which need to make use of propaganda continuously and systematically. In the active proselytizing minorities in whom selfish interests and public interests coincide lie the progress and development of America. Only through the active energy of the intelligent few can the public at large become aware of and act upon new ideas” (ibid., p. 31).
- The idea is to identify potential leaders and try to gain access to the population at large through them.

# “Torches of Freedom”

- Both strategies are illustrated by one of Bernays’s most remarkable feats as a consultant, a publicity stunt commissioned by the American Tobacco Company in order to stir up the habit of smoking among women.
- With the support of A. A. Brill, a pioneer of psychoanalysis in the United States, Bernays proposes to deal with the cigarette as a phallic symbol and bases his game plan on the assumption that cigarettes, until then consumed mostly by non-reputable women, should be associated with female emancipation – a way for a woman to bear a phallus of her own – and hence with the women’s rights agenda.
- To do so, he arranges an event during the Easter Parade, in New York, in 1929, in which women elegantly dressed walk down Fifth Avenue puffing at Lucky Strike cigarettes, announced as “torches of freedom,” an expression Brill had come up with.

# “Torches of Freedom”: preparations and outcome

- Everything is carefully staged in consonance with previous instructions: the participants are attractive but non-professional-model women, some of them are accompanied by men, they reach for their cigarettes in a seemingly spontaneous way, and a photographer stands nearby to register scenes which the press eventually misses.
- In the end, newspapers all over the country run the story, polemics ensue, and concrete results are achieved – shortly thereafter, for example, Broadway theaters begin to admit women to their smoking rooms.
- In this event, the phallic suggestion points out to the unconscious motivations, while the performance of the female models – and of Bernays himself, who remains in the sidelines – cast them as leaders.



# Formation of an artificial crowd (I)

- In the wake of Freudian mass psychology, this episode shows how a provisional group – not unlike Le Bon's ephemeral crowd – is formed insofar as people are stimulated, at the same time, to follow a leadership and to obey its unconscious desires.
- As a matter of fact, the lesson may not have been extracted directly from Freud, since Bernays had developed both a good practical experience and a good theoretical background on mass psychology and techniques of persuasion, aside from the fact that psychoanalysis was well disseminated in the *Zeitgeist* (we know, for instance, that Walter Lippmann, a crucial influence on Bernays, draws on Freud as well).
- Anyway, the aim here is to show that Bernays's *modus operandi* is utterly compatible with Freud's reflections.

# Formation of an artificial crowd (II)

- Things take place as if, knowing that crowds behave the way they do because of the link to a leader and of an unconscious backdrop, Bernays decides to mimic this behavior.
- His artificial crowd, planned from the outside, as it was made in a laboratory, has almost all the features of a spontaneous crowd, whose workings denote emotional content, suggestion, contagion, disposition to immediate action – everything connected with the influence of a leader.
- Its peculiarity, owing to an artificial nature, is that its aim is channelled in order to support a cause, in this case to modify cultural assumptions and habits in order to promote the consumption of a specific product.

# Virtual leaders and appeal to unconscious

- Concrete leaders, who are visible to the crowd and with whom the crowd may interact, are subject to a problematization, since tensions may intervene in this interaction.
- With virtual leaders, which remain behind the scenes or act through media, advancing leading ideas as their avatars, the manufactured crowd has no dialectical relationship.
- This favors the strengthening of the group ego, which is tantamount to a debilitation of the ego and to a strong external grip on the crowd. In a certain way, a direct connection is established between the virtual leaders and the unconscious of crowd members.
- The compensation earned by these people is a gratification of libidinal nature, bolstered by the straightforward exploration of unconscious motivations.

# Difference between Freud and Bernays

- With his artificial crowd, which put Freud's findings to work, Bernays connects in a way the irrationality of Le Bon's crowd and the domesticability of Tarde's public. Where would be located then the difference between the approaches of Freud and Bernays?
- We could say that, while the first wants to understand crowd behavior, the latter wants to appropriate such understanding in order to reproduce this behavior.
- On the one hand, one of the psychoanalytic basic tenets is to make patients more conscious of their unconscious – as Freud famously states, "*Wo Es war, soll Ich werden*," which may be translated into English as "Where id was, there shall ego be."
- On the other hand, for the "counsel on public relations" or "practicing social scientist," as Bernays liked to be called, what is unconscious should remain so, since it is instrumental exactly this way.

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