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PROCEEDINGS INDEX

Author(s)	Title
Gülşah Aydın, Pelin Hürmeriç & Duygu Aydın Aslaner	Transformation of Turkish Printed Newspapers' Corporate Cultures
Günter Bentele	165 years Public Relations History of a Company: the Case of KRUPP, Germany [Abstract]
Thomas H. Bivins	When symbols clash: The vanishing myth of woman-as-nation and the rise of woman-as-marketing-metaphor in the early 20th century [Abstract]
Carolina Andrea Carbone & Manuel Montaner Rodríguez	Argentinean public relations: 100 years of constant growth
Edward J. Downes	"The (Very Deep) Evolution of the Congressional Press Secretary and the Importance (or Lack Thereof) of an Informed Democracy
Ferdinando Fasce	Dramatizing Free Enterprise: The National Association of Manufacturers' Public Relations Campaign in WWII [Abstract]
Robert L. Heath & Daymion Waymer	John Brown, Public Relations, Terrorism, and Social Capital: "His Truth Goes Marching On" [Abstract]
Tom Isaacson	Word-of-mouth communication: A historical and modern review of its impact on public relations [Abstract]
Paula Keaveney	Slavery and the Celebrity Book Tour
Susan Kinnear	'One People': National Persuasion and Creativity in early 20th century New Zealand [Abstract]
Jan Niklas Kocks & Juliana Raupp	'Socialist Public Relations' – a contradictio in adiecto?
Rachel Kovacs	Nation-Building Starts at Home: CSR, Community Relations, and U.K. Broadcasters [Abstract]
Michael Kunczik	Public Relations for Money with Special References to German Historical Experiences
Cheryl Ann Lambert	A liberal newspaper in the U.S. Deep South: A historical case study
Jacque L'Etang	Historicity, knowledge, societal change and movements [Abstract]
Jim Macnamara & Tom Watson	Australia's emergence on the international public relations scene: 1959 to 2000 [Extended Abstract]
Charles Marsh	The Strange Case of the Goddess Peitho: Classical Antecedents of Public Relations' Ambivalence Toward Persuasion
David McKie, Jordi Xifra & Maria-Rosa Collell	Entertaining liars: Historiography, public relations history, and counterfactuals [Abstract]
Michaela O'Brien	Placing activist communication at the centre: how Friends of the Earth framed the Newbury bypass campaign [Extended Abstract]

B. Pinar Özdemir	Public Relations of Labour Unions in 1960s and 1970s in Turkey: An Untold Story
Sian Rees	Authentic or defensive? – The representation of the BBC
Natalia Rodríguez Salcedo	The birth of the first Spanish public relations consultancy: Contributions to the history of public relations in the midst of a dictatorship [Abstract]
Collette Snowden	An assessment of the use of Public Relations techniques and technology by Muriel Matters to promote the cause of women's suffrage [Abstract]
Astrid Spatzier	Beyond the Border: Public Relations in Austria – From Information to Information? Analysing the Evolution of the Occupational Field in Austria by Means of Interaction Dynamics
Burton St John III	The “creative confrontation” of Herbert Schmertz: Public relations sense making and the corporate persona [Abstract]
Dustin W. Supa & Jaclyn A. Weisberg	What's in a name? The history and evolution of the naming of sports venues as a public relations tool
Gareth Thompson & Yann-Eduoard Colleu	The Public Relations Operations of the French Resistance: A War of Words?
Giovanni Eugenio Tomassetti & Toni Muzi Falconi	See, Think, Touch: three recent sequential Papal approaches to public relationships - Three personalities, three approaches, three public relations assistants
Robert Wakefield, Ed Adams & Tyler Page	Public Relations in the Early 1800s <i>Age of Reform</i> : Sophisticated, Strategic, and Successful [Abstract]
Mary Welch	Internal communication education: A historical critical analysis [Abstract]
Donald K. Wright	Examining the Historical Position of Public Relations in Organizational Decision Making Within Several Major Companies [Abstract]
Melike Aktaş Yamaoğlu	Public relations as a tool for social transformation: Case study of railroads in Turkey

Transformation of Turkish Printed Newspapers' Corporate Cultures

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Introduction

Media industry underwent dramatic changes in the '90's with the development of the Internet. It is true that the new media as well as the social media have profoundly affected the conventional media. The area mostly affected by such dramatic changes in the media is undoubtedly the printed newspapers. Recent developments in the media, contents such as audio, motion videos, text and pictures have become portable in an interactive manner instead of a traditional one-way communication. Internet was soon to become an important and competent supplementary element in journalism starting from the beginning of 90's. New communication technologies allowed real time access to existing news industry products. Internet also simplified the access to a massive number of news, archives, maps, video and audio records or materials supporting news.

Nowadays, such dramatic change – it may even be called as a revolution – has also brought along some problems in corporate culture of published newspapers. Flamholtz and Randle (2011) argue that there are four primary types of cultural transformation that an organization might experience: 1) from early-stage entrepreneurship to a professionally managed firm, 2) revitalization, 3) business vision (strategy) transformation, and 4) business combination (merger, acquisition). Transformation that occurs in the printed newspapers' corporate cultures can be a significant example for 'business vision transformation' as this process involves changing a company's existing business vision and related strategy to fundamentally different ones. It can be claimed that Internet can play a vital role in this type of transformation while the driving force behind this type of transformation is generally some

sort of strategic factor such as technological change, competition, etc.

In this study, in-depth interviews will be conducted with the top executives and/or executives from the public relations or marketing departments of the newspapers with the highest traffic rank (milliyet.com.tr, hurriyet.com.tr and sabah.com.tr) in Turkey in order to question whether they have developed any strategies to transform their corporate cultures.

Literature Review

Corporate Culture

In this part, we tried to analyze previous researches about corporate culture and transformation of corporate culture. Corporate culture and organizational culture are the two terms that are used interchangeably. In this paper, the term corporate culture will be used. The topic has been studied from a variety of perspectives such as anthropology, sociology, management science, and corporate communication. Definitions are listed below:

Hofstede (1997) defines corporate culture as "the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one organisation from others" and also corporate culture could be considered a model of norms, values, beliefs and attitudes, which affects behavior of the employees (Schein, 1986). Cameron and Quinn (2010) claim that an organisation's culture is reflected by what is valued, the dominant leadership styles, the language and symbols, the procedures and routines that make an organisation unique.

Although there are many definitions concerning the concept, the common characteristics of the definitions are that it is about values and experiences. Brown defines corporate culture as "the pattern of beliefs, values and learned ways of coping with experience that have developed during the course of an organisation's history, and which tends to be manifested in its material arrangements and in the behaviors of its members" (1998:9). Thus, he underlines the importance of communicating the corporate culture both among the internal and external publics. O'Reilly and Chatman (1986:160) explains culture in a more employee centered point of view and claims that it is a social control system based on shared values and norms that set expectations about appropriate attitudes and behaviors for organisational members.

Schein (1983:22) mentions that creating a culture involves a teaching process that helps the employees incorporate the corporate culture. This process can be realized by mechanisms such as, formal statements of organizational philosophy, mission, vision, values, and materials used for recruiting, selection, and socialization, the design of physical space,

work environments, and buildings, slogans, language, acronyms, and sayings, deliberate role modeling, training programs, teaching, and coaching by managers and supervisors, explicit rewards, status symbols (e.g., titles), and promotion criteria, stories, legends, and myths about key people and events, the organizational activities, processes, or outcomes that leaders pay attention to, measure, and control, leader reactions to critical incidents and organizational crises, the workflow and organizational structure, organizational systems and procedure, organizational goals and the associated criteria used for recruitment, selection, development, promotion, layoffs, and retirement of people’’. These mechanisms should be strategically planned and executed in order to transform corporate culture.

All of the above arguments claim that corporate culture consists of mainly values, beliefs and norms that are based on the organisation’s core philosophy. In this context, it can be argued that culture influences wide range of organizational outcomes from financial performance to organisational success. Flamholtz and Randle (2011:13) summarize the importance of corporate culture as below:

- ✓ Culture does influence organisational success.
- ✓ Culture is a strategic asset (a source of competitive advantage), and it can even be the ultimate source of sustainable competitive advantage.
- ✓ Culture functions as “organisational glue,” especially in siloed organisations.
- ✓ Culture affects financial performance.
- ✓ Culture is a driver or strategic building block of organisational success.
- ✓ Culture influences the success of people in organisations.
- ✓ Culture is a more important factor than “strategic fit” in mergers and acquisitions.

Under these circumstances, corporations need to examine and then re-define the whole process while reorganizing their culture. Besides, determination of the timing necessary for this change is an important issue and this can be decided by making comparisons with the competitors. However, anticipating the need for change and planning the essential steps are of crucial importance before it is too late (Sweeney and McFarlin, 2002).

Transformation of Corporate Culture

Together with the development of new communication technologies in the 21st century, political, social, cultural, demographic and economic changes have differentiated the

needs and expectations in the market; thus, organisations have created new strategies both in their business models and their cultures. In this framework, according to Schabracq (2007) 'companies have to adapt themselves to the changing environment as rapidly as it is possible by developing new strategies and cultures'. Kaluzny and Hernandez (1988) classified the change in corporate culture in three different phases: "transition, transformation, and technical change". The need for change in corporate cultures is caused by digitalization and new technologies; and this resulted a transformation especially in the media. This transformation creates a competitive advantage for newspaper companies. Transformation refers to major modifications in the organisation's direction (Kaluzny and Hernandez, 1988). However, these modifications can initially create stress and resistance among the employees if traditional organisational structures and processes do not well accommodate the requirements of the changing culture and strategies (Picard, 2007). In this regard, leadership plays a significant role in coping with this resistance and achieving the desired transformation in corporate culture. It can be stated that leaders must form the basis for transformation of the current culture by inspiring minds of the employees.

Nowadays, in order to survive and compete in the changing environment, newspaper companies should work on their vision and mission statements that can be stated as crucial elements of corporate culture. Sims (2002) mentioned that those companies could focus on customer service, emphasize employee involvement, or incorporate technological innovation in their product development or service delivery. However, changing corporate culture can be a challenge for traditional media because of its nature. Consistently, Picard underlines the need of change in newspaper organizations as follows:

'Newspaper companies were constructed to produce the paper today, tomorrow, and in the future, and they emphasized work occurring in a given order with relatively inflexible schedules and production activities, which were controlled by formalized policies, checklists, and handbooks. Because newspaper companies now understand that change is necessary for their growth and sustainability, they are increasingly developing new products and revenue sources and seeking new uses for their information and advertising knowledge and skills. Many forward-looking newspaper companies see papers as their central purpose and activity in the mid-term, but are transforming themselves into news organisations that will publish a range of newspapers and other information products. However, the addition of these products does not fit well into the existing organisational structures and processes. Companies need to focus on integrating their visions, strategies, and business activities more tightly than before in order to achieve joint benefits and to be able to rapidly react to market opportunities' (Picard, 2007, p.16).

Change and transformation of corporate culture is a very compelling process. Many different factors are required to be planned and applied strategically and harmoniously. The corporations that decide for the transformation of corporate culture should consider the following matters (Brown and Gutterman, 2013):

- ✓ Organizational mission and purpose
- ✓ Control systems
- ✓ Organizational identification and commitment
- ✓ Communication style
- ✓ Internal governance systems
- ✓ Strategies for coping with the external environment
- ✓ External adaptation
- ✓ Power, status and participation
- ✓ Individualism/collectivism
- ✓ Gender equality and diversity
- ✓ Time orientation
- ✓ Encouragement and support of individual development

While Brown and Gutterman (2013) emphasize the requirement of the topics above for the transformation of corporate culture, the matter of leadership was examined within the mentioned topics rather than being considered as a separate topic. However, leadership plays a vital role in the change and transformation of corporate culture. Thus, in this study, leadership has also been considered separately besides these topics.

Transformation of Turkish Newspapers

With the neoliberal policies pursued after 1980's in Turkey, social, economic, and cultural transformations were occurred. Private entrepreneurship has been supported in all sectors as well as media institutions thus these institutions began to compete in a free market. In the late 1980s, several groups owning more than one newspaper, magazines, their own news agencies, and marketing and trade companies began to emerge in the sector. (Koloğlu, 1996: 136). Together with these improvements media from being small enterprises has been transformed into large corporations thus media has become a part of big holding in order to survive in the market.

History of Hürriyet Newspaper

Hürriyet is one of the major Turkish newspapers, founded in 1948. Hürriyet classified

advertising commenced on July 1st 1954, which made it possible, for the first time in Turkey, to place ads by telephone. In 1965, it held the Golden Microphone Competition, through which many talented singers were discovered. A few years later, in 1973, it initiated the Golden Butterfly Competition, to find the artist of the year, in a wide variety of fields such as cinema, television and theatre. The winner was chosen by the votes amongst the paper's readers. Hürriyet introduced a newly designed logo on June 1st 1975 by well-known graphic designer Bülent Erkmén in a change that symbolized the newspaper's contemporary outlook. It has won a number of international awards over the years, including the International Golden Globe for 'superior achievements in creative development' and the Whittaker Gold Prize for printing quality, both received in 1979. In 1991, Hürriyet began issuing regional supplements – an innovation in newspaper journalism in Turkey – in İstanbul, Ankara, the Aegean, the Mediterranean, the Black Sea and SAP (the Southeast Anatolian Project region). In February 1992, it issued 10% of its total shares to the public. Two years later, on December 23rd 1994, Doğan Group owned the newspaper company.

Hürriyet is printed in six cities in Turkey and in Frankfurt, Germany. According to comScore, the paper's website is the third most visited news website in Europe with a circulation of around 385.000 in June 2014. wikipedia

History of Milliyet Newspaper

Milliyet Newspaper was first published at the Nuri Akça press in Babıali as a daily private newspaper on May 3rd 1950. Its owner was Ali Naci Karacan. For a number of years Abdi İpekçi made his mark on the paper as its editor-in-chief. İpekçi managed to raise the standards of the Turkish press by introducing his journalistic criteria. A terrorist assassinated İpekçi on February 1st 1979, at the age of 50.

In 1980, the Karacan family sold the paper to Aydın Doğan. Taking his first step into the press industry exactly a quarter of a century ago, Aydın Doğan has headed up the newspaper since October 6th 1980. Campaigning for a cause and competitions are among the most important milestones in the history of Milliyet. Furthermore, with its social responsibility mission, Milliyet has formed a special relationship with the Turkish public by breaking the traditional mould of being a newspaper

By organising such events as Miss Turkey in 1996, in addition to starting such competitions as Knowledge and Culture Competition among primary schools in 1996, Music and Folklore Competition among high schools in 1967, and Crosswords Competition Turkey

in 1972, Milliyet continued this tradition for many years. It is possible to generate an exhaustive list of social responsibility projects conducted by Milliyet. Among these, the Dardanelles Memorial campaign, in 1958, is an important first. Campaigns for Varto earthquake victims, Gediz earthquake houses and aid for village schools are among the others. The ‘Clean Society’ campaign started by Milliyet in 1996 to increase public vigilance in order to fight corruption is one activity that has left a mark. It is an important tradition of Milliyet to maintain a good relationship with society and so the ‘Milliyet Caravan’ project – coined as such on August 17th 1958 – has been revived. Since 2001 visits have been made to all regions of Turkey, to listen to and write about the difficulties and expectations of locals.

The paper was purchased by a joint venture of the Demirören Group and Karacan Group in May 2011.

History of Sabah Newspaper

Sabah is a Turkish newspaper founded by Dinç Bilgin in 1985. On August 10th 1987, Sabah pioneered a technique for printing coloured images and text together on a page. It was the first newspaper in the industry to do so. The opening of new printing facilities on July 2th 1993, allowed Sabah to become the first and only newspaper in Turkey to print 16 coloured pages. The newspaper has been published online since January 1997.

In 2000, Ciner Group bought the shares of the newspaper and by 2005 Merkez Group that Ciner Group is one of the partners bought its ownership. The newspaper was requisited by the SDIF (The Savings Deposit Insurance Fund) in 2007. After that it was sold to a businessman named Ahmet Çalık and subsequently Erdal Şafak has become the editor-in-chief in 2009. The newspaper is being published with a circulation of around 330.000 in June 2014.

Research

Methodology

One of the main techniques when undertaking field research is the interview (administered by telephone or face-to-face). The key benefit of the in-depth interview is the opportunity to probe, to encourage people to expand on their answers (Watson and Noble, 2007:67). In this study, in-depth interviews with the top executives and/or executives from the public relations or marketing departments of the newspapers with the highest traffic rank (milliyet.com.tr, hurriyet.com.tr and sabah.com.tr) in Turkey were conducted in order to question whether they have developed any strategies to transform their corporate cultures.

Face to face, thorough interviews conducted with Ertuğrul Özkök, who has performed as the Chief Editor of Hürriyet Newspaper for 20 years and still works as a columnist at the newspaper, Volkan Karsan as Milliyet Newspaper Marketing Manager, Ercüment Erkul as the Assistant Editor of Milliyet Newspaper, and Sinan Köksal as the Brand and Marketing Group President of Milliyet Newspaper took approximately 30 minutes. Around 18 semi-structured questions were asked and recorded. Then, the recordings were deciphered; the answers given to the questions were analyzed and the findings of the study were obtained. Research questions are as follows:

In the last fifteen years (with the development of Internet or digitalization);

1. Have any changes occurred in your mission and vision?
 - a. If yes, how would you define this change?
 - b. Are your changed mission and vision shared with the employees and the target audience? If yes, through which channels? (written, oral, e-mail etc.)
2. Are there any changes in the roles and responsibilities that you have assumed in order to achieve your corporate objectives? Please explain.
3. How do you describe the culture of your corporation?
 - a. What kinds of changes have occurred in your corporate culture?
4. Are there any changes regarding the communication styles you have assigned while communicating in-house shareholders?
 - a. Do you adopt an efficient and open or a closer communication style? Why?
5. Have any changes occurred regarding the expression of an opinion by the employees regarding the decisions to be made about the corporation during decision-making processes? Please explain.
6. Regarding the structure of the working environment, has there been a shift? Such as a shift from a hierarchical to a flexible order or from flexible order to a hierarchical order.
7. Can you please define your accepted and expected responsibilities regarding the employees of the corporation?
8. Are these responsibilities merely limited to the matters affecting work performance or do you also have responsibilities concerning well-being and prosperity of the employees in general?
9. Can you please talk about the changes in the control system regarding the work performance of in-house employees?

- a. To what extent do you use technology in this control system?
 - b. If there are some applications for the employees as a result of the controls, can you please talk about the regulations regarding the enforcements of these applications?
10. Which one is considered more valuable? Individual or group works?
 11. Are there any differences in the average working period (year) of the employees?
How would you explain the reasons of these differences?
 12. What kind of special events are made in order to increase the productivity of in-house employees?
 - a. Are there any specific changes in the special events?
 13. Can you please explain your perspective on supporting the trainings etc. for the employees in order to increase their knowledge and skills?
 14. What do you think about the loyalty of the employees to the corporation?
 15. Has any change occurred regarding the continuous information and thought exchange between various departments and elements comprising the corporation or the establishment of required relations between the departments in order to provide the functioning of the corporation and make the corporation reach its goals?
 16. How would you elaborate on the changes experienced during the adaptation period of the employees newly joined to the corporation?
 17. Are there any differences between the number of female and male employees at administrative level?
 18. What are the channels you have determined while communicating with external shareholders (customers and advertisers)?
 19. Do you prefer digital channels (e-mail etc.) or face-to-face communication?
 20. Does your corporation give enough importance to customer satisfaction and continuous innovation in order to fulfil the changing demands in the market?

Findings

In this study, in-depth interviews with the top executives and/or executives from the public relations or marketing departments of the newspapers with the highest traffic rank (milliyet.com.tr, hürriyet.com.tr and sabah.com.tr) in Turkey were conducted in order to question whether they have developed any strategies to transform their corporate cultures.

In this framework, Sabah Newspaper stated that any kind of information sharing with the employees is realized firstly by the notification of the administrative cadres orally, and

thus providing pyramidal spread of information and then at the same time by the use of methods such as e-mail, Intranet directed at all employees. The question on the definition of their corporate culture was answered by Milliyet Newspaper and it was defined as a rooted culture that dates back years ago; and emphasized that credibility of the press is one of the major characteristics of this culture. In addition to that, it is also expressed that priority of the reader, respect for news, media ethics, employee independence are among the cornerstones of this culture. Sabah Newspaper emphasized that their corporate culture is primarily established on active communication and an efficient relations network by relating corporate culture to communication dimension as a media corporation. Hürriyet Newspaper stated that it has adopted a culture that respects secular, modern, and democratic values.

Regarding the change in their corporate culture, Sabah Newspaper stated that the entrance of the Internet in our lives within the last 15 years increased communication speed, power, scope, and efficiency and thus caused the relations to become much more intricate and the distances and distinctions to become less important, and underlined that important changes are being experienced in corporate culture. Milliyet Newspaper suggested that corporate cultures need to be revised in accordance with the changing conjuncture, yet, underlined that it has many commercial and administrative deficits in this sense. Hürriyet Newspaper noted that it was one of the first media corporations to notice this change and transformation, yet defined the transformation of the rooted, traditional media as a compelling process facing more resistance compared to others. The reason for this was explained in terms of the printed media holding the 35% to 40% of the market share in Turkey that causes the transformation within the sector to be perceived as a threat. In addition to that, despite this perception in the sector, it also stated that in order to survive within the sector and acquire a sustainable development, transformation is a crucial requirement. Moreover, Hürriyet Newspaper indicated that there have to be other middle level leaders in order to disseminate its vision, however, it claimed that those leaders are ineffective because of the resistance based on the newspaper's old structure (personal communication with Ertuğrul Özkök, 5 June 2014).

Leadership

Hürriyet Newspaper indicated that a leader has the potential to change the corporate culture by inspiring the newspaper with his/her own psychological aura. In the past, one of the Editors in Chief of Milliyet, Nezih Demirkent has started the technological transformation while Necati Zincirkıran has succeeded to reach to a circulation of millions. Another editor in

chief Çetin Emeç has brought a new approach to the celebrity news concept. And Ertuğrul Özkök who performed as an editor in chief for more than 20 years, has introduced new writers/journalists and has transformed the newspaper in a more political one instead of only being a popular tabloid newspaper. He also suggested that all of the former editors in chief had different styles of their own, thus they have all made significant changes in the corporate culture of Hürriyet Newspaper during their management period.

He also claimed that editors in chief should be perceived as the leaders of the newspaper as they endeavor the internal atmosphere of the newspaper instead of just preparing it. He suggested that there are two conditions for a newspaper to succeed in the transformation of its corporate culture; first of all there should be a convenient environment for this transformation, in other words, the necessity of an economic and technological infrastructure; and secondly leadership. Based on these, he concluded that especially leadership is of main importance in the age of transformation (personal communication with Ertuğrul Özkök, 5 June 2014). Milliyet Newspaper supported this viewpoint by stating that leader is the most important dynamic of corporate culture (personal communication with Volkan Karsan, 9 June 2014).

Organizational mission and purpose

Since the Internet is one of the major factors defining social change in the last 15 years, the opportunities brought about by the age of information and global sharing – the leading of which is spreading speed – have naturally created a certain change in both the corporation and in the employees as the individuals of that corporation. This can be summarized as the growth of objectives –the expanding of the objectives of effect and coverage zone and the increase in the spreading speed objectives – in general (personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014).

As are many sectors, media is also experiencing a vital technological change. Noteworthy developments are observed in terms of both pre-publication activities and the number of readers reached after publication and reader profile. Although it was emphasized that the desired level could not be reached in terms of mission and vision sharing in Milliyet Newspaper as in other media corporations (personal communication with Ercüment Erkul, 25 May 2014), Hürriyet Newspaper realized this transformation and stated that vision and mission studies were being conducted efficiently and the changes made regarding mission and vision statements were shared with in-house shareholders. Moreover, it was underlined

that the major issue is not only about having a vision, but also spreading it to employees. (personal communication with Ertuğrul Özkök, June 5 2014).

Control Systems

In Milliyet Newspaper, in-house control system has dramatically changed with the technological developments. The system, which was limited to the working hours before, has now been spread to the 24 hours of the day today. Naturally, this system has caused a reduction in mistakes and the spreading of enforcements from individual basis to a general one (personal communication with Ercüment Erkul, 25 May 2014). Building security among control systems is provided by cameras. However, it was stated that this system is a control system implemented not for the punishment of the employees but rather for the newspaper to operate well and correctly (personal communication with Volkan Karsan, 9 June 2014).

Sabah Newspaper and Hürriyet Newspaper also adopted a similar approach and underlined that the tracking system has been enhanced in all functions from administrative operations to financial matters in addition to the digitalizing of the records along with technological developments. The positive transformation regarding the opportunities of multi-layered, multi-detail information record that can be categorized and the increase in archive capacity with the shift in all operations once carried out by pen and paper to digital was emphasized (personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014 and personal communication with Ertuğrul Özkök, 5 June 2014).

Organizational responsibilities to members

Sabah Newspaper emphasized that the increased speed of information and the expansion of its area of spreading/effect have also increased the responsibilities regarding the control of information and the importance of the measures to be taken regarding this matter. In this context, when corporate responsibilities towards external and in-house shareholders are in question, providing corporation-related information sharing with the employees and external shareholders efficiently and the formation of the resources and opportunities that would maintain their coherence with the corporate culture have been stated as one of the most important responsibilities (personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014).

Hürriyet Newspaper indicated that they reached their goal of disseminating the importance and necessity of digitalization to all their employees by changing their physical environment and thus they call moving their facilities metaphorically as ‘movement of mentality’ (personal communication with Ertuğrul Özkök, 5 June 2014). Milliyet Newspaper

underlined that they have the full responsibility among their employees and they have to concern for their welfare and prosperity. Additionally they claimed that the corporations that the managers have responsibilities solely based on the employees' job performances would not succeed in the long term. (personal communication with Ercüment Erkul, 25 May 2014). Moreover Özkök argued that the biggest problem is not only the lack of a clear distinct vision, but also disseminating this vision to employees (5 June 2014). Sabah Newspaper also emphasized their responsibility by stating that they are responsible of enhancing the opportunities of self-expression for their employees and consequently increasing their loyalty to the newspaper (personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014).

Internal governance systems

Internal governance systems were questioned within the context of organizational workflow of the newspapers, however, Sabah and Milliyet Newspapers indicated that despite having a written formal workflow, they only have it informally. But they also suggested that this informal workflow is well-known by all the employees. On the contrary, Hürriyet Newspaper claimed that not only they have a formal, written workflow, but also they share it via their corporate web site.

Strategies for coping with the external environment and External adaptation

Together with the development of the Internet, printed newspaper industry has been experiencing a distinct process. According to this, Sabah Newspaper claims that for the last 15 years, on one hand they adapt their business processes to the global improvements, on the other hand, they follow changing demands of their customers' and update their products and approaches accordingly. Consistently, Milliyet Newspaper underlined the fact that they also gave importance to the new technologies and innovation in order to embrace the changing demands of the market (personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014 and personal communication with Ercüment Erkul, 25 May 2014).

Communication Style

Internal

Both Sabah and Hürriyet Newspapers stated that they incorporate an efficient and open communication style as a nature of their businesses (personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014 and personal communication with Ertuğrul Özkök, 5 June 2014). Additionally, within this framework, Sabah Newspaper indicated that they have been applying Intranet and email systems more widely in order to reveal and deliver information,

whereas, Milliyet Newspaper claimed that closed communication should be used within the internal communication (personal communication with Ercüment Erkul, 25 May 2014).

External

Regardless of internal and external stakeholders, Sabah Newspaper underlined the importance of interpersonal relationships and face to face communication for an effective communication. However, they suggested that digital technologies increased the effectiveness of the meetings (personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014). Despite stating the necessity of technologies within the communication process, Hürriyet Newspaper claimed that face to face communication will eventually have more power.

Milliyet Newspaper argued that the initial communication with the external stakeholders should be face to face. Following this initial step, other types of communication are found to be acceptable. They also concluded that the former type of face to face communication is transformed into a mediated communication because of the technological developments (especially multimedia (personal communication with Ercüment Erkul, 25 May 2014).

Power status and participation,

When the flexibility of the working environment is questioned in connection to the corporate culture, administrators stated that a structure towards a more flexible one is being realized with digitalization. In this framework, Milliyet Newspaper argued that

Milliyet Newspaper, stating that the hierarchical structure has been shifting into a more flexible one gradually and the flexible order dominates discussion and determination process while hierarchical order dominates final decision-making process, emphasized the requirement of sustaining decision-making processes with greater participation today. (personal communication with Ercüment Erkul, 25 May 2014). Whereas Sabah Newspaper stated that with the formation of virtual platforms where all sections of the society will meet, discriminations have been eliminated and the hierarchical barriers have been overcome, thus both communication and relations have become flexible. Moreover, it has pointed out the fact that the Internet and thus e-mail, meaning the meeting of hundreds of employees, for whom it is almost impossible to be at the same place physically, on the same platform in a virtual environment, increasing of the opportunity of sharing opinions also rendered the shift to a more flexible order possible. (personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014).

Individualism /Collectivism

While Milliyet Newspaper argued that group work is more effective in Journalism, Sabah Newspaper stated that making a generalization in this context can be misleading and that they support individual / group work based on the issues (personal communication with Ercüment Erkul, 25 May 2014, personal communication with Volkan Karsan, 9 June 2014 and personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014)

In this context, although they did not receive either positive or negative feedback concerning the subject yet, Hürriyet Newspaper indicated that group work has gained more importance. Moreover Özkök underlined that in the past 30 years of the digital World, he has witnessed individual accomplishments more than group accomplishments (personal communication with Ertuğrul Özkök, 5 June 2014).

Gender Equality and Diversity

Within the context of gender equity and diversity, Milliyet Newspaper stated that women journalists are not a part of their newspaper planning process and personal accomplishments of women journalists are not widely encountered in the history of Turkish press. (personal communication with Volkan Karsan, 9 June 2014). Sabah Newspaper expressed that there is a lack of research in this area, but they also underlined the fact that there is an increase in the number of women participating in today's business world (personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014). As a significant finding, based on their belief that women should lead the newspapers, Hürriyet Newspaper stated that they are actually increasing the number of women in their newspaper and also, today there are five women in their executive board which is the highest management position (personal communication with Ertuğrul Özkök, 5 June 2014).

Encouragement and support of individual development

Milliyet Newspaper expressed that digitalization created technical opportunities for employees and provided them with opportunities of improving and expressing their skills and reflecting those to the product along with the organizations adopting very different structures compared to the past. Pointed out that, as a result of this rapid change, employees learned new things every day, obtained information sometimes by a training, sometimes while working, sometimes by discussion and sometimes from their dialogues with the readers, and

added that employees must continuously be supported in connection with new trainings (personal communication with Ercüment Erkul, 25 May 2014).

Sabah and Hürriyet Newspapers stated that 100% adaptation to the digital developments is a crucial requirement for their employees. Additionally, Sabah Newspaper emphasized the importance of creating different job opportunities for their employees, providing them with the opportunity to explore their own talents, forming a reward system, and finally planning special events that will increase their loyalty (personal communication with Sinan Köksal, 6 June 2014).

Discussion and Conclusion

Although it would not go through a revolutionary change as long as there are not any crucial structural and functional changes, corporate culture of a corporation can be reshaped in parallel to the status quo and external pressures in addition to the change regarding the dynamics of the sector operated in. In Turkey, especially media is directly influenced by the political, economic, technological, and sociological changes. When the developments within the last fifteen years are considered, it is seen that the change of many external factors caused a radical change in the corporate cultures of newspapers.

In this study, the transformation either planned or due to the impact of external resources experienced in the corporate cultures of the leading newspapers in Turkey in parallel with the developments has been considered under 13 different topics.

When the findings prominent in the study are considered, first of all, the requirement of economic and technological infrastructure and the fact that leadership has a crucial place in the transformation of corporate culture as in other sectors attract attention. Since corporate culture according to the corporations within the scope of this research spreads from the top of the pyramid to the bottom, leader plays a crucial role in this sense. When the studies on mission and vision are examined, it has been emphasized that Sabah and Milliyet Newspapers have not yet achieved the desired level in terms of mission and vision sharing whereas Hürriyet Newspaper has shown effective endeavor regarding the announcement of the changes in mission and vision by conducting required studies with internal and external shareholders. Regarding control systems, each newspaper has underlined that technological developments provided benefit in terms of time and workflow.

Regarding the transformation experienced in terms of communication style, all executives stated that face-to-face communication still bears information in every field along

with more open, easier and faster communication having gained importance in parallel to the developments achieved within the recent five years. It has been observed that while only Hürriyet Newspaper shared organizational workflow with their internal and external shareholders within their internal governance system through their corporate website, the other two newspapers stated that they informed their internal shareholders only verbally regarding the matter.

Regarding the strategies for coping with the external environment and external adaptation, all newspapers underlined that their corporations have been attaching much more importance to new technologies and innovation during the recent years in order to be able to keep up with the changing demands on the market. When power, status, and participation are considered, it has been observed that hierarchical structure, communication, as well as relations are becoming more and more flexible every day and this provides opportunity for the continuation of decision-making processes with greater participation today.

Regarding individualism/collectivism, newspaper executives who underlined that both individual and group studies are considered important in administrative and editorial fields yet recently group studies have become prominent, stated that having more female employees in terms of gender equality and diversity would transform the masculine structure of the newspapers into a more feminine one and thus they can achieve success more easily.

In addition to the fact that the technological revolution we are experiencing within time orientation must be followed closely, the importance of the adaptation of all employees to these developments regarding encouragement and support of individual development and the applicability of new business models have also been emphasized.

As a result, it has been revealed that the corporate cultures of the newspapers in Turkey were transformed and are still being transformed in parallel with the development of technology and social changes experienced. As a result of the conducted research, several changes and innovations in terms of corporatization have been observed to be required. Especially within the context of corporatization, the requirement of adopting a planned and strategic approach and the fact that related corporations must concentrate on mission and vision studies that play a crucial role in culture have clearly been observed and it has been concluded that in this field, which is open for innovations, all developments need to be followed closely.

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165 years Public Relations History of a Company: the Case of KRUPP, Germany

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ABSTRACT

It is very seldom, that the communication history of one single company, in this case Krupp, the global steel company (today: ThyssenKrupp) can be reconstructed for such a long time. For PR historiography this can have several advantages: like in a nutshell corporate PR history of one single company can be taken as a model for corporate PR in a single country, especially if this model is seen as most important and influential for other companies in the country and can be seen as a model for the whole professional field of this country.

The contribution aims to describe the PR-history of Krupp, beginning with the year 1850 and ending today. Mentioning many PR-channels, instruments and areas, the contribution is focusing on press and media activities, i.e. the relationships with media and the “great public”. But not only is a description of the evolution of communication activities the goal. The communication history of this firm is also seen as a process of (1) *institutionalization* and (2) *professionalization*. New Institutionalism approach in Sociology (see Powell & DiMaggio, 1991, Scott, 2008) can give some conceptual background for an explanative dimension of this PR historiography.

Friedrich A. Krupp (1787-1826), the son of Alfred Krupp, the founder of the company (founding year: 1811; from 1816 on he was the sole proprietor); began in 1850 with systematic press relations: reacting on negative press articles, paying printed advertisements to correct incorrect and wrong information in newspaper articles, written by journalists, were some of the first methods of early press relations. Another early communication instruments were:

- Event-PR: Alfred Krupp decided to show a 2.5 tons heavy one-piece steel block during the first world exhibition 1851 in London. Because this was an excellent technical achievement, through this “event”, which produced much media coverage internationally, he could gain international reputation for his company from this year on. Similar activities on several later world exhibitions (1855, 1862, 1867);
- Systematic and organized Press relations: In 1866 Krupp looked for a specialist, a “literate person”, who on the one hand should monitor the media worldwide, concerning information which was seen to be interesting for the company. On the other hand

this person should inform “the whole world” with truthful reports about all interesting things, happening in the company and which could be seen as interesting for the outside world. 1870 such a person was found (Joseph Grünstein, a journalist of the Berlin stock market newspaper); he was employed as a freelancer during the first years;

- Subsidies and Acquisitions: But also subsidies (articles) to newspapers and the acquisition of a Berlin newspaper (Berliner Neueste Nachrichten) were instruments to influence the public sphere.
- Institutionalized Press Activities: In 1890 a “press department” (Pressestelle) with some press officers was founded. Therefore from the beginning on, two main and basic functions of organizational public relations were incorporated: *monitoring* and *active information* (in parts: two-way-communication).
- Lobbying: Lobbying began very early with letters to the Kings
- Instruments of Advertising: Krupp didn’t use consumer advertising, advertising instruments were price-lists and the usage of the so called “circular”, which had some advertising character for his clients
- Photography came into operation since 1860: a graphic bureau produced systematical-ly photos, which were used for communicative purposes
- Corporate Design: A new brand mark was developed after the first German law for trademark protection (1874) and got an entry in 1875
- After World War I and especially World War II, Krupp had a very bad reputation, because the firm was involved – as a deliverer of armaments - very narrowly to the political governments. After 1933 Krupp was tied closely to the economic policies of the National Socialist regime.
- In late 1953 Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach appoints Berthold Beitz (1913 - 2013) as his personal chief executive. From then on, Beitz played a major part in setting company policy, which is initially restricted to the manufacturing operations; the steel mills and mines belonging to the Krupp company are sequestered and placed under a divestment order by the Allies.
- Together with Carl Hundhausen, the Chief Communication Officer (CCO) of Krupp, the CEO Berthold Beitz could rebuild the good reputation of Krupp, among other reasons by many modern communicative activities.

The description of the Krupp communication during the 1990s. Not only literature about the communication history of Krupp, but also work in the historical archive of Krupp are the sources of this contribution.

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When symbols clash: The vanishing myth of woman-as-nation and the rise of woman-as-marketing-metaphor in the early 20th century

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ABSTRACT

On March 31, 1929, a woman by the name of Bertha Hunt stepped into the throng of pedestrians in their Sunday-best clothing marching down Fifth Avenue in what was known in New York as the Easter Parade, and created a sensation by lighting up a Lucky Strike cigarette. ... The press, of course, had been warned in advance that Bertha and her friends were going to light up. They had received a press release informing them that she and her friends would be lighting “torches of freedom” “in the interests of equality of the sexes and to fight another sex taboo” (Jones, p. 254).

When Edward Bernays used the “torches of freedom” metaphor in 1929 for his pro-smoking campaign, it presented yet another mixed message to women and one that essentially exhausted the usefulness of that particular image as a symbol of women's independence. It may have been among the last references easily recognized by Americans as referring to the potential empowerment of women via the image of Lady Liberty. The use of Liberty personified as a woman (and her older cousin Columbia) had gained much prominence during World War I; however, by the time Bernays employed it, it was already beginning to vanish from the national symbolic vocabulary. Other images of women began to replace it—images that often either returned women to their former, stereotypical roles, or placed them into newer, more ambiguous roles. Although the image of women tended to revert to that of the pre-war years, it began to transform in other ways. By the late 1920s, three changes had occurred that would affect the way women were portrayed: the passage of the 19th amendment allowing for women's suffrage, the advent of the Jazz Age with its accompanying “flapper” cult, and the entrance of women into the male-dominated workforce—and much of that portrayal would be prompted by marketing interests, not women's interests. According to Edith McLaughlin (2005), women who had become “replacement workers” during the war were subsequently “forced out of the workforce back into the home or into the traditionally female occupations.”

In the years following World War I the consumer era was becoming well established, women became identified as the consumers of purchased goods, and were the target

audience of the advertising industry. The advertising industry did much to reinforce the stereotypes of women as primarily concerned with domestic chores and motherhood (p. 2).

At the same time, the image of women whose primary concern was “domestic chores” conflicted sharply with the reality of women entering the business workforce for the first time. What had been a major selling point during the war—a strong, almost masculine warrior *cum* protector of the home and hearth—became a deficit following the war. The reconstruction of femininity after World War I was largely one of image—an image that was “difficult to reconcile with everything that the workplace demands: confidence, competence, and in the case of physical labor, the simple ability to move about freely” (Marcellus, p. 12). These demands were viewed as no longer applicable to women, thus the images used to attract them to the new consumer culture imparted unavoidably mixed messages. In the case of “torches of freedom,” Bernays “wanted to break the woman’s connection with tradition and the home because, once that connection was broken, women were more open to suggestions emanating from the mass media” (Jones, p. 255). At the same time, more feminized images of women began to appear, selling everything from soap to facial cream, cigarettes to automobiles. What had become of woman-as-national-symbol?

This paper is an exploration of one of the most prominent images used in American propaganda posters during World War I, and the mixed messages it imparted to women—messages that continued following the war, especially in the form of public relations and advertising. Posters featuring Liberty/Columbia painted an ambiguous picture of female power in the form of national symbol, and presented a contradictory and gendered message compared to the actual roles of women during and following WWI. Although the male symbol of Uncle Sam ultimately outlasted Lady Liberty (under all her pseudonyms), her image was once ubiquitous, and historically, mythologically, and globally much older. Despite this pedigree, World War I may have been the last successful use of a female national symbol and all it might represent.

Among the questions addressed here is whether this symbolic demise paralleled the replacement of women in traditionally male-oriented occupations following the war—a socially enforced role that returned to stereotypes despite the mixed propaganda messages of the war and the advent of the “flapper” as a different sort of symbol during the roaring twenties. Concomitant questions explore how far the leakage of woman-as-national-symbol

continued into the early 20th century, and how it was used as a marketing tool, mimicking in some ways the propaganda techniques of the war years.

Using image sources from the Library of Congress, current research on women's images during this period, and contemporary accounts of the uses of propaganda and the emerging and often contradictory roles of women, I will explore how the image of woman-as-national-symbol reached its apex during World War I, and how its effectiveness was undermined by the schizophrenic use of propaganda to empower women while, at the same time, confining them within their traditional roles. I will also show how this carried over into the decade following, and how the vanishing image of Lady Liberty as a symbol of empowerment marked a turning point, not only in the way we viewed roles of women at this pivotal point in time, but also how we began to view the gendered image of the nation itself.

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Public Relations in Argentina: 100 years of constant growth

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“When we think that tomorrow will never come, then it’s already yesterday”, Henry Ford.

Argentina is a democratic and republican country with a rich and varied social, political and economic history. In the last 100 years of its history the country has gone heyday, followed by periods of uncertainty. It is a very rich and diverse country, which went from an agro-export model that began in the late nineteenth century, through a model of import substitution for today to become a model against industrial development.

Ford Motor Company’s history begins in 1903 in Detroit, United States. Shortly after arrive to Argentina the first vehicles imported by particulars. After establishing its first foreign subsidiary in Manchester, England, Ford enterprise decides to confer the authorization to open its second subsidiary worldwide, this time in South America. On 31th of December 1913, in a board meeting in United States it was agreed to spread business to Argentina, which by that time, was among the first exporting countries and the fifth GDP (Gross domestic product) worldwide.

In 1914 Ford Motor settled in Argentina with a sales premise in which imported vehicles were exhibited. Following Henry Ford’s proposal: a single design, the T model, and a single colour, black and was chosen. At the beginning they imported assembled vehicles and in 1916, they started to import the parts and assemble them in the country. In so few years, Ford’s presence never stopped growing becoming a commercial local success. In 1916, 3549 units were sold in Argentina.

Some historians consider the Great War epoch as the starting point of Argentina’s industrialization, but this is a rather controversial statement. The import restrictions imposed during the warlike event gave occasion to the birth of new industries, but this is limited

considering that during Hipólito Yrigoyen's presidency no protective measurements were taken that would enclose this situation. We must also take into account the lack of machinery and raw material for the development of industries, stressing the lack of specialized engineers. The conditions were not yet favorable in the country to start a genuine process of industrialization.

Meanwhile, in 1918, 48 cars were assembled daily in Ford Argentina. An interesting fact to bear in mind is the boxes in which all vehicles arrived to the country, they were donated to the neighbors of "La Boca" where the first Ford plant was settled. La Boca is characterized for being a port district with poor houses that gave shelter to immigrants. A lot of them were made of zinc sheets and wood panels. The Ford T models, arrived from United States in wood boxes of three meters wide and three meters long. Boxes donation became the first act of community engagement of the company in our country.

Lorenzo Blanco (2009), who was a pioneer of Public Relations in Argentina and also worked for/at Ford, said in an interview that "in that moment is when the topics of the Community Relations appear. Ford begins to implement a policy that had already begun in the United States, which by that time was going through the Great Depression. Before economic and unemployment problems, Ford starts to carry out certain works with the community under the name of Public Information, later Public Relations. In 1922, Ford had a special office for these issues, which was managed by (...) Pedro Parapugna (supervisor of the Public Affair office) a good person, very friendly and educated, who was in charge of donations. The Shell Company also had a very important office of Public Relations. Standard Oil published a magazine named "Farol", a medium of first-rate that won global awards for its quality; this was made by a public relations professional called Mardoqueo Torres. (Universidad de Palermo, 2009, 35 to 43).

In 1919 took place the first meeting of all dealer agents and representatives of the brand in the country. The convention lasted three days and is published in the Argentinean Automobile Club magazine. Apart from the publication of a photograph of all the representatives of the brand, the text states: "The Ford Motor Co of Buenos Aires gathers annually all agents and representatives of the firm inside, preparing a set of celebrations that last three days. During that time, business conferences are held, learning each new sales method and detail that the firm explains to do the work of the agents and salesman more effective, and produce the greatest satisfaction to the public that uses these vehicles." The

article's headline stated: "Meeting of agents and commercial conference at the Buenos Aires Plaza Hotel"(Ford, 90 years in Argentina, 2004, 8). The event management and the broadcast of activities in the press are other Public Relations actions of Ford in his early years in the country.

Sporting events have always characterized this brand in Argentina. Among the winners of the first automobile races were Ford cars. In 1920 the rally raid of Huaytiquina was raced, in this competition many Ford T and three Ford trucks drove from Salta (Argentina) to Antofagasta (Chile) crossing the Andes at 4000 meters above sea level; as the road was a mere path between high mountains, they had to cross the torrential river Rosario about thirty times. Today it would be an odyssey to achieve it, so you can imagine what it was like at the time.

Inside the country between 1910 and 1920: The church, the quartermaster and the dealership were the iconic buildings of each town. In those years there were more dealers than today. In the 20s the Ford subsidiary is constantly growing. The company acquires a whole block for its new assembly plant in La Boca. The automobile and truck parts come from Detroit to the Buenos Aires port. Every ship of Ford's private fleet brings parts to assemble 6000 cars. The Ford 100.000 was produced in this plant in 1924. The first automobile salons appear and at the moment of being part of these events, Ford leads the rankings. The specialized press of the era reported it this way: "Only one of all producers and exhibitors, Ford, has had the bright idea to expound on a huge platform all the pieces that constitutes its popular chassis and the event had the biggest attraction from the public, as we have seen..." this comment appeared on the Argentinean Automobile Club Magazine in 1921. Two years later, the same magazine wrote: "We remember very well the effort that the Ford Motor Company made last year with the presentation of its special stand where cars were assembled in 15 minutes ..." "...this year you will see with just one look everything what Ford's workshops produce...".

The national government begins to think about taking protectionist measurements for the emerging domestic industry from 1920, some of these measures were the limits to access credits, facilities to export and precautions to combat dumping. However, an increase of only 20% was imposed on import taxes. In 1923, already during the presidency of M. T. Alvear, an important rise in customs duties was held to benefit the local businessmen, but this measure was nullified after a Congress rejection. In this period, only a part of the import of

machinery and industrial tools was benefited, even though in many cases, it did not happened the same with the goods that those machines could potentially produce.

In 1924 a tango was composed in which Ford was mentioned as symbol of status and prestige, it was the car that everybody wanted to have. At that time the company published advertisements offering a free car or truck service and also driving courses, also free for the car owner or his chauffeur. With the driving lessons you were also taught to care and maintain the engine. In addition, guided tours were offered to the subsidiary of La Boca from 10 am to 15 pm. A slogan from 1925 said: "For every ten cars that are driven in the country, eight are Ford" by then there were 120.000 vehicles circulating around the country and 100.000 were Ford. The company was characterized by generating strong ties with the community, another action carried out by those days were the traffic education classes that were even taught in primary schools.

On December 2 1927 the launch of Ford A took place in the United States, two months later it would be circulating in Buenos Aires. By that time 250 cars per day were assembled in Argentina.

"The love for Ford is one of the Argentinean passions. Like every passion, it has given birth to a visceral and deep relationship, in which families were born and have grown with **love for the brand**. Perhaps only football can match that love, through the shirt (the equivalent of the brand) and the admiration for the idols on the field (As for race drivers)". Augé Bacqué, Jorge (2003) *Los argentinos y Ford*, 90 years of Ford in Argentina.

In Argentina, the passion for motoring led the brand to be present at big sports events of the era, from 1939 to 1961 a total of eighteen motoring championships were raced and sixteen of them were won by Ford, the remaining two were won by Chevrolet. Ford drivers back then were Ángel Lo Valvo, Rodolfo de Álzaga, Juan and Oscar Alfredo Gálvez. Some were true feats like travelling the "Buenos Aires - Caracas" of 9,575 miles from Argentina to Venezuela, another was the International Grand Prix that crossed 5,335 kilometres through Argentinean and Chilean territory or the Grand Prize of the Republic with an extension of 11,035 kilometres.

Both the Great War and the economic and financial crisis of 1929 were largely responsible for our industrialization but surely the Second World War had a greater interest therein. This process of industrialization through import substitution was favoured in the 30s

for several reasons, for instance the decrease of exports in value and tonnage leading to a lack of foreign currency to buy manufactured goods, the increase of customs duties from 1931, the existence of abundant, cheap and skilled labour and a relatively significant consumer market; among others.

This process was also enclosed by internal migrations from the need of labour in areas where the industries were settled (Capital Federal, Buenos Aires and the Grand Littoral region). The relatively sudden increase of this new population mass gifted with its own psycho-social characteristics and different from the "traditional" citizens of the great city significantly influenced the thinking of the urban masses, especially in its labour sector. For some authors, this is one of the root causes of the emergence of Peronism, since it would be only lacking a leader capable of channel and implement them, with a nationalist programme, demanding the claims made but never heard during this decade to achieve a strong and homogeneous movement.

One way of confronting the global crisis was through the development of productive forces through the industrialization, with the consequent increase of the consumer market. However, the state of the previous period did not promote or protect the domestic industries, nor tried to stop their development directly. Equally, the industry was affected by unfavourable customs duties and from 1932 by the "exchange control system."

Despite all the difficulties, the Argentinean industry grew significantly since 1935. A clear example is that the added value to the gross domestic product by the industry grew the double between 1935 and 1943. On the other hand, in 1935 the gross value of industrial production exceeded that of agriculture by 14% while in 1943 it was 132%.

However the 40s was not the most promising for Ford neither in our country nor in the world, the outbreak of World War II limited the movement of ships that handled the distribution of auto parts and automobile assembly in the Buenos Aires plant, that fell from about 13,000 to 6000 per year once the war was over entered the country 30,000.

During the second presidency of Juan Domingo Perón, was enacted the law Nr. 14.222/53 or foreign investment law. It had as feature a benevolent treatment in repatriation of profits that conflicted, to some extent, with the previous Peronist proposals. In this context and given the lack of machinery and transportation, Kaiser Company (1954) settled factories in Córdoba from signed agreements with the national state. From this was built, for instance,

I.K.A (Kaiser Industries Argentina) in association with I.A.M.E. (Aeronautical and Mechanical Industries of the State). On the other hand and as background for this it should be mentioned the association between FIAT and Military Industries for the construction of trucks, tractors and cars from 1952 onwards.

Fiat Company was partnered with the French Sevitara and I.A.M.E., and so appeared the Company FIAT-Concord and it started to produce in 1955. This group also established "Big Diesel Engines" that built machines for locomotives, electric generators of naval propulsion and oil and gas pumping. A failed attempt was it of Mercedes Benz that had intended to set up a production plant in our country but decided to move to Brazil after the overthrow of Juan Domingo Perón.

In January 1959 Henry Ford II, grandson of the founder, visits Argentina. Since he plans to invest 70 million dollars (currently an equivalent of 400 million dollars) to purchase an area of 105 hectares and the construction of the Industrial Center of Pacheco, he meets the Argentinean President. The president Arturo Frondizi signs the decree 4246 that authorizes the investment of Ford in Argentina. It is the biggest investment that the company has made outside the United States. The Centre is built at an accelerated pace, in only 16 months, and in 1963 are sold the first vehicle made 100% in Argentina.

For one of the pioneers of the profession, Hector Chaponik, creator of the Public Relations Guide in Argentina, the first stage (1900-1950) of the performance of the activity was characterized "by capable and enthusiastic men, whose training was the result of the exercise of the duty, even though they had been trained abroad" (Barresi, 1999). Among these men was Lorenzo Blanco, who had as a teacher Peter Parapugna, Public Communications Manager of Ford. This company was the first to have a PR department in the country (CONFIARP, 2004). Years later Blanco would take over the same post making a successful career within the company that leads him to hold the position of Assigned Manager to the Presidency. In those days, according to Joan Elias (1990) "There was no genuine understanding of the role". According to Barresi (1999), there was a remarkable lack of a specific vocabulary for the profession, which brought confusion to its delimitation. Blanco was trained in the United States and studied Public Relations at Wayne State University. When he returns to the country, a new scenario had been initiated, the 50s is considered to be the turning point in the history of Public Relations in Argentina. The first steps toward professionalization were taken.

The second period began on 25 June 1958 when a group of executives from the field, who worked in leading companies and institutions (Including the Public Relations Manager of Ford), founded the Argentinean Public Relations Association that turned out to be the first professional entity that made an extensive work in an attempt to classify the field spreading the technical standards and its respective scopes, serving any entity setting also the managerial position that the Public Relations had already conquered in important organizations in our country. As the Professor Julio César Pereira Parodi (2001) recalls, this association was also a founding member of the Inter-American Federation of Public Relations Associations (FIARP) that subsequently grew organizationally into the American continent and became the present Inter-American Confederation of Public Relations (CONFIARP).

During this regime were settled terminals of Ford Company and General Motors. An open model that allowed the establishment of many automotive factories and even tractors was appealed, whose production reached in 1961 levels that could not be achieved until a decade later.

It should be pointed out that this socio-political-economic context somehow benefited the development of companies like Ford. In 1959 is established by Decree 3693/59 automotive industry scheme. This decree anticipated heavy taxes on the import of assembled cars, promotion industrial investments and a progressive replacement of auto parts imported by nationals. This decision of the Argentinean government instigated Ford to join the national project. The measurements were taken in a few months: on January 1959 Henry Ford meets national government authorities, on March 25th is established the decree of the automotive industry government and on April 10th the Executive Power authorizes Ford's investment. It could be said that from that moment starts a relationship with governments that will never stop to take place until today.

The 7 July 1961 is founded the *Círculo Argentino de Profesionales de Relaciones Públicas* (Argentinean Circle of Public Relations Professionals) as division of the original and founder Association because of a new wave of ideas concerning the professional organization of public relations, creating shortly after the *Escuela de Relaciones Públicas* (School of Public Relations) –with three annual cycles- which had the peculiarity of having special experienced teachers that hold actively positions in companies and public and private institutions. The *Círculo Argentino de Profesionales de Relaciones Públicas* (Argentinean PR Circle of Professionals) was the sponsoring entity of the first Congress of the profession in

1962. Furthermore in 1964 the Universidad Argentina de la Empresa (Argentinean Business University) includes the Public Relations career in the field of Law and Social Sciences Faculty, with the extension of bachelor degree in the field, what represented the first significant step in the education taken by Argentinean Public Relations being promptly copied by several public and private national universities in many locations of the country. Subsequently other professional groups were formed such as the Centre of International Public Relations (CERPI). (Pereira Parodi, op.cit.).

In 1963 Henry Ford II visit Argentina again, this time to explore the automobile plant fully running, it was officially opened on the 21th September 1961. That same year the first Ford Falcon with local engine and engraving goes on sale. In 1964 were produced 11.966 Falcon units in Argentina.

In 1965 was inaugurated the Technical National School “Henry Ford” with the presence of President Arturo Illia. In a building of 2600 square meters, 180 students received their education. The Community Care Plan (CAP) was created in 1967; in fulfilment of the programme a year later is delivered the first rural school in La Posta (Tucumán, Argentina). The Ford Company begins to take its first steps toward what would later be one of the pillars of its Corporate Social Responsibility program.

On 24th February 1965 is also founded the Escuela de Graduados en Relaciones Públicas (School of Graduates in Public Relations). This professional institution is formed on the basis of the graduates of the Escuela del Círculo de Profesionales en Relaciones Públicas (School of the Circle of Professionals in Public Relations) and its purpose was to assemble all specialist graduates with proven records in the professional practice providing an enrolment and contributing with the efforts made the acting professional entities in order to achieve the enactment of a regulatory law for the professional practice and organize definitely the activity, target that had already been achieved in Brazil and Panama.

Once again in 1966 the armed forces intervene in the so called Argentinean Revolution, they held power unlawfully until 1973. The Revolution initiated a new economic policy in March 1967. The main consignees of it were some groups that had been consolidated in the last years as foreign companies operating usually in dynamic industries, the financial sector and state enterprises considering that around them would gather private interests on national capital.

Following this policy, the process of industrial concentration deepened and the influence of foreign capital in the industrial and financial sector expanded. This development in the process of "foreignization" was based on the control of the internal resources of the country and, incredibly, its financing was made by internally generated funds.

In 1969 Henry Ford II visits Argentina for the third time. That year were inaugurated five new schools in the provinces belonging to the Plan de Asistencia Comunitaria (Community Assistance Plan); proving once again that the education and community relations are the strongest pillars of Ford's corporate identity. Between 1968 and 1992 41 schools in total are built along and across the country. Today they are in full process of modernization and renovation because the bond with these schools has never been broken.

Between 1980 and 1984 the Ford Company invested 394 million dollars in the country. From the 1.500.000 cars sold since 1924, 1,078,171 were produced in the new plant in General Pacheco in the last twenty years. In 1987 the conditions of the automobile industry in the world bring as a result different types of agreements among main companies of the field. Because of this context Ford and Volkswagen are bound by a joint-venture agreement to form Autolatina S.A. This experience lasted until December 31st 1995. The balance was highly positive: sales leadership remained in the country, the export was expanded and a significant cost savings was achieved. Ford launched the 2000 Ford globalization project on March 1987. The by then president of Ford Motor Company, Alex Trotman, comes to Argentina and announces that the investment plan 1994-2000 will reach a total of 1.000 million dollars.

“The democratic context, the economic opening and privatizations refined the Public Relations activities. In addition, representations of the main Public Relations consultancies from around the world settled in the country. As priority activity appears the management of relations with the press; in second place the financial communications, then the strategic planning and crisis management; in fifth place event planning and in final place, consultancy and training”. (Barresi, 1999, p. 1

After the end of the military government, that left a high number of human losses with the "disappeared" -kidnapped people and many of them thereafter murdered by death squads of the military regime- plus a lost war against the United Kingdom, due to the Malvinas issue, a stage of democratization of the society started under the presidency of Dr. Raul Alfonsín, a

radical politician that overcomes the Peronist candidate which was regarded as the obvious winner; inaugurating a historical process which in 2013 turned 30 years of continuity.

In this new democratic context begins a new stage in Public Relation since new ways of interacting with the world, and the opening of the new government that sent signs of stability to domestic and international markets, made the profession began to interrelate and sophisticate. Representations of the main Public Relations consultancies from around the world began to settle in the country. As priority activity appears the management of relations with the press; in second place the financial communications, then the strategic planning and crisis management; in fifth place: event planning and in final place, consultancy and training (Barresi, 1999, p. 11).

Also begins to grow the spectrum of companies that start having their own Department or Public Relations Management, the career offer spreads as well in other universities, besides the traditional ones in which the career was already taught.

Dr. Alfonsín is followed on by the candidate of the “innovated Peronism”, Dr. Carlos Saúl Menem, who made the whole election campaign with the promise of a "Productive Revolution", so once in power the Neo Liberal model was established because this government was determined to ensure conciliatory and reassuring ties with the economic establishment (Palermo and Novarro, 1996, en Rapoport et al, 2000)

This decade meant a significant growth in the Public Relations profession, especially due to the economic opening of Menem’s government and it also contributed to a series of privatizations of public companies that took the lead in the Corporate Communications market using the Events and Institutional Publicity as strategic management tool and PR Branding. At this time also entered the country international consultancies accompanying their clients that settled in the country, as noted by Professor Miguel Cavatorta: “In Argentina, the internationalization of Public Relations in the early 90s meant the massive arrival of numerous international consultancies on a consolidated path”. Burson Marsteller opened his offices in Argentina in 1995, at the same time the international consultancy “Hill and Knowlton” settled in Argentina in 1996, Edelman consultancy in 1997 and Porter Novelli consultancy in 1998, even with actions developed in the 70s and 80s, different regional networks shaped in the country towards neighbouring countries and from its subsidiary in Buenos Aires to the interior of country.

In this new context, the growth of the profession remained constant since the amount of tertiary and universities in which the career was offered was doubled. The Consejo de Profesionales de Relaciones Públicas (Professional Council of Public Relations) in Argentina went from less than a hundred affiliated people and almost no company, to almost 600 professionals, academics, consultancies, students and young professionals that formed its corporate mass. It moved to bigger offices, reformulated the Annual Public Relations Award and deepened its transformation of public profile with 4 Commissions: Committee on Education (Academic), the Students and Young Professionals Committee (which has nearly 30 years of constant work and annual Olympics), the Corporate and Professional Exchange Committee and, with international profile, the association with the Global Alliance; and high profile actions as the National Meeting of Students and Young Professionals, the Solidarity Marathon, the International Conference (fourth edition), the “Prender” program for young entrepreneurs and the National Olympic of Public Relations, among others.

Perhaps the words of Bill Ford said on the occasion of the 90th anniversary and those said last year, for its 100th anniversary, will give us a clear vision of Ford Company’s position of its stance towards the important events of the Argentinean political and economic context:

“From the Model T to the Falcon to the Ranger, we are known for our great products and our racing tradition. We are also known for our strong commitment to the community, through our support to schools, job training and other critical needs. But as we said at our company centennial celebration in June (in the United States), as proud as we are of our past, our focus is on our future. I know times have been difficult in Argentina, but I am confident that the country will exit the crisis stronger than ever and that Ford will be part of the bright future” Bill Ford’s message commemorating the 90th anniversary of Ford Argentina (Ford, 2003).

“We are celebrating the 100th Anniversary of Ford Argentina not only to honor our past but also to inspire our future. When my great-grandfather Henry Ford founded Ford Motor Company, he was not just pursuing profits; he was pursuing a greater purpose. He wanted to provide transportation for the average person and make people’s lives better. That idea has been central to Ford’s guiding principles ever since. We want our product to serve customer and society, and created value for everyone. Our employees, suppliers and dealers in Argentina embrace and exemplify this vision, not only in the products they make and sell,

but in their dedication to being good corporate citizens and giving back to the community” Bill Ford’s message. The title was: “*A century inspiring the future*” (Ford, 2013).

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The (Very Deep) Evolution of the Congressional Press Secretary and the Importance (or Lack Thereof) of an Informed Democracy

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ABSTRACT

The first half of the paper introduces the press secretaries serving as “public relations professionals” for the 535 Members of the United States Congress. After pointing out the general dearth in the literature--particularly the historical literature--examining these powerful communication professionals, it summarizes three findings from 15 studies in which they have been the focus, usually serving as units of analysis. Collectively these findings suggest the press secretaries: act with “guarded honesty” when working with traditional reporters; “jump” on stories that reflect favorably on their bosses; and ultimately enhance the U.S. democracy through their work.

The second half of the paper compares the thoughts of the ancient Greek writer, The Old Oligarch, Xenophon against Abraham Lincoln's passionate assertions about a free society, and comments too on the work of the Middle Ages' roaming troubadours. It suggests these three seemingly disparate units each share a somewhat deep history with the press secretaries. In turn, it comments on the work of the press secretaries as it relates to the visions and influences of each of the three, concentrating most heavily on the similarities between the press secretaries and the troubadours.

Doing so the paper draws from the author's previous writing on the press secretaries, particularly those presented recently at the two meetings of Association for Core Texts and Courses annual conferences. The first was titled, “The Early Spin-Doctors The Troubadours: Touting Love, Lamenting Loss (Downes, 2011). The second was titled, “Lincoln, The Oligarch, and The Congressional Press Secretary” (Downes, 2012). The paper also references the author's forthcoming book, *Press Secretary: The Story of Capitol Hill's Image Makers*.

Introduction

The paper seeks to bring the past to the present, and the present to the past. Prior to writing it, the author gathered 15 studies, between 1997 and 2014, in order to understand the roles, motivations and practices of Congress' press secretaries. These have been presented at

various academic conferences, in the *Journal of Public Relations Research*, and appear as a chapter in the book, *Government Public Relations: A Reader*. Citations for each are presented at the end of the paper.

For this paper the author reached outside his writings on the press secretaries and through a systematic analysis of various written documents--including both primary sources (Kehew, 2005; Willis, 1992) and secondary sources (Coy, 2009; Grey, V., 2007; Gueizo, 2013; Heuffer, 2013; Nelson, 2012)--chose, rather randomly, three historical figures. Two were people (Abraham Lincoln and Xenophon) and one was a group (the troubadours). The author's intention herein is to highlight parallels existing among the visions of these three, commenting briefly on each relative to the motivations, beliefs and goals of the press secretaries.

Methods

Historical analyses are often used as a first step for establishing contexts, findings and background in which a more full study may be later be built. (Gardner, 2006) Since only three published studies (other than the author's) have used the press secretaries as units of analysis (Cook, 1988; 1989; Hess, 1991), the press secretaries remain very much a phenomenon--in need of study. Thus, this paper, for the first time, discusses the press secretaries' work reflecting on that work in a deeper, historical context through examining similarities and differences between the press secretaries' visions and those of Xenophon, Lincoln, and the troubadours.

The paper supports the notion that we can come to better understand contemporary politics generally, and Capitol Hill politics specifically, by understanding our past. And, by extension, it reinforces the notion proposed in "A Users Guide to Political Science" prepared by the Government Department at Wesleyan University which reminds us, "(h)istorical analysis frequently requires grasping the scholarly debate on a certain subject and coming to personal conclusions and determinations based on one's own reading of the materials at hand." The same source recognizes further that "from a methodological perspective, it is often useful to begin by formulating historical questions and then attempting to answer them through a thorough review of the sources at hand." Hence, this paper asks the question "What parallels exist between the worlds of congressional press secretaries (i.e., the "sources at hand") and the political and other motives of three seemingly disparate historical figures?" And begins answering it. In the process it lays the foundation for new avenues of historical inquiry.

The Congressional Press Secretary

[This first section of the paper referencing Congressional press secretaries, as well as the related discussion on “the wave,” “guarded honesty,” and the discussion of whether the press secretaries’ work is “good for democracy” was taken, in part, sometimes verbatim, from a final draft of a 360-page book titled, *Press Secretary: The Story of Capitol Hill’s Image Makers* the author anticipates will be published this year].

Few in the United States realize that virtually every Member of 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.

For good or ill, the United States’ functioning depends upon their behind-the-scenes work.

Throughout the U.S., good citizens absorb the portrayals they help to create, and participate in the democratic process according to what they believe they’ve learned.

The nation’s laws are built on their communications. Its democracy depends on them. Yet few Americans can name a single one. Why? Because they work behind the scenes. With a singular goal: to make their boss--the Member of Congress they serve--“look good” before the public via the words he/she speaks and the visuals of which he/she is a part. While some accounts have told the in-depth story of presidential press secretaries, none has told the tale of those serving Congress. Further, no historic summary about the evolution of “the Congressional press secretary” has been presented.

Historically speaking, the position of "Congressional press secretary" is a relatively new post. In 1974 only 16% of the House of Representatives’ offices employed a full-time “press person.” By 1978 54 Members listed such a person working in Washington, D.C.; and by 1986 the number had grown to 243. Today's Congressional staff directories show 98% of the House members employing a full-time staff member, usually in the Washington, D.C. office, who serves as a press secretary. The press secretaries are worthy of study, in part, since the messages these communication professionals design for their bosses ultimately influence our lives--yours and mine. Sometimes dramatically. Much like the worlds’ great orators, philosophers, and teachers have. They tell us, of course, how politicians spend our money. But they also attempt to justify why our child will go to war ... whether we will receive end-of-life healthcare ... and whether our 14 year-old needs to tell us before she has an abortion. In fact, Americans don’t realize messages “from your Member of Congress” are often crafted skillfully by their press secretaries. No doubt, a “moving speech,” for instance, delivered by a senator and written by a press secretary, much like Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address, can have long-term influence.

Americans on every inch of the country’s soil receive the press secretaries’ messages. And the press secretaries take the messages they send most seriously. As one told the me:

I have to consider, about every other day on my job, that I work for someone who's been elected to office--who the people have put a trust in. Moreover, that someone is working for a federal government that, for better or worse, is the government that has been established by the people and our Constitution. And, uhh, it's a weighty responsibility....

Although policy positions and issue stances come directly from the Member of Congress (hereafter, "the Member"), the messages leading to and describing these choices often are carefully crafted, meticulously gerrymandered, and skillfully served to us by their press secretaries--so these Members will, in turn, get us to think as they do. Today's messages appearing in Members' speeches, newsletters, letters-to-the-editor, op-eds, websites, blogs, Facebook pages, and elsewhere are often those, verbatim, of their faithful press secretaries. The press secretaries' "tricks of the trade" have been used in various forms for millennia. They are simple to understand. And easy to use. They include "hooks," "catch phrases," "euphemisms," "talking points," and others. Orators, writers, presidents, philosophers, and entertainers have, of course, used various forms of these techniques since ancient times.

Three Themes

From the aforementioned 15 papers several themes have emerged. Three, in particular, speak to the foci of this paper. These are summarized next.

Theme 1: "Guarded Honesty"

While the press secretaries must not lie to reporters, they are not always, well, forthcoming with them. Several stressed that it was the reporter's responsibility to ask not only relevant questions, but to ask "the right" relevant questions. As one self-assured press secretary with whom I spoke said: "We control a great deal of information. If we don't want people to know something, we don't tell them unless the reporter knows what to ask." Another press secretary with many years experience said essentially the same: "Some reporters are better than others at asking point-blank questions. Others just kind of skim the surface." Her implication, like those of her colleagues, was that the press secretary provides truthful information, of course, but that that information is obviously only intended to benefit the Member she serves. Thus, the press secretaries operate with what I termed "guarded honesty." In other words, they are sincere, and they are cautious; they are truthful, and they are careful; and they are honest, and they are guarded.

Theme 2: The "Wave"

The press secretaries, while not controlling which issues move to the front burner of the nation's policy debate, attempt to control the degree to which their boss is "involved" with those issues. The metaphor of a "wave" illustrates this idea.

Here the "wave," as described by the press secretaries, represents one of many public issues ranging from crime in the inner city, to taxing "the rich," to foreign aid for Egypt. When these issues, these "waves," come before the public--that is, when they are "in the news"--Members do something: They "ride" them when doing so serves their interest and avoid riding waves that might hurt.

"Riding a wave," means a Member figuratively jumps on it. Usually proactively. And "rides" it. For example, the Member makes a public statement on the wave before being asked about it; attends a high-exposure public event, perhaps a rally, that addresses it; tweets about it; blogs about it; or seeks an interview during which he or she can discuss it. Thus, a progressive Member might ride "the school lunch program wave," or ride the "increased welfare payment wave," or ride "the gay marriage wave." Meanwhile, a conservative one might ride the "anti-capital gains tax cut wave," or ride the "prayer in school wave," or ride the "peace through strength" wave. Meanwhile, moderates, who are neither committed conservatives nor committed liberals, often ride waves they think capture the "reasonable middle."

Over their course of a term in office, Members are continually jumping on waves. Riding them, hopping off, and sometimes getting back on. During a focus group in 1995, shortly after I began studying press secretaries, one former press secretary articulated the concept. In fact, he named it, when he said:

I find stuff (issues) goes in waves...the way stories ebb and flow. You get a little wave of a particular story and if your boss has an appropriate committee assignment, or appropriate area of expertise, or appropriate geographical location, you try to catch it. Sometimes you'll just ride off the back of the wave (and) nothing will happen. Some other times you'll catch it and ride it (for your boss).

Theme 3: Enhancing Democracy?

When public policies are formed we know about them. When our taxes are raised or lowered we know about it. When our government spends our money we know how. And we can thank the press secretaries for keeping us informed. The role they play informing the democracy is, at some level perhaps, among the highest of callings. Why? Because they inform us of the choices the United States' national legislators have made--and those choices influence our lives.

No doubt sending messages to audiences ... shaping their perceptions ... and in turn, shaping their realities ... is a powerful and certainly "weighty responsibility." It's one in which the press secretaries today engage--and one in which orators, politicians, philosophers, and entertainers have for ages.

Xenophon, Lincoln, and the Troubadours

In a free and open society such as the United States' and others worldwide, it is essential that citizens understand the importance, and the difficulty, of informed participation in a democracy; and that they also understand that our sources of information about our government can be either helpful, or misleading. And further, that the government may view them as "equals"--or not. To start, consider former U.S. president Abraham Lincoln's

famous defense of equality (that) appears in the Gettysburg Address, delivered on November 19, 1863, in the midst of a civil war whose deepest cause was the institution of slavery. Here Lincoln revisits the Declaration of Independence, summoning the nation to achieve a 'new birth of freedom' through renewed dedication to *the founding proposition of human equality*. (Emphasis mine)

Although many of the United States' most prominent historical leaders (such as Abraham Lincoln) passionately and pointedly support government "of, by, and for" the people, other great thinkers--as far back as the birthplace of democracy in 5th-c. Athens--clearly do not. For instance, the curmudgeonly but potent anti-democracy comments made by The Old Oligarch, Xenophon, clash head-on with Lincoln's passionate assertions about "all men (sic) being created equal." In fact, Xenophon suggested when he wrote *Polity Athenians and Lacedaemonians* in the fourth century that:

If you seek for good legislation, in the first place you will see the cleverest members of the community laying down the laws for the rest. And in the next place, the better class will curb and chastise the lower orders; the better class will deliberate in behalf of the state, and not suffer crack-brained fellows to sit in council, or to speak or vote in Parliament.... He went on to suggest that if given equal power and equal rights, the poor take 'disgraceful actions' because of their wickedness and uneducated ignorance.

He continued,

... if you seek for good legislation, in the first place you will see the cleverest members of the community laying down the laws for the rest. And in the next place, the better class will curb and chastise the lower orders; the better class will deliberate in behalf of the state, and not suffer crack-brained fellows to sit in council....

As you consider the potent anti-democracy comments made by Xenophon, as well as Lincoln's passionate assertions, think about the machinations behind the flow of information coming from Capitol Hill's press secretaries... And you will, perhaps, be led to recent and distant questions posed in democratic societies, over thousands of years--absent concrete answers. Add to this the influences of the troubadours--that is, the 11th-13th centuries' traveling itinerates, minstrels, poets, musicians, performers and who entertained/educated

throughout Southern France and beyond singing songs of courtly love, chivalry and the like--and your inquiries may become richer.

And finally, think broadly about all three (Xenophon, Lincoln, and the troubadours) in relation to the work of Capitol Hill's press secretaries. *And you may find that both the questions and the rhythms of communication in a democratic society readily cross centuries and human history.*

No doubt, the press secretaries' well-honed and artfully packaged messages affect our thinking; they angle our opinions--much, again, like Xenophon's, Lincoln's, and the troubadours' speeches/actions did. Words and images also, of course, had deep meanings in Xenophon's, Lincoln's, and the troubadours' days. And these meanings had the potential to elevate the human spirit or, conversely, to "put people in their place...." Perhaps "ancient history" is not so ancient? No doubt, after consulting texts such as those describing figures as divergent as Xenophon, Lincoln, and the troubadours, we are reminded others have grappled with "eternal" questions addressed over the centuries about democracy that the press secretaries still ponder--such as those suggesting our democracy "favors some" (e.g., the rich with the potential to influence public policy through monetary or other advantages) at the expense of others (the poor). And, of course, grapple with questions related to shaping perceptions of audiences that, in turn, as mentioned, become those audiences' "realities."

No doubt Xenophon and Lincoln, along with the troubadours, shared the press secretaries' desire to persuade "the citizenry." Like the press secretaries all three used carefully chosen phrases that melodically spoke to their audiences' needs for reinforcement, acceptance, and even self-preservation. Also, all three, although practicing their crafts centuries apart, used rhetorical tools which, today, we might label "hooks," "talking points," or "euphemisms." The parallels are uncanny. Perhaps, at some level, Congress' press secretaries are not as much "an understudied phenomenon" as we might think?

Xenophon, Lincoln, the Troubadours-- and Today's Press Secretaries Meet

If Xenophon, Lincoln, and the troubadours had press secretaries each might respond differently to the notion of the "wave model," the idea of "guarded honesty," and the question of whether what they were doing was "good for democracy." For example, Xenophon would support waves if they supported the powerful; Lincoln would support all since collectively they represent equality for all; and the troubadours would support those that were richer, deeper and more plush.... When it came to the notion of "guarded honesty," Xenophon would have likely had little trouble with "guarded honesty"--realizing he wanted to share only one message with one type of person. Lincoln, on the other hand, might have been a poor choice

as a press secretary if, in fact, he felt the need to inform everyone equally about everything. And the troubadours would have readily practiced “guarded honesty,” choosing the richest, most illustrative, the most beautiful stories to persuade their audiences. When it came to whether their work was “good for democracy” the answer is clearer. Xenophon’s press secretary would have seen himself/herself as integral to democracy--but a democracy only of the privileged. Lincoln’s more likely as a player amid democracy for all. And the troubadours as messengers purporting a romantic democracy encased in satisfying ideas. What all three would share in common, however, is an effort to persuade us and to clarify complex political and moral issues.

Comment on the Troubadours and Medieval Literature

While you could isolate and draw parallels between any of these three (i.e. between Xenophon, Lincoln, or the troubadours), for the sake of brevity, I will consider the similarities between today’s press secretaries and just one: the troubadours. Drawing these parallels will, I hope, provide insight into both the press secretaries’ worlds and the “ancient words” from which “spin doctors” such as they come. While mentioning one parallel is not strong enough to suggest strong, overriding similarities in each group’s motivations/goals/approaches, citing several will move you, perhaps, in that direction. These follow:

To start, the troubadours' "spun" verses addressing the deepest emotions of "satire, love, and politics"--that is, topics that spoke to their audiences' strongest desires; in turn, they hoped to persuade their audiences to "buy" their point of view--much like today's press secretaries do as they "spin" their messages in the hope we will "buy" what they are promoting. The troubadours also used carefully chosen phrases that melodically spoke to their audiences’ needs for love, acceptance, and even self-preservation--as do today’s congressional press secretaries. Further, both the troubadours and press secretaries, although practicing their crafts centuries apart, used two common tools: powerful, carefully chosen words (often sung in the troubadours’ worlds, spoken in the press secretaries’) and powerful, carefully chosen verse (poetry in the troubadours’ worlds, “catchy” phrases in the press secretaries’).

Still further, troubadours came from powerful social classes and educated themselves in rhetoric, performance and musical verse. So too today’s press secretaries disproportionately come from the privileged, higher educated, upper socio-economic classes. Troubadours carefully composed messages (within the form of ballads and lyrical poems) intended to “gently persuade” their audiences--much like today’s press secretaries might use “poetic language” to persuade us. Troubadours were skilled composers performing for many

different audiences, and even sold their writings to less established troubadours and minstrels who brought the highly popular verses to courts all over the world. This is comparable to a press secretary serving a “high exposure” Member of Congress, systematically tailoring his/her messages to that Member’s various audiences recognizing that message could get worldwide attention. Troubadours, while performing some of their compositions verbatim, also varied content and style based on the audience. This differentiation in messaging was, no doubt, strategic and involved rudimentary analysis and audience segmentation. Troubadours engineered new instruments to better portray the meaning of their lyrics. Similarly, today’s press secretaries use the newest technology, specifically alternative/digital/social media, to do something very similar. Troubadours developed improvisation skills to ensure effective communication in situations where a script could not be followed or additional messaging was needed--much in the manner that today’s press secretaries use such skills when, for instance, responding to unexpected media inquiries. A recent article, “The 21st Century Needs a Troubadours” suggests,

Pop culture today, in 2014, may have iTunes, MP3’s, multi-millionaire dollar marketing campaigns, American Idol, The Voice, Twitter and Facebook, a robust touring and recording industry, but there is one thing it does not have: A musician that people actually care about; a person that actually can change and effect the attitude of the country just via their songs and/or their persona.

The quotation concludes asking, “Can you name someone who does, who is still active? Someone who tackles key issues, and uses their music as a means of moving society and, likewise, politics?” My answer? Perhaps, to some extent anyway, Congressional press secretaries do...

Medieval Literature

Classic medieval literature--developed at roughly the same time the troubadours roamed the world--also sent messages, both persuasive and entertaining. Interesting, an analysis of such key medieval texts as *Beowulf*, *The Canterbury Tales* and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* reveals both roles and structures central to the field of public relations in general and to the work of Congress’ press secretaries in particular.

At the most basic level, the texts highlight the use of storytelling as a primary public relations medium. In *Beowulf* and *The Canterbury Tales*, characters used stories to promote themselves and others. In *Beowulf*, the designated purpose of Mead Hall, a gathering place for warriors, furthers this idea of storytelling as a promotional device by creating a space for

reputation management and the promotion of the self and others. Also, in *The Canterbury Tales*, the Wife of Bath carefully employs storytelling techniques to gain the approval of her fellow travelers. Similarly, Beowulf achieves effective reputation management through his well-honed speaking ability and strategic public actions. (Rudd & Jones, 2009).

Audience analysis and message strategy are two common themes in *Beowulf* and *The Canterbury Tales*. Both the Pardoner and the Wife of Bath carefully assess their audience before developing their stories (Rudd & Jones, 2009). Also, Beowulf varies his messaging strategies based on his audiences. When speaking to the king he provides succinct explanations as to why he was fit to defeat Grendel and what he could offer the King, whereas he uses a different messaging focused on self-achievement when defending his case to the Dane Unferth, a lower-level warrior. (Rudd & Jones, 2009). Beowulf's continued effectiveness as a leader throughout the story is based on his ability to assess his audience's interests and motivations.

Further, relationship management is key when it comes to the tale of the Wife of Bath. She achieves a mutually beneficial relationship with the other travellers by sharing personal information in her story and maintaining this honesty and openness throughout the journey. Her companions respond to her transparency by noting their preferences for her storytelling over the others. Sir Gawain also stresses the importance of maintaining relationships by honoring his agreements with others. (Rudd & Jones, 2009). This promise maintenance is also mutually beneficial, as he maintains his honor and the Green Knight's contract is upheld.

Discussion

Choosing three seemingly disparate historical figures--and finding parallels they shared with the Congressional press secretaries' desire today to persuade/influence the public--has opened a door for the first time to inquiry about these press secretaries' ties to history's other persuasive communicators. The results, albeit very preliminary, suggest that understanding one (the press secretaries) deepens our understanding of the others. And vice versa. The cliché, "the more things change, the more they stay the same" speaks to both the desires of Xenophon, Lincoln and the troubadours when those desires are tied to the press secretaries' wishes.

Thus, perhaps this paper represents the first cup of water poured into a ripe pool of potential research using the little-studied Congressional press secretaries as its starting point. No doubt, drawing parallels between those press secretaries' motives and practices and their relations to historical "communicators" is wide open. And, I imagine, filled with rich inquiry

and interesting parallels. This paper is but a small start to finding and exploring those parallels in recent and ancient contexts.

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**Dramatizing Free Enterprise:
The National Association of Manufacturers' Public Relations Campaign in WWII**

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the discursive and organizational features of the “free enterprise” campaign conducted by the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) during World War II. In the past the campaign has been examined in broad treatments of U.S. corporate PR in the 20th century according to which the war – variously defined as a “public relations war” (Marchand, 1998), an “occasion” that “marked the coming of age of the profession of public relations” (Tedlow, 1979), an event during which “the tone of PR planning was...driven, more and more, by broad political considerations” (Ewen, 1996) - constituted a turning point for PR. Pointing specifically to the changes in leadership and attitude that the NAM and its PR apparatus underwent during the conflict (Workman 1998; Wall 2008) new and more highly focused contributions have suggested that the Association’s war drive is worthy of further investigation concerning the concrete forms (for example, the educational movies [Bird, 1999]) that it assumed.

This in-depth analysis is what this paper intends to provide, thus filling a void in the recently burgeoning literature on the NAM, on one hand, and the U.S. public and private propaganda machinery during the war, on the other. The former stops on the eve of America’s entry into the conflict (St. John III, 2010 and St. John III and Arnett, 2013), covers only partially the war phase (Wall, 2008), and then focuses largely on the postwar era (Fones-Wolf, 1994). The latter has mostly concentrated on the relations between the Office of War Information (OWI) -- the federal propaganda agency created in 1942 -- and the War Advertising Council (WAC) - the private association representing advertisers, admen, and the media which came to play an increasingly crucial role in the public propaganda machinery (Fox, 1975; Westbrook, 1993; Wall, 2008; Stole, 2012).

The importance and originality of this research paper is two-fold. First, it chronicles a highly significant and thus far understudied period in the history of U.S. corporate PR, by exploring the continuities and discontinuities between the World War II era and the previous PR initiatives of the Association, highlighting the strengths and contradictions of the “free enterprise” programs, and placing them against the larger backdrop of the public and

corporate propaganda flooding the U.S. public sphere in those years. Second, one reconstructs the discussions over the notion of “free enterprise” and the most suitable ways to “dramatize” it, discussions that involved manufacturers, admen, and PR practitioners: In doing so, one opens a window on the larger issue of the relations between advertising and PR in the war and lays the groundwork for a much-needed assessment of whether and how the war did in fact enhance the professional status of PR in the U.S. (Ihator, 2004). The approach is qualitative and historical, based on the NAM archival records, supplemented by printed materials drawn from advertising trade magazines and pamphlets.

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John Brown, Public Relations, Terrorism, and Social Capital: “His Truth Goes Marching On”

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: This study extends the history of public relations relevant to non-establishment and even outlaw discourse seeking to change a dominant culture. As we explore contexts in which public relations can be examined, we test theories and their constructions of public relations. Terrorism is one of those contexts as a key element in social movement activism. Theories that can be examined are the intuitive employment of best practices, such as publicity and promotion as well as the rhetorical and discursive approach to issues contests as the basis for change management.

This particular study examines the mid-19th century militancy that US abolitionist John Brown employed as a component of Anti-slavery and abolition movement use of public relations and issues management with the intent to end slavery and achieve a fully functioning society based on racial equality.

Thematic review of terrorism and public relations

- Terrorism as enacted dialectic tension, polarization, including slave revolts/insurrection as grassroots discourse
- Terrorism as publicity/promotion and fundraising
- Terrorism as issue debate regarding CSR standards, legitimacy, social capital, and moral authority
- Terrorism as issue debate regarding leadership, character, reputation and identity (Aristotelian, 19th century Hegelianism, Calvinistic, and Transcendentalist views of character)
- Terrorism as stages of issue activism: strain, mobilization, confrontation, negotiation

Methodology: A case study uses the biography of US abolitionist John Brown with particular attention to his use of publicity/promotion and issues oriented activities and discourse. As part of the Anti-slavery movement, with its intuitive application of public

relations best practices and strategies, Brown's goal as part of the movement was to act rather than continue debate to protect Free-state advocates in Kansas and to foment slave insurrection starting in Virginia. His communicative enactments and statements created newsworthy coverage of the immorality of the institution of slavery. His willingness to use violence created an explosive narrative in the South, including the claim that the Union Army was "John Brown's Army." The centerpiece of that mythic/narrative overreaction by pro-slavery southern secessionists was the spark that ignited, as a match does explosive fumes, fear of slave insurrections, both spontaneous and lead by abolitionists. Violence itself did not create the conditions leading to the Civil War but found fertile ground in the battle for social capital in the anti-slavery/pro-slavery debate.

Findings:

Without knowing the public relations discipline as such, he called attention to a problem, polarized a nation, and ignited a reaction that moved anti-slavery and pro-slavery factions further apart so that a unified nation embracing slavery and the fugitive slave law was no longer morally viable.

Such polarization was in large part the product of his character (others characterizations of him), his Calvinist commitment to freedom and equality, and the need to act rather than debate the issue per se.

As is typical of public relations campaigns, his work was issues oriented and created narratives that both condemned and lauded his courage and commitment, and the need for action to end slavery. Transcendentalists such as Thoreau and Emerson applauded his character and willingness to move the US to higher order ideals of freedom and personal dignity. Pro-slavery forces, including those advocating secession, created fear as the motive for calling for violent opposition to abolition. His statements and actions generated substantial social capital for abolition.

Committed to avoid violence if possible, Brown tried to negotiate, but the terms were unacceptable. He was willing (perhaps enthusiastically so) to suffer the consequences of failed negotiation. His Calvinism would not let him yield to injustice. To yield on the point of surrender would be to grant the authority of a system that supported slavery. He was willing to be judged within that system believing that he would ultimately be found innocent by a higher authority. This righteousness, the foundation of his stalwart and moral character, inspired those predisposed to bring him to justice. A key to his "terrorism," there is nothing more terrifying than a righteous person willing to die for a cause.

Implications:

Publicity efforts of P. T. Barnum have long been used to condemn publicity and press agency as less than noble and even unethical strategies. This study of Brown, a contemporary of Barnum, suggests that such analysis may avoid the important theme that social change needs publicity. That point has long been part of the Cutlip heritage of public relations history, but is often overlooked if publicity is dismissed as propaganda.

Terrorism is often treated as a destructive force in society despite awareness that it motivated the US War for Independence and contemporary activities by environmental terrorists.

Originality and Conclusions:

Terrorism, as enacted by Brown, can be interpreted as an asymmetrical one-way strategy. If so, that model is insufficiently interpreted as unethical. His efforts dramatized the importance of publicity and promotion, which often get denigrated as corporate tools of exploitation. He saw terrorism not as an option but moral obligation and as a means for forcing debate over slavery and racial equality.

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Word-of-mouth communication: A historical and modern review of its impact on public relations

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ABSTRACT

Word-of-mouth (WOM) communication is widely considered to be one of the best forms of promotion, and is sought after by practitioners of public relations and many related promotional fields (e.g., marketing, advertising, corporate communication). In modern times, the delivery of WOM messages is no longer as obvious as it may seem. Technology has changed game, and debate continues over the value of a Facebook “like” or a positive TripAdvisor review.

This paper will explore the history of WOM, beginning in the early 20th century with PR counselors. For example, Edward Bernays writes in *Propaganda* about the technique developed by the American government to secure the “cooperation of key men” in order to use their authority to influence groups “whose members took their opinions from their accustomed leaders and spokesmen” (p. 54). It will continue by exploring media effects theories that began to hypothesize about the impact of media on consumer behavior (e.g., hypodermic needle theory), to the subsequent revisions that emerged through research that produced the two-step flow model, and a modern examination of technological changes.

The impact of WOM in the field of public relations has long been known. Basic introductory PR textbooks often introduce new students to the concept, which, according to Wilcox, Cameron, Ault, and Agee (2005), “has a major impact on the formation of public opinion” (p. 521). In the early decades of the 20th century it was recognized and utilized by historical figures in the PR field. Edward Bernays famously used the combination of a commercial product and a social cause (i.e., cigarettes and women’s rights) to raise awareness for the cause and create social behavioral change to sell product. His targeting of opinion leaders and encouragement for them to share information is a strategy that has been successfully used and reused in many subsequent promotional campaigns.

In recent decades the common practice of media relations for clients by PR agencies has emphasized WOM through customer stories that were developed and provided to journalists. The rise of the Internet in the 1990s resulted in many of the same stories being

repurposed for an organization or company's website. Shortly thereafter websites were developed that allowed for customers to share their own opinions of a company's products or services without the corporate, media or PR agency filter (e.g., TripAdvisor). Alternatively, some for-profit websites provide the forum for customer feedback themselves (e.g., Amazon). This allowed for widespread promotion and a new type of "third-party credibility," something that has since spread further as mobile capabilities have increased with reviews available through Google Maps and Yelp.

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**Slavery and the celebrity book tour – the use of Public Relations during Harriet
Beecher Stowe’s tour of the UK in 1853.**

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“I hope by such means as a lady may use, to do something to promote a good understanding among all the enemies of slavery” (Harriet Beecher Stowe to *Leeds Mercury* Editor, Edward Baines in Hedrick, 1994)

“Daniel Webster has truly said that there is a force rising in these days superior to that of fleets and armies,-the "public sentiment of nations." That, at last, must put an end to every form of injustice and cruelty” (extract from author’s preface to the “official” UK version of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* in Diller, 2004)

In 1851,US newspaper the *National Era* began the serialisation of *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. Publication in book form followed with Jewett’s first edition in March 1852. This was followed swiftly by editions in the UK and elsewhere. The work catapulted the minister’s wife to fame and to a place at the centre of considerable controversy. The book inspired spin offs such as songs, plays and poems. It inspired “replies”, such as novels like *Aunt Phillis Cabin* (Eastman, 1852) by those defending slave ownership and the institution of slavery. It attracted praise and criticism. It was quoted in letters, debates, speeches and articles. And, we are told, it started a war, with Abraham Lincoln reportedly greeting the author with “so, you’re the little woman who wrote the book that made this great war” (Fields, *Life and Letters* cited in Parfait, 2007, 178)

When the work appeared, slavery and the laws around slavery caused major debates in the US. The introduction of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850 for example caused controversy with “free states” effectively being expected to ensure the return of captive runaways to their owners in slave-holding states. In the UK, slave ownership and the slave trade had already been outlawed. But anti-slavery campaigners believed they still had much to do and effort shifted to more remote “lobbying” of US citizens and decision makers as well as early exploration of whether “ethical trading” could favour “free produce” over commodities involving slavery.

It was against this background that two Scottish anti-slavery organisations invited Harriet Beecher Stowe to the UK and that her tour, in 1853, took place.

The tour, starting in Liverpool and taking in Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, Aberdeen, York, Leeds and London, was reported widely in the newspapers of the time and in campaigning publications like the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. Stowe herself recorded aspects in a series of letters which she later published as *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands*. Remarks about and reports of the visit appear in letters by Charles Dickens and in reports in Hansard. Stowe's brother Charles, acting as her secretary on the tour, kept a journal which adds to the other published material giving a valuable sense of "behind the scenes".

All of this enables us to consider the Public Relations elements of what was planned, what was said and what was done, both by members of the Stowe party and by others. Public relations of course is something the profession itself today struggles to define. Is it "a strategic communication process that builds mutually beneficial relationships between organisations and their publics" as the Public Relations Society of America would have it? (PRSA 2012). Perhaps it is what the UK's Chartered Institute of Public Relations maintains in its rather longer description.

"Public relations is about reputation - the result of what you do, what you say and what others say about you.

Public relations is the discipline which looks after reputation, with the aim of earning understanding and support and influencing opinion and behaviour. It is the planned and sustained effort to establish and maintain goodwill and mutual understanding between an organisation and its publics." (CIPR 2014)

The differences in the definitions are interesting. But for an outsider neither actually tell us what PR people do. How would I know, for example, if I were "doing PR"? I could of course carry out some work and find out much later that my actions had helped build a beneficial relationship or helped establish goodwill. But how would I know at the time? And is everything that contributes to this "goodwill" or these "mutually beneficial relationships" actually PR? Would bribery qualify as Public Relations in the eyes of practitioners for example? Clearly it wouldn't but there is nothing to rule it out in these "top line" definitions. Of course neither of these definitions exists without connected material which spells out what actually "doing PR" might entail. The PRSA official statement includes a list of skills which a PR practitioner may use, for example direct mail, media relations, special events and speeches.

In the 1850s the representative professional PR organisations didn't exist. And the term public relations practitioner was not being used.

But of course that does not mean that PR techniques were not being used in the 1800s. Media relations was practised for example by Charles Dickens and those MPs with whom he worked closely on issues. In the US, P.T. Barnum's techniques are well known and Lincoln's secretary of state William Seward was clear about the benefits of working with newspapers saying: "I speak to the newspapers – they have a large audience and can repeat a thousand times what I want to impress on the public." And on the very topic of slavery, sophisticated public affairs and media relations techniques were used by activists in the UK at the time of the Great Reform Act of 1832 and subsequent election. (Stephen, 1854). These individuals might not have described themselves as "doing PR" but by any measure of what we list as Public Relations today, they were.

This paper takes a technique- focused approach to analysing the "celebrity book tour" by Harriet Beecher Stowe. It looks at which elements of the tour involved PR- type activities and outcomes and at the comments of some of the party on their own message management. HBS and her party arrived in the UK in April 1853. Their visit involved a series of UK events, some organised for the visit, some pre-existing.

Uncle Tom's Cabin had been a runaway success. Sales took off quickly. Temperley (1977) tells us that there were more readers in the UK than in the US with more than a million copies being sold in "England" in the first eight months. Elliot and Nash (in McKitterick 2009) cite publisher Samson Low who estimated that within a year of publication there were 1.5 million copies circulating in the UK and the British colonies. "In this highly literate kingdom" says Hedrick (1994) "British citizens young and old from lords and ladies to bakers and candlemakers, read Uncle Tom. It was...at every railway bookstall and in every third traveller's hand" (223)

This makes Harriet Beecher Stowe's "celebrity book tour" somewhat unusual. With sales records already broken (Temperley) it could be argued that there was little book promotion to do and little or no opportunity to gain income. Yet not only did this visit continue to promote the book with some activities we would recognise today (like personal appearances and signings), it was also a partial exercise in a strange sort of post-consumption sales drive. And it is the copyright situation that made that selling desirable. Authors like Stowe were not protected by copyright in the UK. With this lack of legal restriction, overseas authors' work could be printed and sold by any number of companies with no royalty issues at all. The lack of restriction, coupled with economic and production

changes, made works like *Uncle Tom's Cabin* extremely accessible to a wide potential audience. Elliot and Nash (McKitterick) explain that organisations like William Nicholson in Halifax specialised in producing copyright-free books on the cheapest paper with cloth covers. These practices meant works such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* were within the means of the wider public in a way the traditional three volume bound novels had not been. The lack of royalty payments helped drive down costs. Stowe did negotiate with an authorised publisher and there is evidence that others either did pay her something or intended to make a payment. But these official or semi-official productions were considerably outnumbered by others. Parfait explains that the *Publishers Circular* listed nine separate editions in just one fortnight in 1852 followed by another nine during the next two weeks. (Parfait: 108) Stowe would personally have been annoyed at this. She mixed her crusading zeal and religious conviction with the approach of a businesswoman who knew that her work was important for her family's income (Parfait). However she was not the only person to find this situation unfair. Anti-Slavery organisations in the UK also recognised the problem. This led to the idea of the "penny offering", the suggestion that those who had bought the book should donate a penny to make up for the loss of author payment. These collections would be given to Stowe for her to use on anti-slavery or reform work in the US, or sometimes for herself personally. Throughout the visit there are repeated examples of the penny offerings being handed over and Stowe ended up with \$20,000 from this alone (Hedrick: 246) So this book tour was, in part, about generating money from sales. It was also however about more than just the book.

Books can often be about more than printed pages between a cover, or text on an e-reader. And in the case of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* there were numerous "brand extensions" such as songs, plays, board games, dolls and so on. (Meer, 2005). But *Uncle Tom's Cabin* also falls into the category of a cause or part of a cause. The cause related element of any promotion was clearly recognised by campaigners. Writing to a colleague of Stowe's visit, Scottish activist Eliza Wigham made the potential effect of an author appearance clear. "Mrs Stowe seems the general pivot of effort at present" she wrote. "... to get the public enthusiastic on the AS (anti-slavery) question of which she for the present appears the impersonation is a great matter" (cited in Hedrick: 236) So the tour needs to be seen also in terms of how the book and the author are proactively or reactively promoting or supporting the anti-slavery cause. It also needs to be seen in terms of how it was used in PR terms by related causes (some related only distantly).

Harriet Beecher Stowe's party included her husband and her brother, who was to act as secretary. Charles Beecher dealt with organisational issues which included dealing with hours of correspondence a day. His role in the party is the closest we have to a Public Relations officer, and it is in part thanks to his detailed diary that we can get a sense of what was done proactively, what was done reactively, and the sense of reception by the public, by organisations and by the media.

This paper looks at the Public Relations activities and aspects of the tour based on his accounts, accounts of others and newspaper coverage. Techniques such as media relations, expectation management and piggybacking are identified .

It is first important to get a sense of the context in which the tour was taking place. This was not the first organised "celebrity tour" but was certainly one of the earliest In the US, Charles Dickens had taken part in a (not entirely successful) tour some years earlier. And Swedish singer Jenny Lind was virtually mobbed on her American tour. The difference between the Jenny Lind tour, when as a singer she was expected to use her voice, and the Beecher Stowe tour is significant. In the 1850s, women were simply not supposed to speak in public in the political or semi political arena. Accounts of Beecher Stowe's time in the UK have many examples of the author sitting separately and having her male relatives do all the talking. For the PR practitioner of today, promoting a celebrity who is not able to speak would be unthinkable or at least very difficult. In the 1850s though, any tour like this by a female, particularly one who was so traditional in many ways, needed male spokespeople to deal with some of the presentational and message delivery duties. If the mores of the time had an effect on which activities could be chosen, so also did the political environment and public opinion. For a wide variety of reasons, the public in the UK were very ready to welcome a figure so associated with the anti-slavery cause. A decrease in printing costs making books and other reading matter more available ran alongside a moral feeling about the persistence of slavery in the US. Speaking tours by fugitive slaves attracted large and committed audiences, with at least 20 "slave narratives" on sale in Britain by the mid 1800s (Fisch cited in Huzzey). Frederick Douglass was one of the more prominent visitors in the 1840s and former slaves William and Ellen Craft even organised an anti-slavery protest at the Great Exhibition in 1851 (Huzzey) . It is also highly likely that a British sense of moral superiority over its own abolition of slavery increased the likelihood of people having an opinion on the persistence of the practice in a sister country. It is significant that a lobbying operation around the 1832 election (at which more people than previously were able to vote) led to so many candidates pledging to oppose slavery (the Slavery Abolition Act,

covering most of the British Empire, was passed in 1833 although the slave trade had been outlawed earlier in the century). In this context however, it is worth pointing out that anti-slavery feeling did not always, or even often, lead to anti-slavery activism on the part of the general public.

And what of the media context? With no broadcasting or social media, and with travel not as easy as it is today, the role of third-party print media was particularly important. The UK newspapers of the time that were available to be reviewed for this paper are on the whole either anti slavery or neutral. Editorial lines appear less pronounced than in today's newspapers, but it is possible to detect leanings towards abolition or reform in the US. This means that generally the Stowe party and message could expect reasonably supportive editorial.

The stance of what is often referred to as a newspaper of record is however different. Charles Beecher's account of the visit highlights particular problems with the *Times* when he reports the head of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society trying to enlist Beecher Stowe's support for a corrective letter. And indeed the *Times'* (also described as the *London Times*) position on the slavery issue is significant for the context of the tour.

In 1861 the *New York Times* claimed that "*The London Times* has become the great pro-slavery journal of the world" (NYT 27 Aug 1861, cited in Crawford). Yet in the 1850s there are examples of the *Times* publishing highly critical pieces around eye witness accounts of slave auctions. The issue with the newspaper's editorial line appears to revolve around tactics. In *The Times and American Slavery in the 1850s*, Crawford argues that the newspaper's belief that slavery would naturally die out led it to take a critical view of those arguing for immediate abolition. Believing that abolition, rather than a gradual ending, would lead to series economic and social consequences, the paper's view was that "the call for immediate emancipation was the height of folly" (Crawford). And the review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the *Times* on 3 Sept 1852, while praising the book, made the point that emancipation "must be the result of growth, not of revolution". Harriet Beecher Stowe herself told an audience that every attack on *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or defence of slavery in the US media had in some way been "grounded on that article in *The Times*" (*Sheffield Independent*, 14 May 1853).

Of course the *Times* is not and was not the only newspaper read in the UK. It did however have a particular position in the political world which makes its editorial attitudes relevant and the awareness of anti-slavery activists the paper somehow needed handling tells us that the Stowe party could not expect a 100 percent easy media reception.

Two other brief points are worth making about the media context. Firstly, re-printing was common. This means an article from one named paper was often reproduced (with acknowledgement) in another. Accounts of Beecher Stowe's arrival and activities then were often published without any extra effort on the part of that newspaper or extra effort by the Stowe party. (Clearly this is beneficial if the account is positive and/or accurate) . Secondly, it was normal for newspapers to treat as news the fact that a ship had docked or was about to dock and to list passengers whose names might be recognised or who held a particular position or title.

Finally, the context of the campaigning environment needs to be acknowledged. The Anti-Slavery cause was represented both in the UK and the US by a wealth of organisations. Some local organisations were effectively affiliates of a national body. However some national bodies disagreed profoundly with others, mainly over tactics but sometimes over language and membership. In the US a split between the Garrisonians (William Lloyd Garrison was a leading campaigner and editor of the *Liberator*) and others led to attempts by some to ensure that Beecher Stowe stuck to a particular "line" during her visit. In the UK there were also splits between organisations, with the usual inter-organisation tension between centre and affiliates, committee and activists and so on. Stephen's *Anti-Slavery Recollections* which is a series of letters to HBS about the campaign history in the UK goes some way to illustrating this tension. Temperley also explains how a breakaway UK organisation, the Anti-Slavery League, was formed mainly to provide support for the Garrisonian "side" in the US. There isn't space here to describe the full extent of the internal cause/campaign politics and rivalry, but it is worth being aware of this context. Beecher Stowe had not been aligned with any particular group in the US and so would find it easier than most to stay neutral.

Harriet Beecher Stowe's visit to Europe lasted six months. Those six months however also included time as a tourist in Europe and some time as a tourist in England, Wales and Scotland. This paper focuses only on activities that could be judged as promoting *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or the anti-slavery cause or as responding to comments about the same. It will also look at public relations use, by other people or organisations, of the visit. For the purposes of analysis, the activities of the "celebrity book tour" will be analysed by PR technique rather than chronologically. The techniques looked at are "expectation management", "media relations", "piggybacking" and elements of "public affairs" . Clearly it is impossible to draw a clear boundary around these techniques or practices, but as headings they will enable an analysis of how much "doing PR" was involved.

Expectation management or building up the tension.

Expectation management is a common weapon in a spin doctor's armoury. The goal of expectation management is usually to create a situation in which news will be viewed as "good" or to build up anticipation and excitement through the phased release of information. If excitement around an appearance is what is desired, there can be a difficult balance between releasing enough information to guarantee attendance while creating some suspense around aspects of the event.

The Beecher Stowe party tour of the UK shows several examples of this practice. In some cases, for example providing information about travel plans, there is evidence of very deliberate public relations. In other cases the evidence of planning is not apparent but the effect of the messaging is clear.

Charles Beecher's journal and letters are full of descriptions of crowds in the street, outside railway stations or running alongside carriages.

"Away we drive, chased by a crowd, men, women and boys... {some} stand and have a good stare. Some bow. One little fellow climbed on the cab wheel and got a peep through the window" (22)

"One little chap seemed too impetuous and was seized by the shoulder by the police and pitched out. I say, I will see Mrs Stowe he shouted and back he came and dove head first into the crowds" (27)

"A certain Mr Sinclair, learning that we were to leave today... got out placards... The consequence was the yard was besieged for an hour before we started with a crowd of men, women and children, standing, climbing, clinging, dropping and soaking and steaming in the rain and cold" (60)

However expectation management and suspense comes fully into play on the day of arrival. Prior to the tour starting, several newspapers carried stories about Beecher Stowe being ill and so not being able to travel. Others carried stories saying she had set sail. A letter from her husband Calvin printed in *Standard* of April 6 1853 bears out the illness story, but the general effect of the confused coverage is that there was doubt about a date and place of arrival. Glasgow newspapers had said she would arrive in Glasgow but the reports of imminent arrival in Liverpool proved more accurate. The *Liverpool Mercury's* report of 12th April gives some colour.

“We stated in our last that Mrs Stowe was expected in Liverpool, but the letters which were elsewhere published as to the state of the health of that lady rendered it doubtful whether she would so soon after her illness be able to undertake the voyage”

The ship’s arrival on the Mersey was announced, as usual, by the firing of guns. It then took nearly three hours before passengers could disembark. A crowd had already gathered, alerted by the guns.

“A rush was then made to the place of landing, and the greatest anxiety was evinced by the dense crowd to catch a glimpse of the popular writer” (who waits until nearly last to get off) “Mrs Stowe then, closely veiled, walked ashore leaning on the arm of her husband. The crowd followed them “(at this point they are not sure if this is the author as they don’t know what she looks like) “...but when a large portmanteau with the letters HBS was lifted onto the top of the car, all doubts as to the identity of the lady were dispelled and a loud cheer was given....the persons on the quay thronged round...”

Today celebrities are very recognisable. In this case, many of those waiting will not have seen a picture of the author. Even those who had, would not be sure of the identity of the veiled lady.

Taken all together, this arrival is an excellent example of the use of suspense and expectation build-up. There is nothing in letters to prove that the party deliberately delayed disembarking or deliberately delayed being identified. But there is little doubt that the build-up to this arrival helped set the scene for the crowds that would follow or that the party would not have been aware of the crowds.

Throughout the visit, Beecher Stowe and her family attended a number of large public meetings at which some of them spoke. In most cases the meetings were crowded. Charles Beecher reports that in some the crowds made it actually hard to get to the front. In Aberdeen for example “...it was thronged! I was 10 minutes getting to the platform and at last had to walk on the benches” (47). At these meetings, women would often sit in a separate gallery so the group would be separated. The accounts make it clear that Beecher Stowe often arrived late and left early, causing applause to break out each time. At an anti-slavery meeting at Exeter Hall in London for example: “After he (the Earl of Shaftesbury) was through and another speech begun, Hatty (Beecher often refers to HBS by this name) entered and sat by the Duchess and then the audience rose en masse and cheered and waved their hats, hands, handkerchiefs, umbrellas , anything for the space of two or three minutes. I never saw the like. It reminded me of the waves lifting themselves up and bursting into

spray” (105). The *Morning Chronicle* of 17 May reports the interruption a little less dramatically, but it is clear it was an interruption: “In the course of the reverend gentleman’s address, Mrs Stowe entered one of the galleries, and was loudly cheered by the audience who rose en masse...” There is no hard evidence that these instances of timing were deliberate. But the party can’t have failed to notice the impact of arriving in a noticeable way once proceedings had started.

Media relations

Harriet Beecher Stowe’s tour of the UK was widely covered, with the vast majority of the editorial being positive. It is clear from her own writing, and from what Charles Beecher writes, that she and the party were very aware of the value of third- party media coverage and some of the issues involved in ensuring accuracy.

The first detailed report of a meeting, as opposed to a journey, appears in the *Liverpool Mercury* on 15 April. The account also appears in the *Liverpool Courier* and is reprinted in the *Glasgow Herald*. This covers a breakfast meeting with speeches and a presentation. As Charles Beecher writes “Dr McNeile (one of the speakers)... opened his mouth and said what you will find printed, I presume, in all the papers” (26). Beecher remarks that Dr McNeile was preparing copies of the speeches. Presumably this was for the press as the reports are lengthy and sound verbatim and even if a journalist were invited, it is highly unlikely that such a verbatim report could be written accurately.

In fact Charles Beecher is well aware of the need for preparation if accuracy is needed. At Aberdeen he writes “...reporters here made sad work with all extempore speeches. Hence I find all platform speakers who wish to be well reported write out their speeches beforehand and give them to the reporters and then they speak them extempore as near as they can.” (48) Today we would call this a check against delivery press release, although it’s not clear how much checking would actually go on.

Later in the visit the party are at Stafford House, home of the Duchess of Sutherland who has been involved in a petition, later to prove controversial, against slavery and addressed to the women of America. Here Charles Beecher alerts us to the need for preparation, and also care. “The son of Sir Duncan MacGregor was engaged in preparing a report for the meeting for the *Morning Chronicle*...soon after Lord Shaftesbury came to me and said there were some passages that perhaps had better be omitted as they might be taken hold of as having a political meaning” (85) The meeting is widely covered or commented on but Beecher points out that “*The Times* is mum”.

Charles Beecher may have been aware of the various media relations techniques that could be used, and to have tried using them, but it appears that his sister was also well informed. In her book of letters, *Sunny Memories*, she writes of a meeting with Elihu Burrit. He was the US consul who, among other things was campaigning for a series of peace congresses. The pair discussed their work and Stowe later relates Burrit's involvement in the work of the ladies fundraising circles whose money is used to pay for what we today might describe as advertorials in European newspapers. These were articles on peace and the evils of war. As Stowe explains "Many times the editors insert the articles as editorial, which still favours their design"(248). She was clearly aware of the relative values of third-party editorial vs advertising identified as such.

Piggybacking

Campaign causes often find themselves related to each other in different ways. Sometimes the personnel overlap. Sometimes a religious denomination will be committed to several causes and be a link. Sometimes there is an obvious political "left" or "right" connection. In this way advocates for one cause can often see the benefit of enlisting or implying the endorsement of a high profile individual associated with another cause. And when a series of news events is taking place, the possibilities for public relations of "piggybacking" on those events with another story is clear.

Today this is a well-established technique and most PR professionals will be used to identifying news opportunities that provide the vital peg.

It is clearly not such a new technique however as coverage of the Beecher Stowe tour has also shown two very different piggybacking attempts by two very different campaigns. These are the campaign for the "penny post" – a transatlantic mail rate which would make communication between the US and the UK easier, and the campaign against meat eating. The Liverpool Vegetarian Society, as covered by the *Liverpool Mercury* of 3 May 1853, takes advantage of the fame of Stowe and her book in a statement on the evils of eating meat. The statement formed part of the organisation's Annual General Meeting and, as with other regular statements, the Public Relations approach is to try to find a new angle or a way of avoiding too much repetition. The Society must have felt they had already said everything they could on the topic. However the very current high profile of Uncle Tom's Cabin suggested itself as an angle for the statement (also a speech). This is not an angle about cruelty, but about religion. The Society argues that those who maintain that eating meat is endorsed by the bible are on shaky ground. This is because Harriet Beecher Stowe has drawn attention to the fact that scripture has also been used to justify slavery. And of course Harriet

Beecher Stowe has also clearly demonstrated that slavery is wrong. So any argument from the bible justifying eating meat is also, clearly, wrong. It is hard to see this argument being included in a piece of public relations at a time when *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the author were not such an item of news.

Campaigners for the “penny post” included the peace campaigner Elihu Burrit (mentioned previously). As with many campaigns, fundraising for the cause was important and “penny post bazaars” were organised in many parts of the country. In a typical piece of piggybacking, organisers of the Bazaar planned for Manchester made sure that Harriet Beecher Stowe's invitation to their event, and her likely interest, formed part of the pre event publicity. The *Bradford Observer* of 21 April (in a piece reprinted from elsewhere as was a newspaper habit of the time) tells us that “Mrs Stowe received them (a delegation) and “expressed the warmest interest in the movement and accepted the invitation (to attend)”. This part of the visit did not in fact take place but is an example of how organisations and causes attempted to use the visit to boost their own efforts. This invitation forms one of the avalanche of correspondence and contacts reported on by Charles Beecher who often remarks on spending three or four hours a day dealing with the people and organisations wanting to link up somehow with the party.

Public Affairs

In the year before the visit, a massive petition had been started on the topic of slavery. Triggered by message of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the wider awareness caused by the book (Meer) and designed to be signed only by women, it was addressed to the women of America and asked for their help in ending slavery. Attracting more than half a million signatures, it became known as the Stafford House Address after the home of the Duchess of Sutherland, one of the organisers.

It's worth dwelling on the number of signatures. Today, an on-line petition of 100,000 names is enough to trigger a debate in the UK House of Commons. Half a million hard copy signatures is considerably more work.

Harriet Beecher Stowe agreed to assist in the reception and promotion of the Address in the US. And in as part of her visit she met the organisers and others at Stafford House. The Address was controversial in the United States. There was a range of criticism, including attacks on the Duchess of Sutherland in particular. Some writers argued that Britain should get its own house in order, quoting various accounts of poverty, before interfering in such a way. These criticisms were widely reported in the UK.

HBS's visit to Stafford House is one of the rare occasions on which she speaks and is reported as speaking. The *Sheffield Independent* of 14th May makes the reason clear. She is sitting in a separate room with a group of women and it is the speech to the women that is reported. In the speech she shows awareness of the need to maintain morale and determination among the women who were not used to public affairs and were therefore probably not used to being attacked in the media

“The Times, and many of our American papers, will tell you that your address will do no good – that it can make no difference. But I can tell you that it has done good, and the bitterness and the anger that have been manifested against it show how great is the good that has been done by it. The politicians the party who advocate slavery would not have been so enraged if they had not felt the force of your address.” (*Sheffield Independent*)

Later in a letter to anti-slavery campaigners in Glasgow, she reports that the focus on the Stafford House address, including the negative coverage, would “help our cause by rendering it fashionable” (undated letter in Stowe 1889)

In fact the Stafford House address did not achieve lobbying success in the US. Arguably the mix of vague wording and appearance of interference as well as it being the work of women, always meant it would fail to be influential. In terms of raising awareness however, it managed a great deal.

Conclusion

This paper has scratched the surface of the PR techniques and message control employed during the Harriet Beecher Stowe celebrity book tour. A lot more could be said about, for example, image control and crisis communications. It's clear though that a tour that from the outside would have looked quite chaotic, employed a range of Public Relations techniques and that HBS and others were well aware of the techniques they needed to use. The author plans to develop this further with a focus on those areas of technique and message that have had to, for reasons of space, be omitted.

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'One People': National Persuasion and Creativity in early 20th century New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

In 1905, New Zealand was granted dominion status by her 'mother' country Great Britain. Almost immediately, the government instituted a national project to persuade the former colony's citizens that they were no longer just British, or even 'Tasmanians' but the proud owners of a new national identity – the New Zealander. As such, they were now 'one people.' For the first half of the 20th century, this project spanned a wide range of creative communications including:

- school texts books written to explain to children what their new nationality meant, and what was expected of them in return
- public relations activities to mediate for the newly independent government, including the early establishment of a press gallery
- sponsored journalism and magazine articles in nationally funded publications, such as the *New Zealand Railways Magazine*
- war correspondence to explain the developing conflict in Europe to a remote public
- advertising directed not only at an external tourism market, but at an internal identity market
- mass observation and film projects, such as Glover's *The Coaster*, emulating Grierson's Empire Marketing Board Film Unit
- state arts sponsorship of a national literature project, including funding for the *PEN* festival, development funding for young writers and stipends and pensions for retiring ones

This paper overviews the constituent parts of this project and examines the key figures, analysing their activities using a range of post colonial theories to demonstrate how their work did not constitute a new identity for New Zealand, but the continuation of old colonial one, based on tropes such as:

- alienation of the ‘native’
- exploitation and land acquisition
- marginalisation of women as an inferior partner in the new ‘settler contract.’

By focusing on the motif of the ‘man alone,’ created by what the paper terms ‘warrior writers,’ such as John Mulgan and Denis Glover, while refusing similar support to Maori artists or women such as Robyn Hyde, the project ultimately floundered and contributed to both social unrest and the re-visioning of New Zealand in bi-cultural terms in the latter part of the 20th century.

Building on the interdisciplinary work of academics such as Belich and Hilliard, the paper concludes that the project has implications for adaptive international communications in the 21st century and that in all such future projects, one people must mean all people.

Socialist Public Relations - a contradictio in adiecto?
On conceptualisations and practices of political PR in the German Democratic Republic

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Abstract

The existence of an independent public is generally perceived as a constituent characteristic of democracies, especially since it allows for (political) discussion and opinion formation (Raupp, 2001). In this understanding, the public is conceptualised as an arena in which interests and positions are debated and weighed against each other (Gerhards & Neidhardt, 1990). The pursuit of individual interests within this arena is generally perceived as legitimate; the utilisation of means of PR to influence publics and public opinion is an established communicative practice.

These facts have led various scholars and practitioners to the postulation of a strong, direct and (most important) reciprocal connection between democracy and Public Relations. The notion of ‘Socialist Public Relations’ – once extremely common in the socialist GDR – could from this point of view only be classified as a communicative oxymoron. One might find advanced forms of agitation and propaganda but most definitely not Public Relations in a socialist state.

This position is not undisputed. Scholars *inter alia* argue against the postulated connection between PR and democracy, negating any societal altruism of PR and its necessity for democratic systems (Szyszka, 1998), or against rather normative delimitations between ethical PR and sinister propaganda (Swoboda, 1986; Zagatta, 1984).

It is against this background that we do – by the means of document analysis – ask about the possibility of ‘Socialist Public Relations’, exemplarily focusing on the political field German

Democratic Republic. Can one actually ascertain PR in the context of a socialist state and if so, how can it be characterised?

Our findings indicate that public relations were existent within in the political field of the socialist GDR. Classical functions of PR such as the distribution of information, the fostering of dialogue with relevant stakeholders and the enablement of political participation are clearly ascertainable. Both general publics as well as professional journalists are addressed. There is an evolutionary process, especially in the period surrounding the transition of power in 1971.

There are of course also particularities. We find –especially in comparison to established Western conceptualisations of PR – a greater emphasis on educational functions within political public relations

What we find in analysing ‘Socialist Public Relations’ in the GDR is anything but a communicative oxymoron. Political PR was existent in socialist Eastern Germany and it showed greater similarities to established (Western) conceptualisations than one might initially imagine. Yet ‘Socialist Public Relations’ is also decisively to be understood as a particular form of PR, a form that tends to have different priorities and a greater emphasis on educative functions.

Introduction

It is since the days of the classical ‘agora’ – of the marketplace in ancient Athens in which free citizens gathered together to publicly deliberate political and societal issues at stake – that the existence of an independent public is understood as a constituent characteristic of democracies. It allows for open discussion and opinion formation and thereby provides the groundwork for any democratic system (Held, 2006; Raupp, 2001).

In this understanding, the public is often conceptualised as an arena in which individual interests and positions are debated and weighed against each other (Gerhards & Neidhardt, 1990). The pursuit of these interests within the public arena is regarded as legitimate, as a characteristic of democratic pluralism. The utilisation of means of PR to influence publics and public opinion is an established (and generally accepted) communicative practice.

These facts lead scholars to the postulation of a connection between democracy and the existence of (some form of) PR. In this understanding, democratic pluralism calls for the

communication of individual interests by the means of public relations (Bentele, 1998). Others go further and explicitly name public relations as a constituent element of democratic and pluralistic societies (e.g. Ronneberger, 1978).

While the latter position is not undisputed (with for example Szyszka (1998) arguing against any larger ‘societal altruism’ of PR), it has – together with rather normative accounts especially brought forward by PR practitioners – arguably lead to a common perception according to which public relations could only be existent in democratic systems (e.g. Oeckl, 1964). This vice versa to the postulated connection between pluralistic democracy and public relations does in fact negate the existence of this particular form of communication in non-democratic systems. It is this position according to which any notion of ‘socialist public relations’ would be contradictory in itself (Szyszka, 1998).

The contraposition emerging from this popular understanding is one between ‘democratic’ public relations that are dialogic and truthful, and some form of blatant sinister propaganda. This specific understanding of propaganda does – in contrast to various earlier usages of the term – imply a form of communication that is unidirectional, persuasive and not necessarily truthful, besides also often shrill, simplistic and full of stereotypes. It is generally argued that this is only to be found in non-democratic systems. In contrast to that one finds dialogic public relations that value truthfulness and objectivity and that can – arguably – only evolve entirely within pluralistic democracies (Bentele, 1998; Jarren & Donges, 2006).

This again is subject to debate. Some scholars do not employ such strict delimitations between these types of (public) communication (Swoboda, 1986; Zagatta, 1984), others rather subsume them under one another in different ways (Merten, 2000). Some go even further, negating any substantial difference between them at all (Kunczik, 1993), arguing against necessary connections between the overall form of a political system and the type of public communication predominant within it (Bussemer, 2008).

Either way, it becomes apparent that the existence of public relations in non-democratic systems is not to be taken for granted. Within the scientific community it is subject to debate and at least its exact configuration and the degree of its accordance with modern understandings of PR are still disputed. Common perception often goes even further, neglecting the mere possibility of something like ‘socialist public relations’, rather distinguishing between good democratic PR and evil communist propaganda.

It is against this background that we ask about the possibility of ‘socialist public relations’, exemplarily focusing on the political field in the GDR. Can one actually ascertain PR in the context of a socialist state and if so, how can it be characterised? Do the notions of socialism and PR go together or is there an unbridgeable gap between them that would immediately render the combined notion ‘socialist public relations’ a *contradictio in adiecto*?

State of Research

As indicated here beforehand, there is a larger scientific debate surrounding the possibility of socialist public relations, especially with a focus on the East-German case. Early accounts tend to negate their existence, clearly distinguishing between ‘good’ public relations, which could only exist in democratic systems, and ‘bad’ propaganda, which is from this perspective the only form of public communication in socialist systems (Oeckl, 1964). Normative perspectives tend to emphasise the democratic value of PR, describing it as a constituent element of democracy (Ronneberger, 1978). Later accounts do – in part – accept this societal function of PR and their necessity for democracy; they do however also negate their impossibility in socialist systems, yet clearly pointing out the latter’s particularities (Bentele, 1998; on particularities of socialist PR see also: Swoboda, 1986; Zagatta, 1984). Another current in the debate then argues against any (larger) distinction between forms of public communication according to systemic backgrounds (Bussemer, 2008; Kunczik, 1993; Merten, 2000).

With regard to analyses of communicative practices and the surrounding structural conditions, a heterogeneous picture emerges: There are several accounts on aspects of the journalistic system and the mass media as such (e.g. Baerns, 1990; Geserick & Löckenhoff, 1988; Holzweißig, 1989, 2002) and furthermore particularly on GDR’s journalists and their role perceptions (e.g. Meyen & Fiedler, 2011a, 2013; Reck, 1996). Scholars have also discussed the genesis of (political) publics in the GDR’s society (e.g. Rühle, 2003). When it comes to public relations however, the amount of available studies is comparatively smaller.

An early study conducted by Bentele and Peter (1996) focuses on public relations in the GDR and in the so-called new federal states of Germany (i.e. the ex-GDR). With regard to the former, the authors postulate that political propaganda was the dominant form of public (political) communication in the socialist era. They describe it as characterised by ‘a predominance of one-way information’ and by attempts to constantly take position in the system conflict with West Germany. They suppose a ‘rather superficial concern with

truthfulness' among political communicators, further reinforced through a lack of critical mass media coverage. Nonetheless, the authors clearly admit to the existence of public relations in the GDR in fields such as culture or business – findings generally supported by other studies (e.g. Otto, 2013; Raupp, 2001).

An edited volume by Liebert (1998) has a variety of authors approaching different fields of public relations in the GDR. Gibas (1998) focuses on the (potentially neighbouring) sphere of agitation and propaganda, again postulating a distinction between these concepts and (political) public relations as such, primarily due to public relations' (claims to) truthfulness. Bentele (1998) argues in a similar direction yet clearly underlines that this can only be valid for contrapositions of 'modern' understandings of public relations and propaganda. According to his account, socialist political public relations are to be understood as largely dominated by functions of propaganda, agitation and organisation and therefore clearly distinguishable from their Western counterparts. Szyszka (1998) then approaches the (often postulated) connection between democracy and public relations (i.e. the notion of the impossibility of PR in non-democratic societies). He negates any inherent societal altruism of PR and points out that this form of communication is rather to be understood as the interest-driven influencing of others. Socialist PR is, from this point of view, at least possible; instrumental analogies provide further support for this assumption.

A comparative study on cultural publics and public relations in the FRG and the GDR (Raupp, 2001) also indicates similarities between communications in both states; it argues that this is in this case primarily due to the continued existence of forms of bourgeois structures in the cultural sector in the GDR. The author furthermore identifies developments towards professionalised public relations from the 1970s onwards; notwithstanding strong (political) constraints cultural communicators seek, beginning after the transition of power in 1971 and to an increasing extent in the early 1980s, to professionalise their external communications, to render them more dialogic and to address larger audiences in ways that are not purely persuasive and yet remain educational.

A study by Meyen and Fiedler (2011b) analyses structures of (primarily political) public relations in the GDR with special regard to the potential control of the media. With Merten (2008c), the authors understand public relations as the 'management of the difference between facts and fiction', dismissing clear delimitations between it and the notion of propaganda. Their analysis then focuses on political public relations in the GDR and not on

propaganda, since they regard the latter term as 'so negatively loaded that it does pre-empt the result of the actual analysis'; i.e. they presuppose the existence of a form of political public relations. Findings *inter alia* indicate strong tendencies to control media coverage by means of public relations, an elevated importance of the system conflict (especially in the early years) and an attachment of political public relations to the inner centre of (governmental) power. Public relations were not largely adjusted to perceived public opinion but rather aiming at the creation of a certain climate of opinion by (primarily) uni-directional means.

What emerges from this (abbreviated) state of research is a somewhat ambivalent picture of public relations in the GDR. Apart from certain (normatively influenced) voices in the debate, it is generally accepted that this form of public communication was existent at least in certain sectors such as economics or culture (Bentele & Peter, 1996; Otto, 2013; Raupp, 2001). The general assumption of a strict contradiction between socialism and public relations is not sustainable. The picture is different however when it comes to political public relations. Apart from the fact that these have not (yet) been subjected to greater amounts of research, positions on their actual existence vary. Some authors argue towards an understanding of the GDR's political communication as 'propaganda', some do so at least with regard to what they describe as modern understandings of political public relations (Bentele, 1998). Others indicate greater difficulties in the differentiation between public relations and propaganda and subsume the public political communication in the GDR under the former notion, yet pointing out its particularities (Meyen & Fiedler, 2011b).

In order to further argue on the adequacy of a description of socialist public relations as a *contradictio in adiecto*, it therefore remains to analyse political public relations in the GDR. Their actual existence in the cultural and economic sector is now mostly accepted, the political sector however still deserves further analysis.

Analysis

What is the exact nature of 'socialist public relations' in the political field? Are they to be understood as the proverbial *communicatio in adiecto*, are they a particular (maybe even peculiar) form of public communication or are they rather a (relatively) normal form of PR?

In order to find answers to these questions, we analyse political public relations in the GDR. Since an intermediary sector with independent political parties, interest groups and non-governmental organisations was hardly existent within the socialist German state (where, due to the fact that even the leading party was constitutionally defined as part of the governmental sphere, political PR was almost exclusively to be understood as governmental PR), we particularly focus our analysis on the governmental field.

At first, we describe the nature of 'standard' political public relations and refer to the Western (i.e. non-socialistic) reality in order to find a standard against which our empirical findings regarding socialist public relations are to be weighed. To ensure adequate comparability and functional equivalence of the phenomena, we set governmental public relations in the FRG (generally accepted as public relations and situated in a comparable cultural context) as the standard against which we analyse and compare; a methodological choice that enables us to control factors other than the systemic difference and allows for a sound comparison in accordance with the social-scientific standards of functional equivalence (cf. Wirth & Kolb, 2003).

We then focus on political (or, to be precise, governmental) PR in the GDR. Our data derives from qualitative document analysis focusing on 29 different sources, ranking from state party conference proceedings over governmental directives to (collections of) practitioners' accounts. We especially seek to find out about the ways in which governmental bodies and the state party SED (which, by the GDR's constitution, was equipped with functions similar to those of a governmental body) conceptualised their external communications, about possible differences to Western understandings.

Political Public Relations – General Understandings

Deriving from an understanding of public relations as the management of communication between an organisation and its publics (Grunig & Hunt, 1984), one can conceptualise political public relations as part of the communication management of political actors, addressing both their in- and especially their external audiences (Bentele, 1997). It inter alia seeks to inform, persuade and built relationships between communicator and addressee. Governmental PR is then from this perspective to be understood as the (publicly funded) communication of governmental bodies and officeholders, executed from their respective official position. It generally seeks to inform the public, furthermore it explains and

sometimes advertises political measures, seeking to build relationships between those governing and those governed (Kocks & Raupp, 2014).

While nowadays generally perceived as a professionalised and at the same time highly regulated form of public political communication, as one facing very severe (legal) constraints (Holtz-Bacha, 2013; Kocks & Raupp, 2014), governmental PR in the FRG has faced fundamental developments since the foundation of the state in 1949.

Governmental PR in the FRG was in fact of elevated importance right from the beginning. It was to be organised in a professional and centralised way and it fulfilled an informational duty. With regard to foreign (allied) countries it was conceptualised as a form of advertising. Apart from that it clearly had a campaign component attached to it; governmental communication was to argue against oppositional parties and opinions and to 'correct' unfavourable coverage and framing in the mass media. The 1970s saw a caesura. Following a ruling by the German constitutional court, governmental bodies faced rules and regulations limiting their (campaign) usage of public relations, furthermore questions about democratic participation became increasingly important, governmental PR was to foster this. Last but not least, the intermediary role the governmental information office sought at this time marks the beginning of a conceptualisation of reciprocal governmental communication; it was no longer solely to distribute messages but also to communicate public opinion and societal agendas and preferences to governmental bodies (Kocks, 2011; Kunczik, 2006).

In comparison with common understandings and conceptualisations of political PR, it becomes apparent that governmental PR in West Germany was, at least sometimes, not in concordance with postulated standards. Rather than being conceptualised as a necessarily truthful means of (ideally dialogic) communication between governmental body and stakeholder, it was, especially in the early period, utilised as a partisan and intentionally persuasive means of communication. Later periods have seen changes towards more dialogic forms of communication management, yet governmental PR in the FRG's democratic system has, for large periods of time, also to be understood as a uni-directional and partisan form of public communication.

Political Communication in the GDR

How did the relevant governmental and state party actors in Eastern Germany conceptualise their public communication? In this section, the communicative activities of governmental bodies will only be labeled as 'governmental communication' and not as PR or propaganda in order to avoid any terminological pre-judgment. The following is, as indicated, to provide insights into this field by the means of qualitative document analysis:

Governmental communication in the GDR was of importance right from the beginning. Just like in the FRG, it was to be organised in a professional and centralised way and it also fulfilled an informational duty. Already two years before the foundation of the GDR in 1949, the later state party SED extensively debated communicative measures aiming at an improvement of trustful relations between citizens and state at its party conferences. Communications were, according to those in charge, to be objective and decisively non-propagandistic; the latter was to improve their impact among the general population (D01).

Governmental communication primarily is to distribute information, however, from the early 1950s on, it is also to serve functions of education and agitation. This does not alter strong claims to truthfulness and objectivity; agitation and propaganda are (from the perspective of governmental communicators) to distribute political and economic facts (D02-06).

The system conflict did – as described by Bentele and Peter (1996) – indeed play an important role for the GDR's governmental communication. The confrontation with West Germany gained importance; in the 1960s GDR's governmental communication furthermore began to aim at the FRG's population, claiming to provide it with truthful information about world events and the system conflict as such.

Relations with the press were characterised by attempts towards direct influence; political actors did not want journalists to serve as governmental communicators but nonetheless aimed to influence the placement of topics and interpretative frames (D04-10).

Party conferences at the end of the 1960s called for more educative elements within governmental communication, it was to teach the population the foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory but furthermore also is to enable more political participation (D08-11). Governmental directives underlined these new conceptualisations, describing governmental communication as a means to foster political participation, to coordinate and organise

political coverage in the media and to become active as a power- and truthful tool in the system conflict with the FRG (D16).

The 1970s did not see a caesura comparable to the one in West Germany, yet there was a broadening of the debate surrounding governmental communication. Journalists, scientists and (political) practitioners from all levels were included. Their accounts focused on the improvement of citizen-state relations and on the fostering of political participation by the distribution of comprehensive information; demands for critical evaluation of communicative measures and for the implementation of dialogic elements were made, persuasion played (from their perspective) only a minor role (D21-22).

The transition of power in 1971 (from W. Ulbricht to E. Honecker) saw also changes in the state party's conceptualisation of governmental communication. The matter as such gained importance; explicit demands for its broadening and scientific foundation were made. Officials emphasised that governmental communication necessarily needed to reach every strata of the population and called for more mutual exchange between those governing and those governed. Another emerging phenomenon were increasingly strict argumentative delimitations between truthful socialist governmental communication (which was to enlighten the recipient) and persuasive and manipulative Western political public relations (D19-21, 23-29).

In sum, governmental communication in the GDR was characterised by strong normative claims to truthfulness. At the same time it was to serve as a powerful tool in the system conflict with West Germany. Media outlets were regarded as a useful and not necessarily independent instrument for political communication.

The early 1970s did – especially in comparison to West Germany – not see a fundamental communicative caesura, nonetheless priorities changed. Governmental communication was now to be optimised according to its potential regarding societal inclusion and civic participation, the catalogue of tools became larger and reciprocal mechanisms gained importance. Nonetheless educational mechanisms and attacking strategies for the system conflict remained important. Legal constraints were not ascertainable; a governmental directive from 1967 (D16) did however codify mandatory truthfulness. Governmental communication in the GDR was – at least according to its self-conception – informational and educational work by the state for the people.

The GDR's Governmental Communication as PR?

Having analysed conceptualisations of governmental communication in the GDR, it remains to argue on their communicative nature. Can they be described as PR?

Understanding public relations in a strictly normative and contemporary way, the answer would have to be rather negative. Governmental communication in the GDR could hardly be subsumed under a notion of pluralistic and dialogic communication adhering to very high ethical standards. Yet, we argue that this understanding of public relations should rather be regarded as a normative picture, as PR for public relations, than as an empirically observable reality.

One does not have to go as far as Merten (2008a, 2008b) – who once even coined an understanding of public relations as a ‘license to deceive’ – to admit to the fact that public relations are not necessarily in accordance with normative postulations about them. As mere observations as well as empirical analyses show, communicative measures generally subsumed under the notion of PR are often uni-directional, persuasive, partisan and, at least in some cases, even manipulative. One can hardly find differences between some communicative practices generally accepted as (political) PR and governmental communication in the GDR.

Bentele and Peter (1996) underline the fact that clear distinctions between socialist propaganda and public relations require a strictly contemporary understanding of the latter notion, yet this is, as several scholars (Kunczik, 1993; Merten, 2008c; Meyen & Fiedler, 2011b) argue, also a highly normative one. Employing a normatively less demanding understanding of public relations, we conclude that governmental communication in the GDR could indeed be subsumed under this notion. It was conceptualised as the management of the communication between organisations (i.e. governmental bodies and the state party) and their publics, it was to distribute information and – at least in its conceptualisations – also to foster some form of communicative exchange. It was not intentionally untruthful (of course conceptualisations and actual implementations might differ in this regard, as they also did and do in many Western variants of political public relations) and showed, in sum, a large canon of similarities to Western variants.

It was at the same time of course also characterised by a variety of particularities. Governmental PR in the GDR was anything but indistinguishable from its Western

counterparts. It was inter alia characterised by a (quite dominant) educative component, it specifically aimed at educating large strata of the population about (certain) political theories and their implications. It furthermore was not subjected to external constraints, there was no legal caesura like in West Germany and critical media coverage was – due to systemic differences – hardly existent.

As we can see, governmental communication in the GDR is not identical to Western variants generally subsumed under the notion of PR. And yet there are surprisingly many similarities. Does this justify that we subsume it under the notion of public relations as well?

As indicated, Meyen and Fiedler (2011b) argue against normative understandings of public relations and consequentially subsume the GDR's political communication under this very notion. Setting aside overly normative understandings of PR, one could indeed argue in such a direction. Bentele (1999) points out that not only delimitations between PR and propaganda are far from being unanimously accepted but that any necessary connection between the nature of a political system and the form of communication is hardly sustainable (see also: Bussemer, 2008; Raupp, 1999); he admits to the existence of a professional field of public relations in the GDR, though pointing out that the dominant style of communication was – in contrast to his contemporary understanding of dialogic and truthful PR – rather propagandistic. The existence of a professional field of public relations is mainly accepted (e.g. Bentele, 1999; Otto, 2013; Raupp, 2001), furthermore, one might indeed agree on the existence of PR on an organisational level, in either the political, economic or cultural sector (Raupp, 1999). Whether or not PR has societal functions and whether or not these could be fulfilled under the conditions of a socialist (non-democratic) system might still be subject to debate, yet this does not hinder subsuming the GDR's political communication – especially regarding its organisation and conceptualisation – under the notion of political public relations.

Summary: A Communicative *Contradictio in Adiecto*?

'Socialist Public Relations' – a *contradictio in adiecto*, a particular (maybe even peculiar) form of public communication or a relatively normal form of PR? The preceding discussion and analysis was to clarify on a disputed notion, on one that – at least at first sight – appears paradox (Szyszka, 1998). It was to do so focusing on the German Democratic Republic.

As a review of relevant literature has shown, public relations were indeed existent in various sectors, be it among economic actors or within the cultural field. They showed similarities to their Western counterparts; in the cultural field – probably due to the survival of some bourgeois structures – even relatively large ones.

As document analysis regarding political communication in the GDR and subsequent comparison with findings regarding the situation in the Federal Republic of Germany have shown, one does – despite all particularities – even find relatively great similarities between the dominant form of political communication in the GDR and Western understandings of political public relations.

Public relations were existent in the GDR's socialist system; they were existent in the form of a professional field and on an organisational level. They showed remarkable similarities to their Western counterparts. One might – employing normative understandings and arguments regarding the societal function of PR – perhaps argue against PR on a societal level in this context, yet one could hardly sustain that perspective with regard to an underlying organisational (let alone individual) level.

A *contradictio in adiecto* implies a strict contradiction between adjective and noun; the 'black milk of daybreak' adapted from Celan's 'Death Fuge' being among the most common textbook examples for this phenomenon. 'Socialist Public Relations' can hardly be subsumed under this notion. They clearly are a particular form of PR, one coined by the societal and political circumstances under which they were conceptualised and executed, yet they still are PR and show, not only in the cultural and economic sector but also in the political one, greater similarities to classical Western conceptualisations and understandings than one would initially imagine. Milk is – to come back to the textbook example – never black yet public relations can, as the preceding analyses illustrate, sometimes be socialist; the gap between the notions is anything but unbridgeable. This is neither to level systemic differences (especially in terms of democratic legitimacy) nor to demonise (political) PR as such, but to illustrate that this communicative notion is less paradox than it initially seems.

Analysis: Table of Documents

D01	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des II. Parteitages der SED	Party Conference Proceedings
D02	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des III. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 2)	Party Conference Proceedings
D03	Aus den Erfahrungen der Agitationsarbeit der Partei: aus den Diskussionsreden auf dem 4. Parteitag der SED.	Party Conference Proceedings
D04	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des IV. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 1).	Party Conference Proceedings
D05	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des V. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 1).	Party Conference Proceedings
D06	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des V. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 2).	Party Conference Proceedings
D07	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VI. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 1).	Party Conference Proceedings
D08	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VII. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 2).	Party Conference Proceedings
D09	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VII. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 1).	Party Conference Proceedings
D10	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VII. Parteitages der SED (Beschlüsse und Dokumente) (Vol. 4).	Party Conference Proceedings
D11	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des VIII. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 1).	Party Conference Proceedings
D12	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des IX. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 2)	Party Conference Proceedings
D13	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des IX. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 1)	Party Conference Proceedings
D14	Protokoll der Verhandlungen des X. Parteitages der SED (Vol. 2).	Party Conference Proceedings
D15	Protokoll der Verhandlungen der XI. Parteitages der SED.	Party Conference Proceedings
D16	Beschluß über die 'Aufgaben und Verantwortung der Leiter der Staats- und Wirtschaftsorgane und ihrer Presseinstitutionen für die Öffentlichkeitsarbeit im Zusammenwirken mit der staatlichen Nachrichtenagentur ADN, Presse, Rundfunk und Fernsehen'	Governmental Directive
D17	Schmelter, Rolf (1972): Die Funktion der sozialistischen Öffentlichkeitsarbeit bei der Herausbildung des sozialistischen Bewußtseins und der Leitung des weiteren sozialistischen Aufbaus in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik.	Practitioner's account
D18	Schmidt, Wolfgang, & Wächter, Ewald (1979): Öffentlichkeit, öffentliche Meinung und staatliche Öffentlichkeitsarbeit.	Practitioner's account
D19	Sorgenicht, Klaus (1974): Informations- und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit - ein untrennbarer Bestandteil sozialistischer Leitungstätigkeit	Practitioner's account
D20	Wächter, Ewald (1974): <i>Informations- und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit: Erfahrungen aus der Praxis.</i>	Practitioner's account
D21	Staatliche Öffentlichkeitsarbeit und sozialistische Kommunalpolitik: Wernigeröder Erfahrungsaustausch 1984	Collection of practitioners' accounts (Conference)

D22	Staatliche Öffentlichkeitsarbeit, Erfahrungen und Erfordernisse: Zwickauer Erfahrungsaustausch 1982	Collection of practitioners' accounts (Conference)
D23	Sozialistische Demokratie: Organ des Staatsrates und des Ministerrates der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Beilage 13/71),	Collection of practitioners' accounts (Journal, Special Issue)
D24	Sozialistische Demokratie: Organ des Staatsrates und des Ministerrates der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik (Beilage 17/71),	Collection of practitioners' accounts (Journal, Special Issue)
D25	Sozialistische Demokratie (04.09.1970)	Collection of practitioners' accounts (Journal)
D26	Sozialistische Demokratie (25.09.1970)	Collection of practitioners' accounts (Journal)
D27	Sozialistische Demokratie (16.10.1970)	Collection of practitioners' accounts (Journal)
D28	Sozialistische Demokratie (23.10.1970)	Collection of practitioners' accounts (Journal)
D29	Sozialistische Demokratie (11.12.1970)	Collection of practitioners' accounts (Journal)

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Nation-Building Starts at Home: CSR, Community Relations, and U.K. Broadcasters

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ABSTRACT

This study lies at the intersection of several concepts, institutions, and practices linking communication and democracy. First is the notion of nation building, which refers to the process of constructing a national identity or characteristics of one-- a composite of history, culture, ethnicity, diversity, and other variables. In principle, nation building should lend itself to social harmony, economic growth, and various forms of creative, scientific, and intellectual expression that reflect that national construct and are conducive to democratic participation in civil society.

Second, there is the institution of broadcasting, which even in its most commercial form is still a "public good." Broadcasts belong to a nation's citizens, inasmuch as they have free access to the airwaves. No matter how many people listen or watch, the broadcasts are not diminished and remain available to others. Moreover, the study will refer to the public relations, and more specifically, the community relations/CSR of U.K. public broadcasting, which is produced and distributed with the public interest, and not stockholders or advertisers, in mind. Thus, it has more freedom to create media that can reflect the culture and values inherent in nation building. Public broadcasters produce the arts, documentaries, and education programs-not great revenue earners but they build understanding, tolerance, and respect for others' cultures.

Third, the practice of corporate social responsibility (CSR), mentioned above, is integral to successful public relations, which seeks to achieve organizational goals while respecting the needs and constraints of its publics. The focus and salient expression of this practice is community relations. An organization can gain the trust and acceptance of its communities by identifying and reaching out to key stakeholders and working towards building long term, mutually beneficial relationships with them. Although successful CSR programs may, at some point, run into glitches, they *a priori* seek ways to link their

organizations with those stakeholders and communities and demonstrate a tangible commitment to various stakeholders. The relationship-building strategy may avert conflict and potential crises. Through building on successes in community relations, public relations and corporate communication departments of broadcasting organizations can have a significant impact on surrounding areas and catalyze a pro-social ripple effect in outlying communities and on the nation as a whole.

This study will explore how U.K. public broadcasters have designed and implement corporate responsibility programs that embrace their communities and attempt to honor the needs of those communities from within (programs within their broadcasting facilities) and externally (in the communities themselves or in other locales, such that they bring back new resources, talent, or economic benefits to their immediate vicinities).

The principal method of investigation will be data gathered over many years from in-depth interviews with producers and executives at the BBC and other public service institutions, as well as with those in comparable positions at commercial channels and in the independent sectors throughout the nations and regions, from academics, public relations professionals, and other interested observers. The study will also review archival data, corporate publications, public relations and other scholarly literatures for models of proactive community relations/CSR as implemented by large organizations in other industries (for example, IBM) and explore how the models created by public broadcasters are consistent with or diverge from those models. It will discuss the impact of these socially-responsible programs on the communities in question. The study will focus on U.K. public service broadcasting's CSR model but will also briefly reference PBS (U.S. public service broadcasting) and note major differences in how both have managed community relations. It will also suggest how these CSR programs might serve as models for broadcasters in both democratic and developing nations.

Such a study could be valuable in as much as it would add to the body of knowledge regarding media industries and their impact on the societies in which they operate. In addition, the positive impact of community programs successfully implemented by broadcasting organizations would inform and perhaps improve on the existing community relations/CSR models in other industries. Conversely, successful community relations/CSR programs in other sectors could be useful to broadcasting organizations.

This study could also be useful as a template for media industries in developing countries, such as those of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, where public relations is rapidly expanding, as are transnational media organizations. These countries lack

a strong, historic democratic tradition and yet they seek to modernize along the lines of Western democratic models, where corporations are increasingly vested in their communities. Therefore, the community relations/CSR of U.K. broadcasting organizations could serve as a replicable model that would advance civil society as well.

Public Relations for Money with Special References to German Historical Experiences

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1. Definitions

1.1. Propaganda versus Public Relations

1.2. Money

2. Currency and national identity

3. Images of nations and images of currencies

4. Theoretical explanations of the psychology of money relevant for PR-campaigns

4.1. PR for Money and Rational Behavior

4.2. Albert Aftalion: Psychological Theory of Exchange Rates

4.3. Georg Simmel: Philosophy of Money

4.4. Joseph A. Schumpeter: The essence of money

5. Public Relations for Money

5.1. Selective Perception and 'Negative' Information

5.2. Trust and PR for Currencies

5.3. Ivy Ledbetter Lee: Handling of Loans

5.4. Eastman Kodak: Changing Exchange Rates

5.5. The Dollarization of Ecuador

5.6. Examples for other PR Campaigns for Money

6. PR for Currencies: Examples from German History:

6.1. Destroying the Trust into the Russian Rouble

6.2. PR for Financing the War

6.3. A National Trauma: Experiencing Hyperinflation

6.4. Nazi-PR for the Reichsmark

6.5. Public Relations for Soziale Marktwirtschaft and Deutsche Mark - DIE WAAGE

6.6 Government PR for the Mark

6.7. Reunification: Money – PR for 'Ossies'

6.8. Campaigning for and against the Euro

7. Final Remarks

References

1. Definitions: 1.1. Propaganda versus Public Relations: Following the tradition of the 'founding fathers' of American Public Relations (PR) and propaganda will be used

synonymously. Edward L. Bernays (1923, 212) already emphasized: „The only difference between *propaganda* and *education*, really, is the point of view. The advocacy of what we believe in is education. The advocacy of what we don't believe in is propaganda.“ Bernays (1935) used *propagandist* and *counsel on public relations* synonymously and defined (1928a) PR as “manipulating public opinion”. The two exchangeable terms are different labels for the same process. The difference seems to be the negative (positive) evaluation of propaganda (PR) in colloquial language (Kunczik 2015).

The synonymous use of PR and propaganda¹ seems to be adequate for analyzing PR for money. Ivy Ledbetter Lee in the 1920s was the first American PR-counselor campaigning for currencies. He took into consideration the importance of trust in a currency for selling loans of foreign countries (e.g. France, Poland, and Rumania) in the US. Lee who had entered the field of PR for international finance in 1920 knew that simple statistics were not enough to market a loan and pointed out (Hiebert 1966: 266): „Those who handle a loan must create an atmosphere [...]”. The idea that those who wanted to exert influence have to create an atmosphere also was the basis of the work of British propagandists during the Great War (First World War). In 1920 Sir Campbell Stuart² explained in *Secrets of Crewe House* (1920, 1) the understanding of propaganda by British propagandists and (nearly identical to Lee) defined propaganda as „[...] presentation of a case in such a way that others may be influenced. [...] Creation of a favorable `atmosphere´ is the first object of propaganda.“ Although a word is almost never truly synonymous with another one in all respects there seems to be no difference between the use of the term propaganda by British war propagandists focusing on anti-German hate-campaigns (Kunczik 2015), and the use of the term PR by Lee whilst campaigning for money (loans). The aim of the practitioners has been influencing people by creating of a favorable atmosphere. British propagandists aimed at building up an image of the Germans as blood-thirsty uncivilized Barbarians. Lee and Stuart had an identical understanding of PR and propaganda. Reichskanzler Otto von Bismarck,

¹ Other authors too don't differentiate between PR and propaganda. Harold Lasswell (1942, 106) defined propaganda as „the manipulation of symbols as a means of influencing attitudes on controversial matters.“ George C. Bruntz (1938, 4) regarded propaganda as „a way to influence in a desired direction the opinions and actions of others.“ Leonard W. Doob (1948, 240) defined propaganda as „the attempt to affect the personalities and to control the behavior of individuals toward ends considered unscientific or of doubtful value in a society at a particular time.“ In a later publication Doob (1989, 375) classified propaganda as being not defineable: „a clear-cut definition of propaganda is neither possible nor desirable.“ For Garth S. Jowett und Victoria O'Donnell (1992, 16) propaganda means „the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist.“

² Sir Campbell Stuart (1885-1972) worked during the Great War in the *Ministry of Information*. Since February 1918 the Canadian newspaper magnate was responsible for enemy propaganda. His superior has been Alfred Harmondsworth (Lord Northcliffe).

responsible for the German campaign against the Russian Rouble, understood publicity for money like Lee. In 1873 he argued in a speech that trust is like a delicate plant. Once destroyed it needs a long time to return.³

The success of war propaganda has had a decisive influence on the development of commercial PR.⁴ To quote Bernays (1928b, 27): „The astonishing success of propaganda during the war opened the eyes of the intelligent few in all departments of life to the possibilities of regimenting the public mind.” Carl Byoir (cf. Cutlip 1994, 537ff) and Bernays both worked for American war propaganda in the *Committee of Public Information (CPI)*⁵. Lawrence Freedman (2013, 337) emphasizes that the effectiveness of the CPI „impressed all those involved with the apparent ease with which bellicose opinion could be shaped by using every available means to put out the word about the danger of German militarism and the need for a robust response.“ George Creel⁶, a journalist, who was in charge of American propaganda, avoided the use of the terminus propaganda because of its association with corruption and deception.⁷ Creel (1920, 4) described his job as „a vast enterprise in salesmanship, the world's greatest adventure in advertising.” Creel is an idealtypical example for PR practitioners fear to be called propagandists – a word incriminated by negative associations. He argued (1918, 190) that the work of the CPI has been only ‘educational and informative’. And this was really a propaganda-lie (Kunczik 2015). The CPI organized anti-German atrocity campaigns and stigmatized – as the British and the French did – Germans as non-human, uncivilized, bloodthirsty monsters.⁸ The *CPI* even created mass hysteria. Fosdick reports a meeting in a church (1931/32, 322): „A speaker demanded that the Kaiser, when captured, be boiled in oil, and the entire audience stood on the chairs to scream its

³ In a speech *Über Königtum und Priestertum* (10 March 1873) Bismarck emphasized „Das Vertrauen ist eine zarte Pflanze; ist es zerstört, so kommt es sobald nicht wieder.“

⁴ Already Lasswell in his famous *Propaganda Technique in the World War* in 1927 emphasized that propaganda was developing its practitioners, its professors, its teachers and its theories. Furthermore the propaganda war between Germany and Britain in the US during World War I laid the foundation for the privatization of war propaganda, which became routine for PR-firms in later times (Kunczik 2004). War propaganda-campaigns have been waged e.g. by Bernays / United Fruit against Guatemala, Hill & Knowlton against Iraq; Ruder-Finn for Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina against Serbia etc.; Kunczik 2004.

⁵ The CPI, responsible for American propaganda during the Great War, was founded in April 1917 shortly after the U.S. had entered war.

⁶ The CPI was also called *Creel Committee*.

⁷ Creel argued (United States 1920, 1; cf. Creel 1918, 190; 1920): „We did not call it ‘propaganda’ for that word, in German hands, had come to be associated with lies and corruptions. Our work was educational and informative only, for we had such confidence in our case as to feel that only fair presentation of its facts was needed.”

⁸ One poster of CPI pictures the German war machine entering America: A monster looking like a kind of ape with a spikes helmet and a cub smeared with blood and the German word “Kultur” inscribed on it; just dragging off a woman (Milton 2007, picture 11). The message was: „DESTROY THIS MAD BRUTE. ENLIST“.

hysterical approval. This was the mood we were in. This was the kind of madness that had seized us. It was a holy crusade, a war to end war.” Eric F. Goldman in his *Two-Way Street: The Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel* (1948, 12) characterized this kind of work as ‘brilliant publicity for publicity’.⁹

1.2. *Money*: Money¹⁰ is as a generally accepted medium of exchange; i.e. anything that is accepted by virtually everyone in exchange for services and goods (Lipsey 1966, 665f). Money not only can serve as *unit of account* and *medium of exchange*, but also allows the *storage of wealth* (as long as there is no inflation). Concerning the nature of money I agree with Frank Vanderlip, then president of National City Bank (now Citibank), who argued at the beginning of the 20th century (Ehrlich 1998, 342): „Anyone who tries to understand the money question goes crazy.“ Karl Marx (1968, 62) in *Zur Kritik der bürgerlichen Ökonomie* pointed out that William Ewart Gladstone¹¹ (1809 – 1898) 1844/45 said in Parliament that even love had not produced more fools than the trials to discover the very essence of money.¹²

Modern sociological systems theory also seems to be unable to offer a solution. Parsons (1967, 262f), one of the founders of sociological systems theory, emphasizes the importance of trust for the functioning of social systems. He proposes the concept generalized media of influence. These are commitment, influence, money and power. The generalized media of influence are interpreted to be special cases of the medium language. Money is located at the same level as ‘power’, ‘commitment’ and ‘influence’. Communication according to Parsons’ theory (1968, 465f) is the prime function of money which is, as already mentioned, seen as a special case of the medium ‘language’. But this theory is by no means a new theory. Already at the beginning of the 19th century a German economist, Adam Müller (1779-1829), argued that money is a general instrument of communication like language.¹³ This thesis is expressed by Parsons in an extremely complicated language. The presentation of simple ideas in a

⁹ Goldman (1948,) gives some examples for this ‘brilliant publicity for publicity’, e.g. proposals like renaming ‘German measles’ to ‘Liberty measles’ or ‘Sauerkraut’ to ‘Liberty cabbage’.

¹⁰ In this paper there will be no discussion of monetary theories (cf. Ehrlicher 1968) – the focus will be only on PR.

¹¹ Ganßmann (1986, 6) argues that the attribution is incorrect („[...] Gladstone war es nicht“).

¹² My very personal experience with this medium of exchange is like the one Theodore Dreiser describes in *Sister Carrie* (1900; Doubleday; Ehrlich 1998, 343). According to Dreiser money is: „Something everybody else has and I must get.“ American newspaper columnist Franklin Pierce Adams (1881-1960) resumed (Ehrlich 1998, 342): “Money isn’t everything, but lack of money isn’t anything.”

¹³ Already in 1816 Müller argued in *Versuch einer neuen Theorie des Geldes mit besonderer Berücksichtigung auf Großbritannien*, money is "ein allgemeines Verständigungsmittel wie die Sprache".

complicated language only spoken by experts is scientific impression management.

Camouflage is used to hinder the detection of the triviality of certain sociological ideas.

Money is based on commensuration. Commensuration is defined as “the transformation of different qualities into a common metric” (Espeland and Stevens 1998, 314). The comparison of physical properties like length, weight, plane or volume is relatively easy. Fixed units of measurement remaining constant over time are used. To put it simply: a meter is a meter in 1900 and in 2014. But a \$ US, a Deutsche (Reichs-) Mark or a British Pound in 1900 and in 2014 differ largely. The difference not only refers to changes of value of a currency (e.g. due to inflation or deflation) but also due to the exchange rates between different currencies. In the meantime the Deutsche Mark is no longer existing. The Euro took her place and many Germans don't regard the Euro to be an adequate substitute for the Mark.

It is extremely difficult to determine what the `objective` value of money is and what `objective` exchange rates between currencies are. The determination of the value of money is not just a purely technical process; it is a social process.¹⁴ The values and the social problems of a society (i.e. due to a lost war) are decisive determinants for the classification of preferences for commodities and services. They are assorted according to their costs and benefits (cost-benefit analysis).¹⁵ The cost-effectiveness considerations decide the ranking of goods, i.e. how much of a certain good or service one gets for a certain amount of money. Commensuration is the comparison of different qualities (e.g. apples, houses, cars, television set, computer programs etc.) on a single scale called money. Money is the common system of measurement (and money is a commodity, too). Disparate informations, which are extremely difficult to compare because they are located on different dimensions, are transformed into one single metric. Even future events and commodities not yet existing can be included into economic commensuration processes¹⁶ (e.g. currency futures used by hedge funds).¹⁷

Already Aristotle (1963, 259f) emphasized that exchange requires commensuration (he did

¹⁴ American essayist and philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) in *The Conduct of Life* (1860; quoted in: Ehrlich 1998, 349) accentuated: “The value of a dollar is social, as it is created by society.”

¹⁵ Mahatmi Gandhi brought the problem of cost-benefit-analysis to the point: “For a hungry man a piece of bread is the face of God.”

¹⁶ Commensuration also means the creation of commodities never existing and called *uniform categories of produce* (traded at the *Chicago Board of Trade* since the 19th century). Theodore M. Porter (1995, 48) writes: “[...] wheat could be bought and sold on the Chicago Exchange by traders who had never seen it and never would - who couldn't distinguish wheat from oats. They could even buy and sell futures, commodities that didn't yet exist.”

¹⁷ Friedrich Nietzsche diagnosed that the reduction of qualities to quantities is nonsense: *Nachlaß*, quoted in: Werner, Jürgen, *Fatale Fixierung*, in: *Wirtschaftswoche*, 1 August 2002, p. 67.

not use the term) and pointed out that commensuration is a social process. Exchange requires fairness based on comparisons. In order to compare the value of a house with the values of shoes and the values of farm products there must be a common basis which allows adequate measurement. The basis is money accepted by the members of a society. Aristotle (1963, 260) underscored that money is the consequence of a desire for consensus. There must be a levelling between the shoemaker and the farmer, exchange must be regarded as fair.¹⁸ So, already for Aristotle economic behaviour was based on the assumption that people behave in a rational way as far as economy is concerned. And rationality requires a scale all (or at least a very big majority of the) people agree on, a scale which takes care of the proportionality of exchange. Economic behavior according to this point of view is rational and reasonable. Commensuration creates the impression of rational behavior because abstract numbers are used to compare different commodities and services. Using abstract numbers creates the impression that emotions are unimportant. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (1963, 45) pointed out that the bourgeoisie, when taking power, destroyed all feudal, patriarchic and idyllic relations. The only connection between people were the ties of money; meaning pure, naked interest, the hard-hearted (unfeeling) paying by cash.¹⁹ Espeland und Stevens (1998, 323) underscore: „Commensuration is everywhere. [...] Our faith in price as a measure of value is so naturalized that we now routinely simulate markets for elusive and intangible qualities.“ Whole industries make their living on commensuration (e.g. rating agencies, banks, insurances etc.). Espeland und Stevens stress the ideological aspect of commensuration (1998, 324): „Assuming that values can be made commensurate and that commensuration is a prerequisite to rationality are powerful ideas.“ The assumption is that all values are relative; the value of a commodity or a service is only measurable in relation to the value of other things. Absolute values and intrinsic values are ignored.

But rational behavior in the economy is a myth (cf. 4.1.). Concerning money e.g. there exists *money illusion* (*Geldillusion*); i.e. the believing in a society that the value of money remains the same in the course of time even if this assumed constancy does not exist. The course of events causes a change in the value of money. *Money illusion* is dependent on trust into the

¹⁸ Greek coins were made from gold or silver and sometimes copper. They had a standardized weight and a stamp identifying the coin as legal tender.

¹⁹ Marx and Engels argue: „Die Bourgeoisie, wo sie zur Herrschaft gekommen, hat alle feudalen, patriarchalischen, idyllischen Verhältnisse zerstört. Sie hat [...] kein anderes Band zwischen Mensch und Mensch übriggelassen als das nackte Interesse, als die gefühllose >bare Zahlung<.“

monetary system, i.e. trust in the government and implies loyalty to the respective state or currency. The strength of money illusion, i.e. the point when people become disillusioned or even afraid of inflation is dependent on public opinion and can be influenced by PR. The stability of the value of a certain currency is dependent on processes of mass psychology. If a panic concerning money losing its value starts a kind of psychosis to get real values may develop. And a process of self-fulfilling prophecy can start which can end up in hyper-inflation.

2. Currency and national identity

Especially after World War II in (West-) Germany the *Deutsche Mark* (DM) became a central aspect of national identity. The German autostereotype (the image Germans have of themselves) stressed the value of the Mark. Her stability, i.e. no inflation, was the crucial point. To give an example: In the election campaign of 1976 the government of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt published advertisements emphasizing that the Deutsche Mark in comparison to Italian Lire, Spanish Pesetas French Franc, British Pound and American Dollar had become more valuable due to a policy of monetary stability.

But it is not peculiar to Germans to regard money as central aspect of their identity. In 1835 Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America* pointed out, that in no other country of the world the love of property is keener or more alert than in the United States. According to Tocqueville the dollar is the quintessence of the American way of life. In 1832 an *Anonymous* in *Philadelphia Public Lodger* stressed (Ehrlich 1998, 340): „The almighty dollar is the only object of worship.” More than 150 years later in 1996, after the breakdown of the Communist System, Anatoly Gribkov, former chief of staff of the Warsaw Pact countries, said (Ehrlich 1998, 340): “You Americans are disgusting. You think everything can be solved by money.”

Nancy Mitford (1968, 44) in 1955 emphasized in an essay *The English Aristocracy*: „The English seldom sit happily chatting for hours about pounds.” What a contrast to the American cousins, who have never had an aristocracy: „Americans relate all effort, all work, and all of life itself to the dollar. Their talk is of nothing but dollars.” Mitford’s ideas could easily be exchanged by the thesis of sociologist Charles Wright Mills (1956) pointing out in *The Power Elite* that of all the possible values of human society, one and one only is the truly sovereign, truly universal, truly sound, truly and completely acceptable goal of man in America: “The goal is money, and let there be no sour grapes about it from the losers.”

The idea the money is central for human life is not quite new. Karl Marx stressed in *Das Kapital* (Vol. 1, 1966, 152), that the soul of the citizen is crying for money like the deer bells for water („Wie der Hirsch schreit nach frischem Wasser, so schreit die Seele nach Geld, dem einzigen Reichtum.“). The instinct to hoard treasures according to Marx (1966, 147) has no natural boundaries. („Der Trieb der Schatzbildung ist von Natur maßlos.“) Already in the Bible Apostle Paulus stated (Timothy 1, 6, 10): „The love of money is the root of all evil.“ The idea that avarice is the root of all evils was also postulated by Sophokles in *Antigone*.²⁰

3. Images of nations and images of currencies

The term image is used to describe the aura of a person in public life, a party, a product, a nation, a people, and so forth. Boulding (1969, p. 423) defined image as "total cognitive, affective, and evaluative structure of the behavior unit, or its internal view of itself and the universe." Image is a vague concept with sometimes very concrete consequences; and this applies to `wrong´ images too. Concerning the role of stereotypes on perception the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder already argued in 1787: "Wir sehen nicht, sondern wir erschaffen uns Bilder" ("We don't see, we create imaginations"). This became the standard argument concerning the construction of images which in most cases don't reflect reality. Walter Lippmann (1922, p. 81) in *Public Opinion* wrote: „For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see.“ William I. Thomas and Dorothy S. Thomas' (1928, p. 572) brought it to the point: „If men define situations as real they are real in their consequences.“ If people have the expectation that money has a certain value that will remain stable over time the money is accepted.

From the wealth of events and information available, very often we select those that conform to the already existing image (selective perception; cf. 5.1.). Whilst images have an active component by contrast prejudices (stereotypes) are created by the environment and ascribed to a person, a nation, a currency etc.²¹ What is believed by the (majority of the) people about their own nation is called national identity, a summary of autostereotypes. Here ethnocentrism (Sumner 1906) becomes relevant: People tend to use their own values, customs, and norm as the yardstick for evaluating other cultures – and the same can happen

²⁰ Sophokles argues in *Antigone* (1999, p. 27): „Denn nichts, was bei den Menschen jemals Sitte ward, ist so verderblich wie das Geld; selbst Städte tilgt es aus; es jagt die Männer aus den Häusern fort, es wandelt auch die redliche Gesinnung um und lehrt sie häßlichen Geschäften nachzugehn; es unterweist die Menschen in Verschlagenheit, und auch Verbrechen nicht zu scheun bei ihrem Tun.“

²¹ Social prejudices are expressed convictions of a particular group (i.e. its members) about an alien group (or a foreign currency) without consideration of their correctness.

with regard to currencies. Many Germans believe that the *Deutsche Mark* has been one of the best currencies of the world and take the *Mark* as point of reference to evaluate other currencies; especially the disliked *Euro*. Very often the comparison is based on the glorification of the past. It is forgotten that the good old days were terrible sometimes. There is a tendency always to make the past look better than it was. Referring to a novel by Daphne du Maurier this can be called "Rebecca myth"²². In Germany the new currency (€) was negatively assessed and attacked by believers in the true money, the DM. Even today the Euro-pessimists are a relatively strong power within Germany organized in the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfK). A political party being a kind of meeting-place of skeptics of Euro and Europe – in the Europe election in 2014 the party got about 7% of the voices in Germany.

An image is something which can be created and cultivated by its possessor, that is, something that can be actively influenced by PR activities. But images of currencies like images of nations mostly have grown in long historical processes - and therefore can be understood as ascribed, i.e. as hardened prejudices. A currency has a good (e.g. Schweizer Franken) or a bad reputation (e.g. Peso of Argentina; Brazilian Cruzeiro; the Mark of the former GDR etc.) according to historical experiences. The image of a currency means not only the conception of the image at present, but also implies aspects of its past and, very important, future expectations. The image of a currency is the cognitive representation that a person or a nation holds of a given legal tender.²³ The image implies what is believed to be true about a currency. Furthermore the image of the people and institutions responsible for her stability are decisive aspects of the image. The problem of what is reality or fiction in our perceptions of a currency usually plays no large part in our daily lives. One behaves as if one's perception (idea concerning the value of a currency) were 'true' (cf. Fisher's experience during the German inflation before monetary panic broke out in Germany; 6.3.).

Boulding localized an image sphere, which he called *world of literary images*. In this world the test of reality, i.e. the elimination of errors, is not quite well developed. It is in this world

²² The concept *Rebecca Myth* was used by Alvin W. Gouldner (1964, 79ff) in his discussion of the problem of succession in bureaucratic organizations. Gouldner (1964, 79) argues: "Some years ago Daphne du Maurier wrote a novel about a young woman who married a widower, only to be plagued by the memory of his first wife. One may suspect that past plant manager is, to some extent, idealized by the workers, even if disliked while present." Gouldner in his case study of factory administration empirically proves this phenomenon, which also seems to apply to the evaluation of money.

²³ The *Deutsche Rentenmark*, which ended the Weimar hyperinflation, never has been a legal tender though it was accepted and has had the image of a 'strong' currency.

full of stereotypes in which international decision makers in politics and economy and so called 'raters' - i.e. persons and/or organizations like *Standard & Poor's* or *Moody's* who evaluate the economic potential of countries and currencies (whose sources are dominated by mass mediated information publicly available) - mainly move (Kunczik 2002; Larrain et alii 1997). One problem is that in the 1970s rating agencies began charging fees for debt rating. IMF (1999, 191f) saw the danger that rating shopping²⁴ will take place.

In fact, decision makers sometimes are aware that they are living in a world of images which are actively influenced by people who have certain political / financial interests.²⁵ To modify an argument by Boulding (1967, 9), the value of a currency in the minds of people using the money or even of financial decision makers are often "a melange of narrative history, memories of past events, stories and conversations, etc., plus an enormous amount of usually ill-digested and carelessly collected current information." Persons whose decisions determine the economic policies and economic actions do not respond to the objective facts of the situation, whatever that may mean. Their definitions of situations are of central importance. Images of currencies are decisive for the international flow of capital. The image of a currency or country as being in permanent crisis and economically unreliable, generated perhaps by continuous negative reporting, can influence economic decision-making processes and discourage investment, which in turn can exacerbate future crises. For example, the then Prime Minister of Slovakia, Vladimir Meciar, in 1993, complained in an interview that due to negative reporting investments had declined. Meciar said that foreign investors didn't know much about Slovakia, but from the newspapers they learned that communist dictator Meciar was ruling and that the country was not known for its stability. If he had only this distorted

²⁴ Cf. Kunczik 2000b. Rating shopping is defined (IMF 1999, 191) as "a process in which the issuer searches for the least expensive and/or least demanding rating. Such rating shopping can be particularly dangerous when the ratings are used as a substitute for adequate disclosure requirements." Very often sovereign issuers want to attain higher ratings than they >deserve< according to the rating criteria, which by themselves are not >objective<. An alternative to rating shopping is fraud. Pakistan being an example. In May 2000 the country had to pay back credits \$55 mill. to the IMF because between 1997 and 1997 it had swindled concerning its budget. In May 2000 the IMF made public that the Ukraine had reported wrong information concerning her reserves in foreign reserves in order to receive IMF-credits. In contrast to this Brazil argued that her financial crisis in 1999 was at least partly due to its honesty. The Minister of Finance, Pedro Melan, emphasized in February 1999 that Brazil had become the victim of stereotypes. That is a point where PR should and could start. The Prime Minister of Malaysia Mahatir in 1999 started a "road show" in the West. Reporters of *Newsweek* were allowed to accompany him whilst he was rating shopping. Austria too in 2000 started a PR- campaign in order to demonstrate that Austria is a fiscal and economical stable country.

²⁵ Charles Maurice Talleyrand-Périgord (1754-1838), diplomat, Foreign Minister and first Prime Minister of France, also said that the best way to hide the truth in politics is to say the truth – because nobody will believe. Ronald Reagan brought it to the point: "Facts are stupid things" (TIME, August 29, 1988, p. 52). Dorothy L. Sayers writes in *Clouds of Witnesses* (1926, 170): "My lord, facts are like cows. If you look them in the face hard enough, they generally run away"

information about his country, allowed Meciar, he would not invest there either (Kunczik 1997, 58). Slovakia is not an isolated case. Let me just mention Greece. Greece in Germany had and has the image (or is it reality?) to be corrupt and inefficient and unable to reduce her debt-burden.²⁶ The consequence of such an image: international capital (and the money of the rich Greece) was fleeing the country. One of the most aggressive attempts to destroy the image of a country and her currency took place against Serbia.²⁷

4. Theoretical explanations of the psychology of money relevant for PR-campaigns

4.1. PR for Money and Rational Behavior:

PR for money is based on the premise that monetary behavior is not only determined by ratio. If economic behavior would be only rational, PR would be superfluous, because all relevant information is known. Starting from the assumption of rational behaviour classical economic theory of markets with rational agents and perfect competition was not interested in public opinion. Herbert A. Simon and Andrew C. Stedry (1969, p. 272) emphasized in *Handbook of Social Psychology* that empirical data were not required because economics was considered to be a deductive theory. The *homo oeconomicus* was conceived as an independent rational acting human being competing with other individuals. *Homo oeconomicus* is a Benthamian utilitarian trying to achieve maximal success with a minimum of investments. He is an egoist, but due to the wisdom of the invisible hand (the mechanism of the market) the positive effects for society are maximized.²⁸ Taken together rational behavior is a myth.²⁹ My simple point of view is that human beings don't behave rationally but are selfish, i.e. egoistically has an eye on his own interests.

²⁶ During the Euro-crisis Greece lended €215 Billiards (USA: billions) from IMF and her European partners. Germany gave security for the enormous amount of €63 billiards. There is a strong tendency in Greece not to pay back the debt.

²⁷ The *Financial Times* in an one page length advertisement published a letter dated May 21, 2005 by Robert W. O'Leary, Chairman of *Valeant Pharmaceutical International*. The Headline was: WARNING TO COMPANIES CONSIDERING INVESTMENTS IN SERBIA: An Open Letter To Serbian Deputy Minister Miroljub Labus. The letter argued that it was the responsibility of Valeant to inform potential trade partners of Serbia "that the lawless disregard for commercial property. That Serbia has demonstrated in the past continues to this day." The argument was that there is no "respect for the rule of law and investor rights in Serbia." The message was: whoever is investing in Serbia is engaging with criminals.

²⁸ There should not be the construction of artificial enemies (economists ignoring the >reality< of human life). Already Adam Smith emphasized the importance of sympathy in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759). The mathematical approach to economy analyses the behavior of markets in rational mathematical terms.

²⁹ Justin Fox published in 2009 *The Myth of the Rational Market.*; cf. also the works of Robert J. Shiller (2000) and others (Joseph Stiglitz; Larry Summers etc.) who emphasize stock market crashes. These authors argued that rational-market theory is a great error of economic reasoning..

4.2. Albert Aftalion: *Psychological Theory of Exchange Rates*

In 1926 the French economist Aftalion published his *Psychological Theory of Exchange Rates* based on the hypothesis that the exchange rate of a country's currency is determined mainly by trust in the future of that country. A deficit of the balance of payments will not cause a devaluation of the currency as long as the belief in the future of this currency will attract foreign capital and balance the deficit. Aftalion argued that qualitative elements are decisive for the determination of currency exchange rates. The determination of the value of a foreign currency is mainly a psychological process whereby the public opinion is very influential. There is one main reason for the use of a certain currency as key currency: trust in the respective country. Monetary policy is also image policy. Money can be characterized as an illusion³⁰, nothing more than the trust people have in their respective currency. If there is no trust into a currency capital will flee. The collapse of the United States dollar in March 1995 and the rush to the Deutsche Mark and the Japanese Yen taking place in those days at least partly reflected a loss of trust in the world's major reserve currency.³¹ The 2012 crisis of the Euro has the same reason: international investors didn't have trust in the future of this currency. The trust was restored by Mario Draghi (supported by politicians like Hollande, Merkel and Monti) when when on 26 July 2012 he declared in London in a speech given to investors and politicians that the *European Central Bank* will do everything to save the *Euro* (his formulation "What ever it takes" has become famous in the meantime). In order to save the *Euro* he added that ECB will do enough to save the Euro. The consequence of this speech which received support from Hollande, Merkel and Monti was a silencing of the disturbances on the financial market. The „verbal intervention“ was a success. The rates of interest for loans coming from the so called Southern Countries came down. In 2014 Lithuania is supposed to introduce the Euro.

George Soros, the super-speculator, who in 1992 brought down the British Pound³² (Soros bet \$10 milliards [USA: billions] on the devaluation of the British Pound), argues like Aftalion and emphasizes that on international financial capital markets unknown quantities

³⁰ The German economist Günter Schmölders (1966, 216ff) coined the phrase *Goldillusion*. Goldillusion was seen as being responsible for gold being accepted as money (medium of payment).

³¹ A German banker, Ulrich Beckmann, explained the 1995 rush to the mark: „It's not the D mark's strength. It's the weakness of all other currencies. [...] People find the Mexican or the Canadian or the Spanish situation so confusing that, psychologically, they feel more comfortable in the D mark“ (TIME, March 20, 1995, 26).

³² Soros, who in 1992 attacked the Bank of England, speculated on a falling Sterling value, keeping his rate despite support buying by the Bank of England and with that earning a billion dollars in a very short time and at the end of the day pushing the United Kingdom out of the European Monetary System.

which are decisively influenced by future expectations are traded.³³ I.e., the future is not only unknown but is also decisively influenced by the future expectations dominating on financial markets. What is happening on today's markets is influencing the future which the markets try to include in their calculations. Instead by means of models of market equilibrium financial markets should be analyzed by means of a model of reflexivity. In any case future expectations are a central element of the images of currencies and strongly influence the international flow of capital. Soros in *Soros on Soros* (1995) stresses, that the prevailing idea is that markets are always right. But he took the opposite position and assumed that markets are always wrong. But this is not a quite new idea as publications e.g. of James Tobin (1980) or Kenneth Galbraith (1967) demonstrate.³⁴

Soros (2014) argues that the actual European monetary policy of saving for receiving financial support in crisis countries is responsible for intensifying the (then current) crisis situation. Policy of austerity intensifies the poorness of these countries. Soros recommends an equivalent of the Marshall Plan to be realized to overcome the crisis.

4.3. Georg Simmel: *Philosophy of Money*

German sociologist Georg Simmel in his *Philosophie des Geldes (Philosophy of Money)* argued that money is responsible for the calculating character of modern times.³⁵ Money

³³ Cf. Interview in: DER SPIEGEL, 51, 1998, 101. Soros testified to the U.S. House Of Representatives, April 13, 1994 (Ehrlich 1998, 198): „Financial markets cannot possibly discount the future correctly because they do not merely discount the future, they help to shape it.”

³⁴ Market laws governing financial markets often are classified as laws of nature. But economic activities are human activities with high components of irrationality. James Tobin commented in 1980 (p. 48) on the idea of the self-regulating forces of free markets: “The view that the market system possesses [...] strong self-adjusting mechanisms that assure the stability of its full employment equilibrium is supported neither by theory nor by capitalism's long history of economic fluctuations. [...] That (government policies; M.K.) are the only source of shocks to an intrinsically stable mechanism is a proposition that could be seriously advanced only by persons with extravagant faith in their own abstract models and with historical amnesia.” The free play of supply and demand is only taking place in the books of adherents of the theory of free market behavior but not in reality (cf. Galbraith 1967). The effective market hypothesis postulating that the market is always right is a myth. E.g. the theory that decisions of rational investors, which try to outsmart one another, is resulting in the best judgement of a stock's value, is no longer accepted; Fox 2009.

³⁵ The discussion of the sociology of money still is in a not such a good state. E.g. Lisa A. Keister argues in *Annual Review of Sociology (Financial Markets, Money and Banking)* (2002, 40): „Among the early sociologists, Simmel [...] was perhaps most concerned with money itself, and his work influenced both Marx and Weber [...]” The question still to be solved is, in which way Simmel (1858-1918) could have influenced Marx (1818-1883)? Simmel's *Philosophie des Geldes* was published in 1900.

according to Simmel (1922, 44) is an absolute symbol.³⁶ Simmel's thesis is (1922, 480ff) that economy based on money resulted in the dominance of intellectual functions compared to emotions. The fact that in business based on money persons are judged on the scale of money only results in the ignorance of individual differences. Different structures of personality are irrelevant. Individual differences are ignored: Only money remains as a common denominator to judge personalities. Money is the tool to measure the relativity of values. Money allows commensuration, i.e. the comparison of different qualities on a single 'rational' basis.

Simmel (1922, 165) emphasized that the feeling of personal security associated with the ownership of money is nothing else but the most concentrated form of trust in a state: the conviction that the medium of exchange will keep its value. Trust in the future of a social system is a necessity for trust in money. Simmel argued that the belief in stable money must be domineering in order to secure the stability of the economic system. No doubts should exist or develop concerning a potential loss of value of the money in the future. He refers to coins from Malta saying *non aes sed fides*.³⁷ Max Weber too (1956, 11) advocated the thesis, that money as object of value in exchange-processes is accepted because one believes that in the future unknown others will accept it as a medium of exchange. The thesis, that the value of money has its foundation in trust is not quite new an idea. Already Baron de Montesquieu (1965, 341) in 1748 in *L'esprit des Loix* discussed the nature of money and pointed out that missing trust in the money has the consequence that people hide their treasures in earth.

Without trust in the future of a certain currency economy will break down (Simmel 1922, 194f). Vladymir Ilyich Lenin argued, that in order to destroy the bourgeois society one has to devastate the currency. Walter Eucken (1959, 161), a neo-liberal economists then famous in Germany and one of the founding fathers of the *Soziale Marktwirtschaft*, responsible for the German *economic miracle* (*Wirtschaftswunder*) after world War II, stressed that Lenin was correct without doubt. No trust in money makes the survival of market economy impossible.

³⁶ Simmel (192, 44) writes: „Geld ist das einzige Kulturgebilde, das *reine Kraft* ist, das den substantiellen Träger völlig von sich abgetan hat, indem er absolut nur Symbol ist. Insofern ist es das bezeichnendste unter allen Phänomenen unserer Zeit, in der die *Dynamik* die Führung aller Theorie und Praxis gewonnen hat. Daß es *reine Beziehung* ist (und damit ebenso zeitbezeichnend), ohne irgend einen Inhalt der Beziehung einzuschließen, widerspricht dem nicht. Denn Kraft ist in der Realität nichts als Beziehung.“

³⁷ Simmel (1922, 164) argues concerning the acceptance of coins: „Es muß [...] der Glaube vorhanden sein, daß das Geld, das man jetzt einnimmt, auch zu dem gleichen Wert wieder auszugeben ist. Auch hier ist das Unentbehrliche und Entscheidende: *non aes sed fides* – das Vertrauen zu dem Wirtschaftskreise, daß er uns das fortgegebene Wertquantum für den dafür erhaltenen Interimswert, die Münze, ohne Schaden wieder ersetzen werde.“

Confidence is the decisive element of monetary policy and confidence depends on having visions of a bright future, that is, a positive image.

According to this hypothesis a loss of trust in a legal tender will cause a loss of trust in the issuer of the currency. To put paper money into circulation which will be trusted will be more and more difficult. Paper money can, if there is no adequate control, be printed by governments without limitation. It is an easy way to produce money and to cause inflation. The lack of confidence in a legal tender largely reflects responses to an ineffective or unacceptable monetary policy (mostly a lack of credible long-term strategies is the main cause of such a development). Citizens and investors become alienated from the legal tender. E.g. the negative ratings of certain European countries like Greece resulted in fears that Greece and other countries could have to leave the currency area, thus driving up borrowing costs. The consequence for Greece was that higher borrowing costs made it more difficult to bring debts under control, resulting in even a stronger mistrust.

4.4. Joseph A. Schumpeter: The essence of money

In the tradition of Aftalion and Simmel argues Joseph A. Schumpeter. In *Das Wesen des Geldes* (The essence of money) he accentuates (1970, 1) that monetary policy is image policy. The state of the monetary system is symptomatic for the situation of a people. („Der Zustand des Geldwesens eines Volkes ist ein Symptom aller seiner Zustände [...].“) Schumpeter points out that a multitude of factors can influence the value of a currency: a victorious war or a defeat, revolutions, successes or failures in foreign policy, factors relating to home affairs etc. Every policy (e.g. regarding interest rates), every political decision, every event (e.g. a technological catastrophe like Fukushima; a revolution etc.) has the potential to affect financial markets („Jede Art von Politik kann so zur Währungspolitik werden, jede Art von Ereignis zum währungspolitischen Ereignis.“). Schumpeter (1970, 2) resumes that the value (exchange rate) of a currency reflects the character of a people. Trust in the future of a currency is reflected in exchange rates. If a certain pecuniary system has acquired the reputation of being reliable this is more important for the stability of its currency than short-term fluctuations of economy.

5. Public Relations for Money

5.1. Selective Perception and ‘Negative’ Information

The fact that the flow of money can be extremely flexible demonstrates the importance of the image of a currency. In Germany is the saying “Geld ist wie ein scheues Reh” (“Money is

like a shy deer”), i.e. persons responsible for the flow of money are full of mistrust (extremely cautious). The slightest possible danger (negative information) can cause the flight of capital.

Concerning the way of perceiving the world the hypothesis dominated for a long time that from the wealth of events and information available, those conforming to already existing images are selected. But a study by Wolfgang Donsbach (1991) on the selective perception of newspaper readers clearly confirmed that the selection rule applies only when positive information is offered; when negative information is offered, both supporters and opponents of a certain position behave almost the same: They pay attention to it. The protective shield of selective perception works against information that might result in a positive change of opinion, but not against information that might produce a negative change of opinion.³⁸ This can be very important and of practical relevance (cf. Bismarck and the Russian rouble; 6.1.) regarding the image of a currency on the monetary market. Negative information (or information interpreted to be negative) can strongly influence the image of a currency and exchange rates if accepted in the world of finance and business.

5.2. Trust and PR for Currencies

PR for one’s own legal tender has the main objective to establish (or maintain an already existing) positive image. One has to appear trustworthy to other actors in the international financial system and to one’s own citizens. Mass media reporting of fiscal policy often governs what kind of image predominates in national and international monetary policy.³⁹

Trust is not an abstract concept. In the field of international finance and monetary policy trust is an important factor in mobilizing resources such as receiving political and/or material

³⁸ Churchill said (Howard 1986/87): "To build may have to be the slow and laboring task of years. To destroy can be the thoughtless act of a single day."

³⁹ Although actual developments will not be discussed here it should be emphasized that during the Euro crisis Greece in Germany had developed a bad image (this thesis is not based on results of a systematic content analysis but are my subjective impression based on the interpretation of leading German mass media). Greece without doubt had manipulated statistics in order to get access to the Euro zone (with the help of *Goldman Sachs* whose Vice President Europe between 2002 and 2005 has been Mario Draghi; today president of *The European Central Bank*). In 2012 according to my subjective impression Greeks were seen as corrupt, lazy, incompetent and greedy people who don’t want to work and don’t pay taxes but demand more money for nothing. They are supposed to threaten the Euro and European (esp. German) wealth. Greeks were accused of spending money they had not earned – the main cause of inflation. Greeks without having any reason but their own frustration (based on incompetence) were attacking Germans as being Nazis and Merkel the public enemy (to repeat: these arguments are not based on a systematic analysis but on my subjective interpretation)..

support from other nations and from one's own population. If the citizens and financial decision makers place their trust in a currency and her future because of her reliability, then trust becomes the equivalent of money.

Geldillusion (money illusion), as already mentioned, is the belief that money will remain stable and valid in the course of events. The belief of the citizens in the quality of their legal tender completely depends on the loyalty to the respective nation state (Schmölders 1966, p. 151) or political unit like in the case of the Euro (here the question is whom should be trusted: the bureaucrats in Brussels; the *European Central Bank* in Frankfurt?). The positive image of a currency reflects confidence in economic future. To put it simply: trust is money and money is trust.

International business and currency exchange rates are not determined only by pure economic facts (like currency reserves and gold reserves, deficit or surplus in balance of trade or balance of payment).⁴⁰ The image of a nation-state (or a political/economical system/unit having a separate legal tender like the Euro), the solvency rating of her business, the credibility of her politicians and their perceived reliability to tame inflation by tight fiscal and monetary policies are some factors of decisive importance. Indeed, a country's reputation for solvency is more important to the stability of her currency than short-term economic fluctuations.⁴¹

5.3. *Ivy Ledbetter Lee: Handling of Loans*

Lee in the 1920s was the first PR-counselor to focus on the importance of trust for currencies when he handled loans for Poland, Rumania, France, and other countries. His first promotional effort took place for the French government to sell a \$100 million loan. Hiebert (1966, 266) reports that Lee and his team turned out "pamphlets, documents, newspaper articles, and other publicity material aimed at showing why people should invest in French

⁴⁰ Globalization implies that nations compete in the economic sector. The export of goods very often is depending on the *country of origin effect*; with the *Made in Germany* having an excellent image worldwide. Globalization also implies competition for international investors - states try to attract international capital, with the flow of capital depending on the 'quality' and the image of the respective legal tender.

⁴¹ In 2012 surveys showed that in Germany (and in many other European countries too) the trust in the Euro was coming down. People didn't understand the alleged advances of the Euro; esp. in Germany the enormous amount of money created which according to politicians will not cause inflation – a very daring hypothesis – was and is in the focus of discussion. But in March 2014 the inflation of the Euro was only 0.5%; in April the rate was 0.7%. May be that there is even the danger of a deflation, but Draghi in May 2014 declared that this danger did not exist. The *European Central Bank* will increase the amount of money (Euro) and awaits in 2016 an inflation of about 1.6 percent; cf. *Handelsblatt* 12 May 2014.

loans. Two weeks later, when the issue was offered, it was a great success [...].” Lee also sold a second \$100 million loan for France

The importance of creating an atmosphere has been documented with the cases of Hungary and Argentina. Lee considered e.g. Hungary a difficult case because to many people "had a mental picture of the Hungarian people as a wild, Bohemian lot, instead of the agricultural, sane, and highly cultivated people that they really are" (Hiebert, 1966, 267). Lee’s advice to Hungary was to create the image that their country was stable and civilized. Argentina already in those days had problems attracting investors because of its image of financial instability.⁴² When the Argentine Republic wanted to issue securities in the U.S. Lee’s advice was to send a polo team to the United States to compete with American teams: “The galloping gentleman would tell the story more convincingly than any amount of statistics or mere statements as to the true conditions" (Hiebert 1966, 267).

Until the stock market crash in 1929 Lee worked on foreign loan publicity for Poland and Rumania. Hiebert (1966, 267) emphasizes that in both cases Lee could convince the respective governments to spend money in advance of the loan flotation in order to prepare the atmosphere. The cooperation with Rumania was extremely difficult due to unfavourable news coming out of this country (Hiebert 1966, 270), esp. facts about corruption in the Rumanian government and reports about growing anti-Semitism. Harcourt Parrish, a chief partner of Lee and a former reporter, wrote in a letter from Rumania (Hiebert 1966, 270): “I doubt whether I can obtain the truth. I can get official statements, but if I were to write the truth it wouldn’t be publicity for a loan of one dollar.” Parrish seemed to be really disillusioned a little bit and characterized the Rumanian as “a repulsive Gypsy”. Prince Carol was not evaluated quite positively: “the general opinion is that he’s pretty much of an ass in all respects.” The consequence of the Rumanian image was according to Parrish: that “the loan should not be made unless there is strict American supervision.”

Worth mentioning is the fact that Lee cooperated in the field of international finance with John Foster Dulles, then an lawyer, and Jean Jacques Monet who decisively influenced the creation of the European Common Market.

5.4. Eastman Kodak: Changing Exchange Rates

⁴² In 2002 Argentina declared bankruptcy. In 2013 Argentina forged statistics in order to create (without success) the impression of having an inflation of “only” 10.9 percent. But new measurements of inflation developed together with the IMF found out that inflation in 2014 will be about 55 %.; cf. *Handelsblatt* 12 May 2014, p. 15.

Even rates of exchange can become the target of PR campaigns waged by MNCs. A famous campaign to influence the value of the \$ US was waged by *Eastman Kodak* (Dilenschneider & Forrestal, 1989). The company knew that its competitive position in the world marketplace was hurt by the then strength of the United States dollar. Kodak's communication division suggested they run a PR program targeted at this issue. Fact-finding meetings with President Reagan, high-level administration officials, and key national economic and trade groups were arranged. According to Dilenschneider and Forrestal the company funded a \$150,000 study by the *American Enterprise Institute*, a conservative think tank (18 members of the Institute joined the Reagan Administration in 1981), to research the relationships between the strength of the dollar and the federal budget deficits. The Institute found a relationship between high interest rates required to finance the huge deficits and the dollar's strength. Dilenschneider and Forrestal wrote (1989, 679): "Kodak believed a public affairs program could play a major role in persuading the government to pass legislation to eliminate federal budget deficit and intervene in currency exchange markets to stabilize the overvalued dollar. Kodak developed a 12-month communications program to reach members of Congress, the administration, and others in a position to influence economic policy. The message was that the overvalued dollar and escalating budget deficits were so damaging to manufacturers that a decisive action was needed."

The program, which received a *Silver Anvil Award* in the 1986 competition of the *Public Relations Society of America*, included a mailing to Kodak's shareholders, a "Write to Congress" campaign, consultations with leading politicians including Treasury Secretary Baker, and visits by Kodak executives to members of Congress and Cabinet members. According to Dilenschneider and Forrester (1989) the campaign played a direct role in changing the government's position and furthermore set the stage for two historic events: the September 1985 Group of Five communiqué pledging dollar stabilization, and the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act, aimed at eliminating federal budget deficits by 1991.

5.5. *The Dollarization of Ecuador*

The introduction of a new currency like the \$-US in Ecuador can only be done successfully on the basis of adequate trust. In March 2000 the Ecuadorian government passed a law to phase out the *Sucre*, which had lost two-thirds of its value in 1999 (TIME, April 17, 2000, p. 15). In order to realize Ecuador's move toward >dollarizarzion< (in September 2000 the Dollar was to become the legal tender) the government launched a public-information

campaign to address fears that unfamiliarity with the U.S. currency could lead to a massive influx of counterfeit dollars. Especially the *Confederation of Indigenous Nations of Ecuador* (CONAIE) was against the dollar. CONAIE feared that the poor would have to pay the price for the dollarization. The campaign had the name „Conozca al Dólar“ („meet the Dollar“).

In September 1999 Ecuador had gone bankrupt and could not pay its foreign debts, i.e. the interests on foreign debts (Kunczik and Nielsen 2002). In January 2000 about 1.500 ‘Indigenos’ stormed the palace of the President in order to hinder the introduction of the Dollar which was supposed to cause poverty (1 \$ was fixed to be exchanged for 25.000 Sucre).⁴³ A survey published in April 2000 documented a large mistrust against the new currency: 92 percent of the population were insecure concerning the dollarization; about 50 percent did not know what dollarization meant. Only 4% of the population said, they could distinguish real Dollars from fake Dollars. The survey institute (*Cedatos*) emphasized the missing of an adequate information program. In March 2000 the government had announced to start a PR campaign in April. Due to financial reasons this could not be realized as planned.

The campaign *Conozca al Dólar* had a budget of \$400.000. About half of the money was used to produce and distribute pamphlets informing how the new money was looking like; esp. the new cent coins which showed important personalities from Ecuador. A special folder was developed: *Moneda Nacional* (1.500.000 copies were produced). Tables of exchange were distributed. Furthermore informations concerning the adequate treatment of the new money were distributed (not writing on the bank-notes; keeping them dry etc.). About 60.000 copies of *Conozca al Dólar* were published in Quichua, the original language of Ecuador still widely used in the countryside. Broadcasting and television were also used in the campaign.

In the end the campaign has not been a success. Many Ecuadorians were unable to converse Sucre into Dollar. The Central Bank, responsible for the campaign, identified the guilt within the population – considered to be incapable to do simple mathematical operations. The possibility that the campaign could have been not been designed professional was not taken

⁴³ After border problems with Peru had been solved in a peaceful way the government started a program to consolidate the budget. Energy no longer received subventions. The prices of gas and electricity rose strongly. Furthermore the price of oil on the international market came down strongly and *El Niño* negatively influenced the economic development of the country; cf. Kunczik and Nielsen 2005.

into consideration. The tables of exchange by the citizens ironically were called *tablas de salvación* (tables of rescue). One of the main failures of the campaign was the missing of large parts of the population (esp. in the countryside). Even the Central Bank admitted this mistake (Kunczik and Nielsen 2005). Many regions where the indigenous people were living could not be reached due to the missing of an adequate infrastructure. In many regions the Sucre remained the medium of exchange even when it was no longer the legal tender and had become invalid. The daily newspaper *El Comercio* reported in September 2000 that the Sucre didn't vanish. In most of the provinces the coins still were in circulation. A large part of the population did not accept the Dollar which was accepted without problems in urban areas and the economy.⁴⁴ The problems of the Dollarization of Ecuador demonstrated the importance of trust for the acceptance of money.

5.6. Examples for other PR Campaigns for Money

Various countries have attempted to gain trust for their legal tender in the international community by means of PR or advertising. The aim was changing public perceptions and perceptions of relevant target groups (e.g. bankers, politicians etc.) from skepticism to trust and acceptance. PR for currencies is strictly issue-oriented. The ultimate goal is to create the impression that the currency could be trusted in. To demonstrate this four examples accidentally are chosen:

In July 1994 *Banco do Brasil* advertised in the leading German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* that Brazil now had a new and stable currency: the *Real*. This monetary reform was called the most decisive turning point in the history of Brazil's economy, an unparalleled enterprise. Brazil now offered investors more opportunities than ever before. It urged investors to have confidence in the new currency of a country, which in former times was plagued by inflation. The advertisement closed with the slogan: "BANCO DO BRAZIL. Good for you. Good for Brazil." In 1993 the rate of inflation was about 2.700% and the rate of interest was more than 3.000%. In 1994 minister of finance, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, developed the „plano real“ which successfully stabilized the currency. The rate of inflation went down from about 2.000 percent in 1994 to less than 3 percent in 1998 (TIME, January 25, 1999, p. 31). The main reason was the introduction of the *Real* on 1 July 1994. In

⁴⁴ Reuters (1 March 2000) wrote: „Abandoning national currencies for the dollar, the symbol of a superpower widely regarded with a mixture of envy and resentment, would be a highly emotive matter in Latin America, despite its woeful record of monetary stability.“

Germany in 1999 a PR agency campaigned for Brazil (Petersen 1999). According to the head of *Media Consulta* information should strengthen the trust into Brazilian currency.⁴⁵

In 1994 Malaysia published in TIME (August 1994) an advertisement which explained the success of the country's capital market by the strength of the economy, political stability, and the good results shown by Malaysian companies. Anxiety about inflation had largely eased behind an effort to curb excess liquidity and currency speculation. The Finance Minister emphasized that the government is determined to broaden and deepen the capital market as a reliable source of long-term capital. Anxieties about inflation no longer were alive.

Estonia published in TIME (July 4, 1994) an advertisement: "ESTONIA: Rebirth of a Nation". The main point was that Estonia in the meantime had developed into a stable democracy with a strong currency: the *Kroon* exchange rate linked to the Deutsche Mark.

Another example is a campaign waged in 2001 by the Turkish leading organization of Industry and Commerce in order to strengthen the image of the Turkish Lira. The main aim was to abolish the idea that the Lira was plagued by inflation (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 31 August 2001, p. 14).

6. PR for Currencies: Examples from German History

6.1. Destroying the Trust into the Russian Rouble

In 1887 the relations between Germany and Russia worsened dramatically due to an embetterment of the French-Russian relations in spite of the *Rückversicherungs-Vertrag* of June 1887 between Russia and Germany (*Reinsurance Treaty*). In case of an approximation between Russia and France German military feared to become victim of an encircling policy. Reacting to this potential danger and in order to demonstrate strength Reichkanzler Otto von Bismarck, who was experienced in influencing public opinion and in waging PR-campaigns⁴⁶, wanted to close the German capital market for Russia. Russia, living in a

⁴⁵ The ambassador of Brazil, Roberto Abdenur, stressed that the main aim of the campaign was to change the image of Brazil from a beautiful, exotic country to that of a civilized nation (Petersen 1999).

⁴⁶ Bismarck (1815-1898) had been a very successful journalist (since 1843). He knew about the importance of public opinion which had to be influenced in order to achieve political aims. Already in 1851 he started a PR-campaign to support the Prussian position concerning the Zollvereinspolitik (German customs union). In 1862 the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* became his semi-official newspaper. In 1865 he controlled *Wolff's Telegraphen Bureau* – the German international news agency. Press policy was a focus of his political activities. In this field he had no financial problems but a large amount of money not controlled by the Parliament – the so called *Welfenfonds* (or *Reptilienfonds*) which consisted of the private money of the former King of Hannover, Georg V., and the Kurfürst of Hessen-Kassel who also had been 'deposediert' (dispossessed and dethroned). Bismarck instrumentalized the press in the so called *Emser Depesche* in order to provoke the German-French

permanent financial crisis, was requiring new capital. Russia should have no chance to obtain money by selling bonds. The chancellor started a campaign to undermine the trust in the Russian rouble; as far as I know the first attempt to destroy the solvency of a foreign currency by means of a PR campaign.⁴⁷ He forbade the Reichsbank to give credit on Russian bonds and started a campaign in the press stigmatizing the financial and economic situation in Russia as being extremely negative. The capital market indeed was influenced, but the press (e.g. the *Börsen-Courier*) could not be steered completely and the success of the campaign did not meet the expectations. As a consequence Bismarck intensified the campaign (Müller-Link 1977, 325ff).

The banker Carl Fürstenberg⁴⁸ (1931, 246) reports that at the beginning of 1888 due to the campaign Russia got a negative image („daß sich Anfang des Jahres 1888 in Berlin Rußland gegenüber eine recht unfreundliche Stimmung durchzusetzen begann.“). Fürstenberg was asked by Bismarck to publish two essays against Russian Bonds which were published in the semi-official *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*. The articles had, at least according to Fürstenberg's estimation, a certain effect (no quantification is given). And the general press followed the line of the semi-official paper. The consequence was that a Russian loan could only be placed in Paris with heavy losses. Bismarck already practiced had what Lee later emphasized: Those who handle a loan must create an atmosphere. Bismarck took care that the rouble did not get the adequate atmosphere. He destroyed the trust in the emitting state.

6.2. PR for Financing the War

In Germany the Deutsche Reichsmark suffered a loss of confidence shortly before the starting of World War I. Till the beginning of the War the Reichsmark could be exchanged into gold coinage. Money was backed by gold, which could not be supplied without boundaries. The government could not print money at will. The amount of paper money circulation was limited by the amount of gold available. The war increased the desire for gold coins; anxieties about paper money grew immediately as people feared the war to break out. Gold coins were hoarded under the proverbial mattress. Tangible gold and silver coins regarded as secure

War of 1870. Bismarck already applied what Bernays (1923) emphasized in *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, i.e. that PR counsels not only know what news-values are, but that they know how to organize events in such a way that they have news value and are reported in the media. Shortly after the foundation of the Deutsche Reich, which took place in Januar 1871 in Versailles, Bismarck initiated the establishment of a press office (Preßbüro) whose first chief was Professor Ludwig Karl Aegidi; on Bismarck and the press: Kunczik 1997a, 89ff.

⁴⁷ PR by government had in Germany esp. in Prussia a very long tradition going back to the 17th century; cf. Kunczik 1997a.

⁴⁸ The source is Hans Fürstenberg (1931) who reports the life of his father.

vanished and were no longer part of the money circulation. The situation grew worse after 4 August 1914, when the *Reichsbank* declared that for the duration of the war paper money would not be exchanged for gold. Furthermore a campaign was started to regain the gold coins. Even pupils were instrumentalized to convince their families that gold coins should be exchanged for paper money.⁴⁹

In Germany a PR-campaign was waged under the responsibility of the *Deutsche Reichsbank*. Firstly there was a campaign using the slogan already used in 1813 in the *war of liberation*: “*Gold gab ich für Eisen*” (*I gave gold and received iron*). German liberty from France occupation (Napoleon) was regarded to be a patriotic duty, a big and sacred task (>große heilige Sache<; Müsebeck 1913, 219f). Citizens were requested by a newspaper advertisement, financed by a citizen of Berlin, to exchange their golden wedding-rings, engagement rings and golden jewelry against rings made out of iron.⁵⁰ This campaign was repeated in 1914. Karl Helfferich, Imperial Secretary of Finance (Reichsschatzsekretär), had the task to rearrange the financial system of the state in order to meet war expenditures. David Welch writes in his *Analysis of German propaganda* (2000, 78): “In the first two years of the war subscription to internal loans represented a mere formality as the people were only too willing to demonstrate their readiness to support the war. However this changed in 1916 when subscriptions to new loans began to lag behind the floating debt.”

The Reichsbank had started to sell War Bonds in 1914 (the first war bond [4.5 milliards] were sold in September 1914; Gebhard 1994, 175ff; Koszyk 1968, 136ff; Kunczik 1997a, 161ff; Welch 2000). Helfferich (1919, 218) in February 1915 said in a speech held before the Reichstag that there is not only a compulsory military service but also a liability for financial service.⁵¹ This idea had to be hammered in the heads of hundred of thousands of citizens („hunderttausendfältig den Köpfen eingehämmert werden“). In a PR-campaign important opinion leaders were mobilized, newspapers were instrumentalized (in 1915 3.783 newspapers received informations about the importance of financial support as a patriotic duty). Advertisements were published (“Helft uns siegen! Zeichnet Kriegsanleihen!”⁵²).

⁴⁹ A short description of this campaign and its socio-cultural background can be found in: Taylor 2013, 12, 14. Further research could not be identified.

⁵⁰ As a result of the campaign more than 150.000 rings were exchanged in 1813; Wilke 1996, 364.

⁵¹ The Reichsschatzsekretär said (1919, 218): „Es gilt dem ganzen Volk klarzumachen, daß dieser Krieg mehr als irgendein anderer zuvor nicht nur mit Blut und Eisen, sondern auch mit Brot und Geld geführt wird. Für diesen Krieg gibt es nicht nur eine allgemeine Wehrpflicht, sondern auch eine allgemeine Sparpflicht und eine allgemeine Zahlpflicht.“

⁵² Slogans were used like. „Deutsche Worte - Deutsche Taten“; „Deutsches Gut für Deutsches Blut“; the loans had names like „Volksanleihe“ or „Heldenanleihe“ (Koszyk 1968, 137f).

Theatres, cinemas and posters were used. Leaflets were printed by the millions. The success of the campaign was continuously evaluated in different target groups. E.g. when it was found that the success in small towns and in the rural sector did not meet expectations the campaign was intensified in this area. In the rural areas e.g. important farmers were persuaded to cooperate as opinion leaders. The campaign without doubt was a success; although a precise quantification is not possible.

6.2. A National Trauma: Experiencing a Hyperinflation

After having lost World War I⁵³ Germany experienced another trauma shaping German national identity till today: a hyperinflation took place. This hyperinflation became the point of reference for later PR campaigns for the Mark. In the treaty of Versailles Germany was defined to be responsible for the starting of the Great War and obliged to take over payments of reparation of 13 milliards Mark (to Belgium and France). An extremely hard liability for indemnity: The last reparations were paid by Germany October 3 2010⁵⁴: 200 millions of Euro.

The consequence of making reparations was a hyperinflation which destroyed the wealth of the people (esp. of those who had bought war bonds) accumulated over generations. The German population got the feeling to have fallen among thieves (Hitler: Ein Raubstaat!). The inflation was interpreted as a kind of national humiliation. The devaluation of money was largely responsible for Germany not developing a stable democratic system and instead the masses following the Nazi ideology.⁵⁵ Hitler knew about the consequences of inflation. In 5 September 1923 in *Deutschlands Leidensweg von Wirth bis Hilferding* (1933, 83) Hitler said (translation: Taylor 2013, p. VII): “Believe me our misery will increase. The scoundrel will get by. But the decent, solid businessman who doesn’t speculate will be utterly crushed.; first the little fellow on the bottom, but in the end the big follow on top too. But the scoundrel and the swindler will remain, top and bottom. The reason: because the state itself has become the

⁵³ Germany had about 2 millions of dead. Large parts of her territory have gone lost to Poland (parts of Silesia and Pommerania, Polish Corridor), Lithuania (Memel-District), Belgium (Eupen and Malmedy), Denmark (parts of Sleswich-Holstein), France (Alsace - Lorraine) and Czechoslovakia (Hultschiner Ländchen; located between Oppa and Oder). Danzig became a Freie Stadt not belonging to Germany.

⁵⁴ From my point of view it is a little bit absurd that 92 years after the end of the Great War Germany had to pay due to a treaty which without doubt has been a political disaster hindering the development of democratic structures within Germany and causing World War II.

⁵⁵ The development of democratic structures was not supported by the Allies although Germany had undergone a revolution. The Republik was declared. The Social Democrat Party had established Friedrich Ebert as head of the new democratic state and the Kaiser, the aristocracy and the Junkers had lost their political power. But the Rhineland was occupied by France.

biggest swindler and crook. A robbers' state!"⁵⁶ John Maynard Keynes too adhered to the thesis that inflation is robbery by the state. Keynes (1988, p. 285) wrote in his attack on the Versailles treaty *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*⁵⁷: "By a continuing process of inflation, governments can confiscate, secretly and unobserved, an important part of the wealth of their citizens." Furthermore Keynes argued that inflation impoverishes many and enriches some: "The sight of this arbitrary rearrangement of riches strikes not only at security, but at confidence in the equity of the existing distribution of wealth." In *How to Pay for the War* (1940, p.61) Keynes stressed: "A government, which has control of the banking and currency system, can always find the cash to pay for its purchases of home-produced goods."

The Germans accustomed to stable money (gold standard)⁵⁸ experienced a government printing money without limits (in November 1923 1\$ U.S. was 4.2 billions German 'papermark'; on 5 November 1923 the Reichsbank printed a Reichsbanknote worth 100 Milliarden Mark). Whilst currencies based on gold could not be 'inflated' at will⁵⁹ paper money can be just printed by the state. The temptation is high for politicians to use the printing press in order to supply money. The Germans experienced what already in 1776 Adam Smith had underscored in *Wealth of Nations* (Book V, Chapter II, Part II): "There is no art which one government sooner learns of another than that of draining money from the pockets of the people."

Inflation was seen as a disease – a point of view still dominant in German public discussion.. Lack of monetary control destroyed business and social life. Nearly everybody faced financial ruin. Legal tender could no longer be used for the accumulation and storage of wealth and stored wealth was destroyed by devaluation. In this hyperinflation the prices rose so rapidly, that one did not know today how much money was necessary to get certain goods and/or services tomorrow. Money received as salary at the evening of one day had

⁵⁶ „Glauben Sie, die Not wird immer größer und größer werden. Es ist so charakteristisch daß nicht die Spekulation, sondern gerade die gesamten ehrlichen Existenzen vernichtet werden.. Der Gauner mogelt sich durch. Er steigt empor. Aber restlos zermalmt wird der anständige, solide, nicht spekulierende Geschäftsmann, der kleine unten zuerst, aber schließlich auch der ganz große oben. Bleiben wird jedoch bloß der Gauner und der Schwindler unten und oben. Die Ursache liegt darin, daß der Staat selbst zum größten Schwindler und Dieb geworden ist. [...] Ein Raubstaat!“

⁵⁷ The essay appeared 1919 in Britain; 1920 in the US and 1920 in Germany (*Die wirtschaftlichen Folgen des Friedensvertrages*, München 1920; Duncker & Humblot).

⁵⁸ The Reichsmark of the Kaiserreich was as good as gold, i.e. the paper money was backed by gold and could be converted into gold. After World War I the gold standard had been abandoned.

⁵⁹ But in the 16th century due to the enormous influx of gold from America an inflation took place.

dramatically lost value over night. Money even could not fulfill its simplest function as an unit of account.

Economist Irving Fisher (1948, 8) reports that in 1922 he went to Germany in order to explore, whether the average German had already realized that due to inflation the mark was suffering extreme losses and no longer was stable. The mark at that time already had lost 98% of the purchasing power compared to the mark before the war. According to Fisher 19 out of 20 Germans had no idea of the difficulties of their pecuniary system. A merchant buying commodities for 1 mark and selling for 3 mark believed to have made profit but in reality had losses. According to Fisher the Germans had not the slightest idea concerning the inflation taking place; they believed in the mark's quality; an example of *Geldillusion*.⁶⁰ Only in 1923 panic started. Doubts concerning the value of money changed to sheer general desperation.⁶¹ Economy broke down and wealth vanished rapidly. The illusion to have good money was reintroduced by creating the Rentenmark (based not on gold but on real estates as securities). The introduction of the Rentenmark also needed some psychological support.⁶² Hyperinflation came to an end by the introduction of the Rentenmark in October 1923 (Braun 2013).

Since those days when the price of one loaf of bread was millions of Mark Germans are afraid of inflation. The experience of inflation was decisive for stability of money becoming a central element of German national identity. French philosopher André Glucksmann characterizes the German fixation on money stability as a kind of religion (*Währungsreligion*⁶³). Without doubt there are differences between European culture and their relationship to inflation (I will not discuss who is correct from an economic point of view). In April 2014 in an advertisement (one page) by Edouard Carmignac, head one of the leading European investment boutiques, was published in the *Handelsblatt* the economically most influential German daily. In a letter to the President of the European central Bank, Mario Draghi, he was asking for a 'little bit of inflation' – a horror for most Germans. His

⁶⁰ The first serious biographer of Hitler, Konrad Heiden (1944, 109) in *Der Fuehrer. Hitler's Rise to Power*, emphasized that inflation was misinterpreted by the masses at the outset, "as nothing more than a scandalous rise in prices; only later, under the the name inflation, the process was correctly comprehended as the downfall of money."

⁶¹ The German play of words "aus Zweifeln wurde allgemeine Verzweiflung" seems not to be translateable.

⁶² I could not find research on this topic.

⁶³ Quoted in: Issing, Otmar, Wider die Papiergaunereien, in: *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6. April 1996, 17. Concerning the German Inflationangst no phantom should be constructed. The *Deutsche Bundesbank* never tried to achieve a rate of inflation near zero. Otmar Issing from the *Bundesbank* developed the idea of *Geldwertstabilität* meaning that an rate of inflation below 2 percent will endanger the currency due to a potential deflation (cf. *Süddeutsche Zeitung* 6 June 2014, p. 17. .

argument, referring to Italy and Spain was, that inflation was practically non-existent causing that economic growth was less than 1%. Carmignac demanded to weaken the Euro in order to make European economy competitive. Inflation, Carmignac stressed, should be about 2%.

6.3. Nazi-PR for the Reichsmark

The Nationalsozialisten were aware of the fact that for the Germans good government implied 'good' monetary policy, i.e. no inflation should exist. In the *Third Reich* price-controls hindered fluctuation of prices. Furthermore a PR-campaign of the administration had the aim to prevent the development of doubts concerning the value of the Reichsmark - although the volume of money grew enormously (Schmölders 1970, 178). The printing of the large amounts of money had to be hidden from the public. In 1940 Prof. Dr. Ernst Wagemann published a book „*Wo kommt das viele Geld her? Geldschöpfung und Finanzlenkung in Krieg und Frieden* (Where does the many money come from. Creation of money and monetary policy in times of war and peace). Wagemann (i.e. the Nazis) had realized that the German population was terribly afraid of inflation. The building up of fear of inflation was to be neutralized: the *Geldillusion* had to stay alive. For that reason people should learn where the large amount of money used for armament had come from. The 90 milliards Mark spend for arms were said to have been created due to technological innovations. The new money was not interfering with private consumption – this was the official political opinion (very similar to today's argument that the huge amounts of money created by the *European Central Bank* will not influence the rate of inflation). The secretary for economy and president of the *Deutsche Reichsbank*, Walther Funk, argued in the book, the money was the result of German working efficiency („Das viele Geld kommt von der vielen Arbeit!“). For the first time in Germany a government made a PR campaign for its legal tender. The citizens should 'understand' (i.e. accept) monetary policy (i.e., they were be manipulated to believe the lies of the politicians and bankers). The financing of wars is the art of creating the illusion that money is not devaluated.⁶⁴

Although quantitative data are not available one can conclude that the campaign was quite a success. The 'Nazi-money' was accepted even after the war. Only in spring 1948, shortly before the introduction of the new *Deutsche Mark* in the Federal Republic of Germany the 'Nazi-money' no longer was accepted and the *Zigarettenwährung* (cigarettes became the

⁶⁴ The monetary policy of the Nazis is not to be discussed here, but it has to be mentioned that the 'explosion' of the amount of money was controlled by so called >Mefowechseln< and other papers for the money market which successfully kept away the money from the commodity market; eg. Gaettens 1955

currency) took its place. Cigarettes were the stable medium of exchange without any inflation used on the black markets⁶⁵ (Schmölders 1947). Cigarettes for a short time in Germany became the new money (medium of exchange) and were the basic unit for commensuration (*Zigarettenwährung*). The *Zigarettenwährung* was esp. used by blacketeers on the black market in illicit trade.

6.4. Public Relations for Soziale Marktwirtschaft and Deutsche Mark - DIE WAAGE

After World War II a new currency had to be introduced in the Federal Republic of Germany, the Western part of Germany. (The Soviet occupied Eastern part, the Deutsche Demokratische Republik DDR/GDR was a communist state with a planned economy).⁶⁶ Konrad Adenauer, first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, had accepted survey researchers as advisors. Already in 1948 first polls concerning the effects of the introduction of the new *Deutsche Mark (DM)* have been carried out. The introduction of the DM – which became the symbol of the then starting German economic miracle - was a big success (Schmidtchen 1965, p. 237ff.). The DM became a central aspect of (West-) German identity.

Surveys at the beginning of the fifties also had revealed that Germans had a negative attitude towards entrepreneurs (69 percent of the employees believed entrepreneurs to be anti-social) and most individuals did not know the meaning of *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* [*social market economy*] (many believed that *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* meant that the *Social Democratic Party* would govern – a party which in those days adhered to the idea of a planned economy). Furthermore it was found that people seemed to refuse democracy. Social scientists concluded that government and entrepreneurs needed the support of public relations. A campaign was recommended to present the advantages of *social market economy* to the public and in this campaign the new currency should be promoted too. The trust in the stability of the Mark should be implanted in Germany. Leading German economists like Eucken (1964) or Müller-Armack (1947) held the thesis that economic success implied personal freedom, i.e. also the freedom do individual economic initiatives, a responsible market economy and last but not least a stable money worth to work for.

⁶⁵ On a black market merchandise is offered for sale contrary to legal restrictions.

⁶⁶ The Deutsche Mark was not introduced in the Soviet occupied part of Germany, the later GDR (German Democratic Republic). In the GDR a new legal tender was introduced too, but this worthless communist money of a planned economy never had any relevance for international monetary policy. The GDR due to economic inefficiency went bankrupt.

As a consequence *DIE WAAGE/Gemeinschaft zur Förderung des sozialen Ausgleichs* (“The Balance/Society for the improvement of social adjustment”) was founded in 1952 (Kunczik and Schüfer 1993). DIE WAAGE has never had financial problems – and her financial sources could and will never be identified. The connections to the government are still not quite clear – and will due to missing sources never be uncovered. DIE WAAGE had the task to influence public opinion in favour of entrepreneurship and to support the idea of *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* whose emphasis was on social responsibility in both employers and the working class. The meaning of *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* was market economy with social responsibility.⁶⁷ And the ‘starke Deutsche Mark’ (‘strong German mark’ - no inflation due to responsible economic behaviour⁶⁸) was seen to have central importance for this economic and social model. Extreme inequality was not allowed (all people should have a minimum income, social insurance, be free of want etc.), but creditable performance should pay off.

The theory of *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* implied the idea of money stability as one of its central aspects. Stability was regarded as an aspect of ethics. In a volume presented on the occasion of the 50th birthday of the Deutsche Mark (*Deutsche Bundesbank: Fünfzig Jahre Deutsche Mark*) Manfred M.J. Neumann (1998, 309) argued that ethical economic behavior implies the stability of currency. Citizens have the right to live in a society guaranteeing a stable medium of exchange. This idea was seen as a prerequisite of individual liberty offering the chance to realize one’s own life in one’s own responsibility. Included in the model of economy is the right to own private property and economic competition. A stable legal tender is characterized as ‘coined liberty’ (*geprägte Freiheit*).

In 1961 Rudolf Meimberg (1912-2011), a then leading (West-) German expert on monetary policy, in *Der Geldwert im Widerstreit der Interessen* (1961, 56) underscored the importance of public opinion for monetary stability. Political and economic behavior endangering money stability had to be dragged to the light of day and stigmatized publicly. i.e. a monetary policy endangering monetary stability had to be in the public eye. Public pressure could and should

⁶⁷The idea of *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* was put into practice under Ludwig Erhard since 1949. The economist Alfred Müller-Armack (1947) had developed this concept in *Wirtschaftslenkung und Marktwirtschaft*. It implied a free market economy with market-prices being of central importance. The state had the extremely important obligation to take care of free competition. The German economist Walter Eucken had characterized competition as a weak flame (“schwaches Flämmchen”; cf. Eucken 1964, 152ff). Furthermore the state had the task to redistribute income and wealth by progressive taxation.

⁶⁸ An extreme example for incompetent and irresponsible economic behavior is President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe (TIME, Vol. 170, No. 6, August 13, 2007, p. 10). In 2007 (the rate of annual inflation was already more than 4.500%) he ordered to print money in order to improve infrastructure: „Where money for projects has not been found, we will print it.“ Other examples of incompetence in monetary policy is esp. Argentina.

be used to fight inflationary tendencies.⁶⁹ Meimberg did not ask for PR campaigns directly but his arguments imply without doubt the use of PR (>Öffentlichkeitsarbeit<)

In 1952, DIE WAAGE started one of the biggest public relations campaign ever waged in Germany. The campaign lasted for 14 years. Hundreds of advertisements were published in dailies and weeklies. Movies were produced and shown in all (West-) German cinemas. The campaign was continually evaluated by polls (Binder 1983, 150). Although statistical numbers cannot prove whether DIE WAAGE has achieved her aim it is a fact that in 1950, 56 percent of the German population did not know what *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* meant. In 1961 64 percent of the population said to be in favour of *Soziale Marktwirtschaft*.

To give some examples of the campaign: In 1953 an advertisement was published to celebrate the 5th birthday of the DM. It was underscored that the DM was one of the healthiest currencies world-wide; only the Swiss Franken and the American Dollar were comparable in quality. The ad closed with the message that *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* was the cause of the mark's stability. Germany should take care of this economic system which was responsible for economic success and internal stability of German society. In many advertisements the problem of inflation and whether the Mark would remain its value was discussed („Behält unsere D-Mark ihren Wert?“). An essential point was that inflation in the FRG was regarded to be impossible because the government did not have the power to print money without limitations (compare this to the present [starting in 2012] creation of gigantic amounts of Euro –just a boundless printing of money). Inflation was characterized as indicating a sick economy. Prices inflated due to unethical fiscal policy exploiting the people's wealth. It was underscored that the world had trust in the DM and foreigners were investing in German currency. They believed in the success of *Social Market Economy*. („Ausländer legen heute ihr Geld in D-Mark an. Also in dieser Hinsicht können wir ruhig schlafen, denn die Welt hat Vertrauen zu uns und unserer Sozialen Marktwirtschaft.“) In 1956 advertisements propagandized the thesis that monetary stability is the key to economic success. There must be a balance between commodities and money.⁷⁰ Stability of money was a synonymous for financial security including social security.

⁶⁹ Meimberg (1961, 56) writes:“Wenn sich aber erreichen ließe, daß jede den Geldwert gefährdende Tat, die als solche erkennbar ist und für die sich Verantwortung zuordnen läßt, im öffentlichen Bewußtsein als verfehlt gilt, würde das - so darf behauptet werden - von beträchtlicher praktischer Bedeutung sein.“

⁷⁰ Increasing price levels are seen as arising from mounting effective demand without corresponding increases in the supply of commodities.

In 1957 DIE WAAGE showed a cartoon-film in all (West-) German cinemas. The topic was *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* and the stability of the DM. Some causes of inflation (social irresponsibility and greed) were explained in an extremely witty way. The film finished depicting a German mark-coin shining glorious like the sun. The slogan was: take care of the German Mark ("Bewahrt uns unsere Deutsche Mark"). In 1962 too advertisements maintained that the DM was good money („Ihr Geld - unser Geld - ist gut!“). Trust into the stability of the Mark in those days became a practical experience for Germans; esp. when they went to foreign countries for holidays. There citizens of Germany experienced in holiday that currencies like the Italian Lira, the Spanish Peseta or the French Franc continuously had lost value in comparison to the Mark.

6.5 Government PR for the Mark

Between 1955 and 1959 the German government published nearly two dozen advertisements pointing out the DM was stable and no inflation was taking place endangering the wealth of the people.⁷¹ Chancellor Ludwig Erhard, the ‘father of the economic miracle’, published in the electoral contest of 1965 advertisements propagandizing that the DM was one of the strongest currencies of the world; accepted everywhere. The reason was simple: no inflation in contrast to the rest of the world (“Sie ist überall ihrer Härte wegen begehrt. Daran kann keiner deuteln. Die Preise steigen in fast allen Ländern der Welt. Bei uns halten Sie sich am besten.“⁷²). The administration of Kurt Georg Kiesinger, chancellor of the so called Große Koalition (great coalition between socialist and conservative parties; May 23, 1967), too published advertisements emphasizing the stability of the mark. Minister of Finance, Franz Josef Strauß, advertised that in an economy growing adequately (according to the laws of economics) there is no inflation and no unemployment. Everyone had the opportunity to improve the standard of living. („In der wachsenden Wirtschaft sind die Arbeitsplätze sicher, in einer vernünftig wachsenden Wirtschaft bleiben die Preise stabil. Bei stabilen Preisen und steigenden Einkünften können alle ihren Lebensstandard verbessern.“) Another government-advertisement pointed out: It is a fact - there is no inflation. The DM is hard and stable. Prices

⁷¹ According to Crofts (1969) Prime Minister Harold Wilson in 1975/76 also had waged a campaign by means of advertisements against inflation. Already under Attlee a governmental PR action was made to inform about economic processes. The Central Central Office of Information fought “The Battle for Output“. The slogan was "we work or we want". In September 1948 a ‘Bulletin for Industry’ was published. The aim was to increase productivity. Crofts comments "Capitalist industry was given lessons in personnel management and internal public relations, and by a Socialist government." But according to Crofts (1969, 18) "[...] most people paid little conscious attention to it."

⁷² This and other ads can be found in: Presse- und Informationsamt [...]: Das Urteil [...].

don't rise („Wer von Inflationsgefahr und übermäßiger Verschuldung redet, geht an den Tatsachen vorbei: Die DM ist hart und fest. Die Verbraucherpreise sind stabil.“). Other advertisements placed in all major media emphasized again and again that the DM has a high quality: No inflation; i.e. the prices for articles for daily use remained stable („Die Preise sind stabil. Die D-Mark blieb eine der härtesten Währungen der Welt.“). In the electoral contest of 1969 the argument of the conservative party CDU/CSU (Christlich Demokratische Union/Christlich Soziale Union) was: “Our Prices Must Stay Stable” („Unsere Preise müssen stabil bleiben“).⁷³ The pamphlet *Informationen der CDU* argued, that the German people knew that a stable DM was decisive for the well being of German society, her political and economical stability (“Unser Volk weiß, daß der Kurs richtig ist: Stabile Politik, stabile Wirtschaft, stabile D-Mark.“)

Chancellor Schmidt (Sozialdemokratische Partei), as already mentioned, in the 1976 election contest posted advertisements to disseminate the message that during his reign the DM had not only remained stable value but in comparison to other currencies even had raised its value. And this development had to be continued. („Unsere D-Mark ist heute eine der härtesten Währungen der Welt. Und das muß so bleiben. [...] Wer in diesem Jahr außerhalb unserer Grenzen Urlaub macht, wird feststellen, daß er mehr Lire, Peseten, Francs, Pfunde oder Dollars für seine D-Mark bekommt. In den vergangenen Jahren ist die DM erfreulicherweise immer wertvoller geworden.“) The Federal Republic again was characterized as being the country with one of the strongest currencies of the world. In the weekly DER SPIEGEL the government published an advertisement saying that the DM had been steered safely through world-wide inflation, world-wide currency crisis and a global economic set-back („Diese Regierung hat die Mark sicher durch Welt-Inflation, Welt-Währungs-Krise und Welt-Rezession gesteuert.“) Another advertisement propagandized that the Germans never before could buy so much foreign money for the DM. The reason: The resolute fight of the government against inflation. The argument “No inflation” became a kind of political and economical mantra repeated again and again like on a prayer wheel.

During the 1980 election contest (Strauß vs. Schmidt) supporters of former Minister of Finance Strauß (CSU) without success tried to exploit the fear (Angst) of inflation and disseminated the information (a whacking big lie) that chancellor Schmidt was preparing a reform of the fiscal system with the DM being exchanged at a rate of 10:1 for a new legal

⁷³ Vgl. DER SPIEGEL Nr. 33, 1969, 25.

tender. The aim was to create horror and panic in order to win votes.⁷⁴ Strauß was appealing to the worst fears of Germans: no stable money. But Strauß due to other political scandals (e.g. corruption, aggression against the freedom of the press [SPIEGEL-Affäre]) had no success; Schmidt won the election.

6.6. Reunification: PR for "Ossies":⁷⁵

A kind of slapstick-PR was a campaign planned in Germany for 1990 (after the reunification). The campaign *Der kluge Ludwig* (Ludwig was the still very popular former chancellor Erhard who is regarded to be the "Vater des Wirtschaftswunders") should aim at explaining to the citizens of the former Communist Deutsche Demokratische Republik the meaning of *Soziale Marktwirtschaft*. Cartoon-films shown on TV were supposed to distribute information about *Soziale Marktwirtschaft* („Grundbegriffe und Techniken der Marktwirtschaft") with Erhard acting as teacher. His pupil was a stupid dachshund named Helene. In order to quiet the dog he threw a Mark-Coin to the dog. The dog bit the coin and came to the conclusion that the DM is hard ("Jaul-boo - die ist aber hart!"). Erhard explained: Yes our DM is a hard currency which has big purchasing power. One could buy many commodities with DM. But after living for 40 years under socialism Helene preferred to stay lazy. Ludwig commented: If you and many others are lazy and produce not enough then the DM is no longer stable; DM's value will go down. Furthermore the former inhabitants of the GDR were informed that they - if only enough money had been saved - could visit foreign countries (a dream for the majority of the GDR citizens who were confined to stay within the GDR or the >socialist brother countries<; some could visit relatives in the Federal Republic). The D-Mark, Ludwig instructed, was accepted everywhere (the Ost-Mark of the GDR never had been accepted in countries with a market economy). But due to happy circumstances this PR-idiocy was never realized (may be as a consequence of the realization of this unbelievable bad PR-idea a revolution of enraged citizens would have taken place in the former GDR) but money of the tax payer had been spent and so called PR-experts had earned money for nothing.

⁷⁴ In the 1934 election contest in California a campaign against Upton Sinclair took place (Mitchell 1992). Hundreds of thousands of red coloured 'Sinclair Dollar' notes circulated (THE RED CURRENCY). On the notes, signed by Utopian Sinclair, GOVERNOR OF CALIFORNIA was printed: „GOOD ONLY IN CALIFORNIA AND RUSSIA – NOT VERY GOOD ANYWHERE“. The notes also propagandized: „ENDURE POVERTY IN CALIFORNIA“.

⁷⁵ Ossies (Easterners) are citizens of the former GDR; having no experience with the market economy and the DM.

6.7. Campaigning for and against the Euro

The introduction of the *Euro* too was accompanied by PR campaigns. In January 1996 the *Aktionsgemeinschaft Euro* (German government, European Parliament and European Commission were participating) started its activities. Informations about the new currency to be introduced were associated with the idea of European unity. In 1996 8.7 mill. DM; 1997 17.5 mill. DM and 1998 17.7 mill. DM have been spend for the campaign. Advertisements were placed in all important print media. The motto was *Europe is the Future*. Prominent individuals (celebrities) participated. Former chancellor Schmidt, who still had (and has) a very high reputation in Germany, pointed out, that the Euro was good for Germany. In January 1997 a special telephone-service informing about the Euro (*Euro-Bürgertelefon*) was established. During the soccer world championship in France advertisements were published in the context of this event. The slogan was: “The Euro the common currency of Europe” („Der Euro. Europas gemeinsames Geld“). The then trainer of the German soccer team, Bertie Vogts (without doubt not really an expert in monetary policy) asserted the importance of the Euro for the future of Europe. His slogan was: „Der Euro ist ein Steilpass in das nächste Jahrhundert“ (The Euro is the long ball into the next century).

Events (sessions, meetings, conferences, congresses etc.) were arranged in order to try to establish contacts with the citizens. The internet was used, pamphlets were produced and teaching material was prepared for schools. Multipliers received special attention (arguments to be used in discussions were given; overhead folia distributed etc.). In Germany⁷⁶ the Ministry of Finance emphasized in a campaign that the Euro was supposed to be as stable as the DM („Der Euro - Stark wie die Mark“). The *Board of Industry* distributed a Newsletter *Unternehmen Euro*. The *Deutsche Bundesbank* published letters of information about the Euro. Altogether the success of the PR campaign was not quite convincing. The campaign lasted three years and about 45 Mio. DM had been spent. But in December 1998, one month before the Euro was introduced as an entity for book-keeping (allowing clearing-offices the settlement of balances), two-thirds of the Germans had no idea concerning the timing of the introduction of the new coins and bank-notes (when the coins and notes were introduced in January 2002 people without doubt were informed).

⁷⁶ Also in other European countries (e.g. Luxemburg, Austria, Spain, Ireland, Finland and France) campaigns for the Euro were waged.

In Germany there has been (even today the legal and political dispute has not been ended) massive resistance against the introduction of the Euro. In 1998 a party was founded, the *Pro-D-Mark Partei*. In the election campaign for the `Bundestag´ advertisements stated that the Euro-madness will transform us (i.e. Germany) into welfare recipients („Der Euro-Wahn macht uns zum Sozialfall!“). Another ad stated that intelligent people were against the Euro – only simpletons supported the new currency („Die Intelligenz ist gegen den Euro, die Dummheit dafür.“). But no member of the new party was elected into the Bundestag (lower house of the German Parliament).⁷⁷ Most Germans at the time of the introduction of the Euro believed that the new legal tender will not remain stable. Shortly after the introduction of the Euro there was a saying in Germany: “Der Euro ist der Teuro” (Euro is Teuro⁷⁸; i.e. the prices are rising due to the new currency).

In February 7 1998 in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the leading German newspaper, an advertisement was published stating that the CDU (Christlich Demokratische Union) was lying when stating that the Euro was guaranteeing a stable and secure future. The economic competence of the CDU is classified as that of an economic lay-man. They are said to have no professional expertise in economics. The advertisement quotes the French *Figaro* arguing: “In Versailles the Germans bled only once in the Currency Union they will bleed forever.!” Alan Greenspan is quoted saying that the Euro will come but will not last. Referring to economists (even to winners of the Nobel-Prize) the quintessence is: The intelligence is against Euro; the incompetent support the Euro. The consequence: The Euro has to go. The foundation of an initiative for the DM was announced. Even today the enemies of the Euro are an power not to be ignored in German policy; one indicator being the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfK)

7. Resumé

The fear of money not being stable (inflation) is a focus of German national identity with the inflation of 1922/23 as traumatic experience still alive in the German collective memory. The argument that the Germans after World War II have become completely new people is valid for the attitude towards democracy but seems not to apply to economic behaviour. Angst (fear) of inflation has coined German identity since the 1920s. In order to fight this >Angst<

⁷⁷ The German party system was stable enough to integrate the disappointed.

⁷⁸ An untranslatable play of words; the German word `teuer´ means expensive/costly. Teuro meant that Euro is a synonymous for rising prices and inflation.

PR campaigns have been waged. The Germans were afraid of giving up the successful Mark into which people trusted.

To repeat one argument: Lenin was correct when he argued, that a devastation of a currency system will destroy capitalist/bourgeois society. But Lenin misses one important aspect: If citizens would be able correctly to understand what their monetary system is and who is running it (just let me mention Lehman brothers and the criminals of the *Anglo-Irish Bank*⁷⁹) there would be a breakdown of the social system too. PR for money means not only the establishment of trust but implies the concealment of correct information about the character of the monetary system. Camouflage is central for PR for currencies. And it should not be forgotten PR is not only done by the institution producing the legal tender but also done by private enterprises trying to gain influence on monetary policy by means of PR. Two newer examples were Eastman Kodak and Carmignac. The German WAAGE campaign supported the introduction and acceptance of the Deutsche Mark and the Soziale Marktwirtschaft being one of the most successful campaigns ever waged in Germany.

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⁷⁹ The Irish newspaper *Independent* reported on 18. September 2008, three days after the breakdown of Lehman Brothers, that James Bowes, a top manager of *Anglo-Irish Bank*, informed a colleague that they would not pay back about 7 Billiards € some idiotic taxpayers, esp. Germany, would have to pay for them. The criminals did not shy away to sing "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles".

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A liberal newspaper in the U.S. Deep South: A historical case study

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Introduction

In the 1950s and '60s, it was widely held that Whites who lived in the southern region of the United States desired to live in a traditional South in which they held dominant social roles (Stoker, 2008; Weill, 2000). The media these southerners consumed likely played a role in their cultural assumptions since media messages have a cumulative, culture-building effect, (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989; McQuail, 2005). Nevertheless, members of the all-White American Society of Newspaper Editors did not acknowledge their roles in construction and reinforcement of racial segregation (Mellinger, 2008) at the time. To place the Mississippi press in historical context and perspective: "Civil rights for blacks meant only upheaval to them, especially the way civil rights were presented by their local newspapers and other media" (Weill, 2000, p. 559).

When Percy Dale (P.D.) East launched *The Petal Paper* in Petal, Mississippi in 1953, he vowed to avoid crusades and focus only on stories of public interest (East & Ethridge, 1960). It was ironic, then, that this White liberal editor would revamp the newspaper to champion the cause of equal social systems soon after the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision declaring desegregation as unconstitutional (*Brown v. Board of Education*). With the shift in newspaper focus, his role as a publisher and editor was reconstructed as well.

The purpose of the present historical case study is to explore how East transitioned from journalist to civil rights advocate as a result of his monumental shift in focus for *The Petal Paper*. This study also uncovers the public relations strategies that augmented that transition. Of significance for the present study is author access to historical materials. The Gotlieb Archives at Boston University houses 13 editions of *The Petal Paper*, correspondence from East to other newspaper editors and publishers, and articles about P.D. East and the newspaper.

Literature Review

In a critique of the challenges journalists faced reporting during the turbulent Civil Rights Movement, Forde (2012) found that southern-based newspapers typically framed demonstrators as troublemakers, agitators (e.g., Friedman & Richardson, 2008; Morris, 1993; O'Rourke, 2012) and Communists (e.g. Williams, 2002). Photographic analysis of two southern newspapers of predominantly White readership revealed rhetorical argument opposing the Civil Rights Movement (O'Rourke, 2012). According to the scholar, segregationists used visuals as rhetoric devices to silence others and support themselves. Friedman & Richardson (2008) also noted how newspapers used photographs to frame reader perspectives against civil rights.

Some scholars have found that journalists set aside opposition to social change to maintain their societal power. Framing analysis of the relationship in news coverage revealed the reluctant acceptance of racial equality of the labor and desegregation movements in the 1930s and 1950s (Durham, 2002). Stephens (2012) noted likewise in an analysis of a segregationist editor of the *Arkansas Gazette* in 1957: "He believed a paper should be the conscience of its community, requiring it to do things it might not like but that it knew were right, if not popular" (p. 34). Similarly, Stoker (2012) asserted that Harry Ayers, a White Southern editor generally regarded as liberal, was primarily loyal the social order rather than the Civil Rights Movement.

Acknowledging the difficulty of truthful journalism at the time, Forde (2012) applauded the courage of the few journalists who objectively covered the Civil Rights Movement: "But the challenging and problematic nature of the enterprise does not mean truth-telling should not be the first obligation of the journalist" (p. 7). Comparative analysis examining how Mississippi media covered civil rights issues in 1964 indicated that Hazel Brannon Smith was the only woman editor or publisher in Mississippi to publish editorials supporting the civil rights movement (Weill, 2000). Like East, Smith was White, liberal, and a staunch advocate for civil rights.

Although media coverage of the Civil Rights Movement has been a frequent focus of study in academic scholarship (e.g., Grant, 2010; Morris, 1993) nevertheless, few scholars have explored the Civil Rights movement from the perspective of White Liberals (e.g. Durham, 2002; Weill, 2000). As a first step in filling this gap in the research, the author employed social constructivism to frame how East transitioned his work role.

Theory

Social constructivists contend that individuals formulate reality by making sense of their experiences. Social constructivism, then, is the process of social interactions by which people understand the world around them (Burlinson, 2005). Individuals actively interpret the meaning of their environments and their very existence (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). The meanings they ascribe are always in flux: “human actors [use] cultural stocks of knowledge to engage an ambiguous and reactive world and to serve their situated, evolving purposes” (p. 45). Interactions with others function as checks and balances for new social constructions because social constructions are continually tested in group interactions. It is only through perceived value that constructions are preserved. Constructed reality is connected to traditions, shared networks of understanding, and knowledge-power relations (Olsson, 2005). Power can shift away from individuals (e.g., Creswell, 2013), especially when social constructions are co-opted as institutional preferences (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Low-power individuals must seek out alternative approaches for meaning-making (Wood, 2005) when experiencing competing social constructions.

According to Gray (1987), news stories are produced through a network of social relations and that the meanings of such stories are socially constructed within this context. Friedman & Richardson (2008) applied the social construction of news to examine how five major newspapers covered the Civil Rights Movement in 1963 Birmingham, Alabama. Distinct cultural ideologies notwithstanding, the scholars found linguistic and visual markers that served to reinforce the already marginalized position of Blacks: “Placement is more than a spatial distinction; it is a state of mind. And the minds that shape newspapers are themselves dynamically shaped by culture” (p. 230).

The guiding research question for the present study follows: How did P.D. East reconstruct his occupational role during the transition of *The Petal Paper*?

Method

The author employed historical case study because the method enables investigation of a phenomenon in context (Yin, 2008). In this case study, the phenomenon was *The Petal Paper*, and the context was the Southern region of the U.S. pre-Civil Rights movement. The case study method of inquiry was appropriate for the intersecting nature of the newspaper and its historical context.

Good qualitative case studies present in-depth understanding of the case of inquiry through many forms of qualitative data (Creswell, 2013). Since the author is a qualitative

communication researcher, data were selected based on relevance to the phenomenon (Lindlof & Taylor, 2011). Analysis of primary data sources follows.

Findings

Alternative approaches to advertising

Initial advertising in *The Petal Paper* was similar to most neighborhood newspapers. East networked with members of the local Kiwanis Club and editorials regarding social issues remained neutral to avoid possible offenses (East & Ethridge, 1960). He published an editorial thanking his subscribers and advertisers for their friendliness at the conclusion of the first profitable year (Gotlieb Archives, P.D. East Collection, 1921-1971) and he quickly apologized to an advertiser he had offended in order to get the advertising reinstated (East & Ethridge, 1960). Advertising dropped precipitously when *The Petal Paper* became openly critical of segregationist policies. By 1959, the paper had no local advertisers (Gotlieb Archives, P.D. East Collection, 1921-1971). He began publishing advertisements of book reviews whose focus was equality. He also ran brief advertisements at Christmastime to sell greeting cards. The photograph accompanying the greeting card ads featured a White and Black baby sitting together. East also converted former advertising space into social satire. He created a full-page *jackass* ad—complete with a comical graphic of a donkey—to tweak the White Citizens' Council of Petal, Mississippi. Text included the following:

Yes, you too can be superior join the glorious citizens clan next Thursday night!
What? Worried about being socially acceptable? Learning to play the piano by ear?
Taking dancing lessons? Using the right toothpaste? Possibly taking a course in public speaking? Want to be the life of the party? No need to worry anymore! The grand opportunity now awaits you! Join the citizens' clan and be safe from social worries. Absolutely no coupons are needed (Gotlieb Archives, P.D. East Collection, 1921-1971).

These efforts allowed East to reinforce his views on racial equality.

Seeking out new subscribers

Not surprisingly, the White Citizens' Council responded to East's public and editorial stances on race relations by leading an economic boycott against *The Petal Paper* (University of Illinois, 2001). A circulation of 2,300 dropped by 800 by 1957 (*Jet*). By 1959, the circulation was down to none in the city of Petal. A group of friends out of New York formulated a "P. D. East Committee", garnering subscribers in all 50 states and six European countries (University of Southern Mississippi, 1962; Gotlieb Archives, P.D. East Collection, 1921-1971). Likewise, a friend who was then-chief counsel for the American Jewish Committee convinced several prominent social and political organizations to fund a

subscription promotion campaign for the paper (East & Ethridge, 1960). East also published house ad reminders to the subscribers that remained:

We don't know why, but we felt you should know The Petal Paper is still in business. Along with us, the banks have their fingers crossed, too. Now if you have an enemy with whom you'd like to get even, just send him a subscription to The Petal Paper. Why, it costs only \$3.00 for an entire year (Gotlieb Archives, P.D. East Collection, 1921-1971).

Repacking articles for publicity

East capitalized on his writing ability. He began repackaging some of the best regarded editorials and articles as promotions. The jack-ass ad was so popular it was reprinted and mailed on request to individuals in all fifty states, eight countries outside the U.S., and printed in two national magazines (East & Ethridge, 1960). He used every means he could to deliver the message of racial equality. One advertisement for editorial reprints reminded readers that “no confederate money accepted” (Gotlieb Archives, P.D. East Collection, 1921-1971). Support also came from newspaper coverage about the editor of The Petal Paper in Wisconsin, Ohio and Oregon, and financial contributions from Jewish, Christian and Labor organizations (Gotlieb Archives, P.D. East Collection, 1921-1971). East utilized any coverage to deliver his biting message of radical racial equality, as evidenced by the following joke he shared in a profile article:

Then there was the one about the air liner in flight across the Atlantic. Having developed engine trouble, the crew figured out how much load they could dump so as to finish the flight safely. It was explained to the passengers that if four would give their lives by jumping, the others would be saved. One fellow stepped to the door and said: I'm from England. God save the Queen! With that he jumped. Another man stepped to the door and said: I'm from Texas. Remember the Alamo! And with that he jumped. A third man stepped to the door, saying: I'm from Mississippi. Remember Emmett Till! And with that he pushed two Negroes out (*Jet*, 1957).

Demonstrating subject matter expertise

East gained a national profile as a result of a feature article in *The Reporter*, the publication of his biography, and receiving a civil rights award from the New York Civil Liberties Union (Gotlieb Archives, P.D. East Collection, 1921-1971). He became a sought-after lecturer, enabling him to raise money to publish the paper. He used humor as an effective rhetorical device in his speeches, deflecting critics and positioning himself as a social outsider. He told audiences that *The Petal Paper* had the lowest circulation rate of any in the world and his biography sold at the rate of “one a month” in Mississippi (East & Ethridge, 1960). One of his most poignant messages, however, appeared in an April 21, 1955 editorial alongside an image of a crawfish. It said, in part: “As everyone knows, the crawfish

is progressive; the Magnolia, of course, is not. We suggest humbly, therefore, that the progressive Crawfish replace the Magnolia as a symbol of our state” (Gotlieb Archives, P.D. East Collection, 1921-1971).

Discussion

Study findings indicate that the occupational role East held at the newspaper transitioned from professional to personal as necessitated by the historical context. By using satire in *The Petal Paper*, East was able to criticize individuals and the entire social system in the United States. In doing so, East transitioned from a journalist reporting on the movement to serving simultaneously as a spokesperson for civil rights (Durham, 2002). Academic literature supports the importance of boundary-spanning in public relations (e.g. Moss et al., 1998; Springston, & Leichty, 1994; Wyatt, Smith & Andsager, 1996; 1996) and Martinelli and Bowen (2009) found historical evidence of successfully spanning the boundaries between journalism and public relations.

Some of East’s public relations strategies corresponded to those the Southern Christian Leadership Conference employed for racial equality (Hon, 1997): Building alliances, fostering grassroots communication, and engaging in political advocacy. It was not surprising to learn that he faced the same criticism of others advocating for civil rights. In his reconstructed role, East was framed as a troublemaker, agitator, and communist; much like the demonstrators he covered (Forde, 2012; Friedman & Richardson, 2008; Morris, 1993; O’Rourke, 2012; Williams, 2002). It is unfortunate that the challenges East faced in the ’50s and ’60s are commonplace for journalists today who work in countries without a free press system.

East employed some of the same visual techniques segregationists used to promote their agenda (Friedman & Richardson, 2008; O’Rourke, 2012). These techniques also point toward the power of visuals to convey messages. By including of illustrations and photographs in *The Petal Paper*, he reminded the reader of his stance on racial equality.

It is surprising that another editor in Mississippi, also White and liberal, was advocating for civil rights in the news during the same time period as East (Weill, 2000). It is equally surprising that the author could find no evidence of the two working together, given their similar geographic and political proximity. Their differences likely precluded any potential for working together. The fact that East previously employed several female writers at *The Petal Paper* (East & Ethridge, 1960) suggests that gender informed the fight for racial equality.

East initially pursued his position as a newspaper editor in order to earn money and maintain a social status that came with reporting the news (e.g. Durham, 2002). His transparency of motive (East & Ethridge, 1960) serves to humanize him. While other editors would be forced to support racial equality (Stephens, 2012), East changed his stance after personal reflection. It could be argued that owning the newspaper provided him with the autonomy to change his stance that reporters did not have. However, his peers in the American Society of Newspaper Editors were empowered to address issues of social equality, yet they failed to do so (Mellinger, 2008).

Unlike one of his contemporaries (e.g., Stoker, 2012) East's liberal perspective appeared to be genuine. His stance garnered friendship and support from famous friends including Upton Sinclair, Eleanor Roosevelt, Edward R. Murrow, and Roy Wilkins (Gotlieb Archives, P.D. East Collection, 1921-1971). His circle of supporters ensured that his unpopular message of equality extended far beyond his geographic locale.

Limitations/Future research

The lack of existing scholarship about P.D. East and *The Petal Paper* posed a research challenge for the author. To place the present study in academic context required reviewing scholarship outside the scope of the study. The dearth of research on the phenomenon of study indicates the need for a far deeper analysis. A book-length project to fully explore the subject might be in order.

Another limitation of this study was the near-complete collection of newspaper editions at the Gotlieb Archives. Future scholars could seek out reprints of missing editions of *The Petal Paper*. Scholars could also conduct comparative analysis of *The Petal Paper* and the *Durant Press* to assess how the two papers, both led by liberal Whites, differed in their approach to civil rights advocacy.

Conclusion

The social context of the Civil Rights Movement appeared to break down some of the barriers that exist in the communications professions. East essentially maintained a dual role as a journalist and public relations professional as he transitioned *The Petal Paper*. Professional standards encouraging neutral journalism and client-focused advocacy in public relations became blurred when the editor began advocating for racial equality. Certain public relations techniques lend themselves to social movements. As with special interest newspapers today, community newspapers during the civil rights movement operated as a platform for pertinent social issues.

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Historicity, knowledge, societal change and movements

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ABSTRACT

The starting point for this paper is that public relations activities have typically emerged at historical points of emerging change, transformation and contestation. This historiographical paper explores social theory in relation to evolutionary change processes and the historical role for public relations work within these in relation to knowledge and information. A number of key social theorists are considered, with a view to demonstrating how their insights help in the interpretation and framing of public relations histories. The paper offers an interpretation of public relations history and historiography viewed through a focus on activism and social movements.

Australia's emergence on the international public relations scene: 1959 to 2000

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ABSTRACT

The International Public Relations Association (IPRA) was established in 1955 as the lead international organisation for the development and promotion of public relations as a professional communication practice (L'Etang, 2004). Involvement by Australian practitioners in IPRA began in 1959 and became intensive during a 15-year period from 1980 to the mid-1990s during which time they took a global leadership role.

Drawing from the IPRA archive and recent interviews by the authors with prominent practitioners in Europe and Australia, who were involved in IPRA's management and leadership, the paper establishes the narrative of international engagement by the burgeoning Australian PR sector and explores the aims and effects of its involvement with IPRA in four periods:

- 1) Early international engagement (1959-1967): London-based Australians occasionally attended IPRA meetings in Europe, but engagement was mostly by correspondence with little evident impact on IPRA or vice versa.
- 2) The Jon Royce era (early-mid-1980s): Melbourne consultant Jon Royce's presentation of Australian PR to IPRA in 1983 led to the 11th Public Relations World Congress being awarded to Melbourne for 1988. Royce was IPRA President in 1985.
- 3) IPRA World Congress in Australia (late 1980s): The 1988 IPRA World Congress in Melbourne in Australia's Bicentenary year was acknowledged in IPRA records as a

great success and a significant milestone in the developing PR industry in Australia. Senator Jim Short was praised for his leadership and Sydney consultant Jim Pritchitt joined IPRA's Council and then Board, after which Australian membership of IPRA soared.

- 4) Peak membership and leadership (early to mid-1990s): Pritchitt became Australia's second IPRA President in 1992. Also during this time, Australians took a lead role in development of the IPRA Gold Paper No.11 on Evaluation (1994).

In 1999 IPRA awarded its 2002 World Congress to the island state of Tasmania, but was postponed to 2003 and then merged into that year's Public Relations Institute of Australia National Conference. This failure symbolised the fading influence of IPRA within Australia and internationally. By 2000, Australian membership of IPRA had fallen to 25 from a peak of 78 in 1993.

The reasons for the rise and fall are explored in the paper. Based on archival documents and interviews with IPRA members from these periods, it concludes that the impact of IPRA on the development of the Australian public relations sector and Australian influence on IPRA was relatively ephemeral, limited to a decade from 1983 to 1993. Nevertheless, Australian practitioners made use of both the symbolism of international endorsement and international connections established through IPRA to transform the national PR sector from a predominantly local focus to an increasingly international outlook at a time when public relations services were expanding rapidly worldwide.

**The Strange Case of the Goddess Peitho:
Classical Antecedents of Public Relations' Ambivalence Toward Persuasion**

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Abstract

Modern public relations scholars and practitioners continue to debate, in the words of Edgett (2002), “whether persuasion is a legitimate public relations function ... [and] whether it can be performed to high ethical standards.” Our ambivalence toward persuasion has deep roots – and, perhaps, solutions – in the tangled lineage and interpretations of Peitho, the ancient Greek goddess of persuasion. The purpose of this paper is twofold: to chart the goddess Peitho’s bewildering history and genealogy in classical Greek literature and art; and to study how the Greeks found, in the words of Shakespeare, “the concord of this discord.” Ideally, the Greeks’ resolution of Peitho’s nature might hold lessons for the troubled status of persuasion within modern public relations.

Introduction

“The role of persuasion in public relations,” write Pfau and Wan (2009), “is the focus of considerable controversy” (p. 88). A generation ago, McBride (1989) charged that public relations scholars’ ambivalence toward persuasion had led to “a crippling inferiority complex” (p. 5) for the discipline. More recently, Messina (2007) has examined “whether ethical persuasion can be part of public relations practice” (p. 29), and Ihlen (2010) has reviewed enduring concerns regarding “whether persuasion can be considered a legitimate activity” within public relations (p. 64). Moloney (2006) and Porter (2010) defend the role of persuasion in public relations; at the onset of excellence theory, Dozier and Ehling (1992) viewed persuasion as “less relevant than other processes” (p. 175) in the normative two-way symmetrical model. Both Moloney (2006) and L’Etang (2008) note its association with propaganda. Summarizing the debate, Edgett (2002) has asked “whether persuasion is a legitimate public relations function ... [and] whether it can be performed to high ethical standards” (p. 1).

It may be reassuring to discover that our modern confusion and ambivalence regarding persuasion have deep historical roots – and, perhaps, historical solutions. In the Athens of approximately 400 BCE – 200 CE, persuasion was a deity: the goddess Peitho (Smith, 2005; Smith, 2011). Isocrates, for example, invokes the goddess in defending the art of persuasion against critics:

[A]s a symptom, not only of [the Athenians’] confusion of mind, but of their contempt for the gods, they recognize that Persuasion [Peitho] is one of the gods, and they observe that the city makes sacrifices to her every year, but when men aspire to share the power which the goddess possesses, they claim that such aspirants are being corrupted, as though their desire were for some evil thing. (*Antidosis*, 249)

A secular version of Isocrates’ charge would not seem out of place in our current debates regarding persuasion.

The tangled lineage of the goddess Peitho, however, suggests variant personalities and offers an early source for both ancient and modern confusion regarding persuasion. Sources ranging from Hesiod to Sappho and beyond cast Peitho as the daughter of Ate, the goddess of “infatuation and rashness,” and the granddaughter of Eris, the “goddess of strife” (Kane, 1986, p. 101); or the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, the generic parents of thousands of gods; or the daughter of Aphrodite, the goddess of love, revered in Athens as a source of civic harmony. Another source has Peitho present at Aphrodite’s birth. Peitho was the wife of Phoroneus, the first king of Argos and a civic unifier – or of Argos, who would be her own grandson if she indeed were the wife of Phoroneus. Or she was the wife of Hermes, the boundary-spanner and trickster. She was the sister, in some accounts, of Tuche (goddess of luck) and Metis (goddess of cunning or, alternately, wisdom) – and, perhaps, of Eunomia (good laws). In short, by birth and association Peitho was anything from a deceiver and manipulator to a source of concord and civic harmony.

The purpose of this paper is twofold: to chart the goddess Peitho’s bewildering history and genealogy in classical Greek literature and art; and to study how the Greeks found, in the words of Shakespeare, “the concord of this discord” (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, V.i.60). Ideally, the Greeks’ resolution of this messiness might hold lessons for the troubled status of persuasion within modern public relations.

The Greek Word Peitho

In the Greek of classical Athens, *peitho* was both a proper noun (the name of a goddess) and a common noun, the name of a concept and activity. As such, the word’s

Clarifying the range of possibilities for persuasion and how it might function in civil society matters not only to us as scholars and practitioners; it mattered mightily to the Greeks:

In the fifth and fourth centuries [BCE], no one could avoid such questions for very long. From tragic drama to philosophical dialogue to lyric poetry, discourses and arguments about the nature of persuasion can be found just about everywhere. Praised here, condemned there, allied with subversion and rebellion in one place and with harmony and accord in another, persuasion is one of the most elusive and, yet, significant “concepts” or “activities” in classical Greek literature and philosophy. (Naas, 1995, p. 8)

Indeed, as this paper will show, three of the most significant, enduring, and complementary findings of concord within the discord of Peitho’s guises come from a dramatist, Aeschylus; a rhetorician, Isocrates; and a philosopher, Plato.

Peitho’s Genealogy

In the literature of classical Greek mythology, Peitho appears as daughter, sister, wife, mother, and key companion. Buxton (1982) observes that such a detailing of Peitho’s history can result in the portrayal of “an absurdly split” personality (p. 29). Kane (1986) generously concludes that the “goddess Peitho seems to have a dual nature reflected in her ambiguous genealogy” (p. 101) – dual in the senses noted in our Cartesian grid. Despite the complexities and contradictions within the following family tree – bramble bush might be a better metaphor – it is not comprehensive.¹

Peitho as a Daughter

In *Theogony*, the poet Hesiod lists Oceanus and Tethys as the father and mother of Peitho (335ff.). Because Hesiod also writes that the prolific couple generated “three thousand light-stepping daughters of the Ocean” (*Theogony*, 360 ff.), such parentage might seem to reveal little about Peitho’s nature. However, Hesiod names only a few of the daughters, and prominent among them are Peitho and her sister Metis, goddess of cunning and wisdom.

In Aeschylus’ play *Agamemnon*, Clytemnestra describes “miserable” Peitho as the “unendurable child of scheming Ruin [Ate]” (385-386). “Ate, the goddess of infatuation and rashness,” writes Kane (1986), “... was the daughter of Eris, goddess of strife...” (p. 101).

¹ For the attributions of the following relationships to original sources, I am indebted to Atsma (2014), Breitenberger (2007), Buxton (1982), Kirby (1994), Smith (2005), and Smith (2011).

Slight evidence suggests that some believed Peitho to be the daughter of Aphrodite, goddess of love. An anonymous annotation – a scholium – in an early copy of Hesiod’s *Works and Days*, for example, “reports that Sappho called Peitho the daughter of Aphrodite” (Kirby, 1994, p. 3n). Such a relationship would be particularly significant in Athens, where Aphrodite also was known as Aphrodite Pandemos, or Aphrodite of the People. Like the goddess Peitho, Aphrodite had a multifaceted nature, focusing on both individual relationships and the social bonds that unite and sustain a community. Athenian legend holds that in gratitude for the roles played by Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho in helping to create Athens, Theseus, Athens’ first king, had a temple built in their honor in the Acropolis (Smith, 2011).

Thus, as a daughter, Peitho may embody the heritage of the dread goddesses of rashness and strife – or the goddess who helped found and sustain Athens.

Peitho as a Sister

As we already have seen, Hesiod declared Peitho to be a sister of Metis, goddess of cunning and wisdom. Metis, declares Long (2007), represents a “sense of cunning, deception, and craftiness as much as that of wise counsel and political acumen” (p. 67).

Conversely, the poet Alcman wrote that Peitho – via yet another mother, Promatheaia, also known as Themis (Munn, 2006, p. 337) – was the sister of Eunomia, goddess of good laws and good order (Smith, 2005). Peitho’s sibling relationships, thus, indicate the same duality found in the contradictory versions of her parentage.

Peitho as a Wife

Buxton cites a scholium in an early copy of Euripides’ *Orestes* specifying Peitho as the wife of Phoroneus, the first king of Argos. In the words of the geographer Pausanias, who in the second century BCE wrote his highly detailed *Description of Greece*, “It was Phoroneus . . . who brought mankind together for the first time; for hitherto they had lived scattered and solitary” (II.xv.v). In *The Iliad*, Homer repeatedly calls the assembled Greeks “the Argives” – people of Argos.

Alternately, a scholium in Euripides’ *The Phoenician Women* holds that Peitho is the wife of Argos, a later king of Argos and grandson of Phoroneus. As noted earlier, if both accounts were accurate, Peitho may have married her own grandson. Despite the confusion of Peitho’s connection to this southern city-state in Greece, Buxton (1982) asserts that “the two

versions of Peitho's marriage are structurally equivalent, their logic being that *peitho* is a central quality in a civilized polis" (p. 36).

In his epic poem *Dionysiaca*, Nonnus, a Greek poet of the 5th century CE, casts Peitho as the wife of Hermes, the fleet-footed messenger of the gods, known for "deceitful eloquence and cunning" and for being the god "of thieves and rogues" (Kirkwood, 1959, p. 55). With the addition of Hermes as a reputed husband, we find, within Peitho's range of marriages, a duality between community-building and self-serving deceit.

Peitho as a Mother

As the wife of Phoroneus, Peitho might have been mother of the sons Aigialeus and Apis, thus helping to ensure the royal lineage of Argos. Alternately, the *Suda*, a 10th century CE compendium of historical data, asserts that Peitho was the mother of Iynx, whom Hera transformed into bird for attempting to surreptitiously enchant Zeus (Atsma, 2014). The English word *jinx* traces its origins to her name. Peitho's status as a mother thus shows the familiar duality between community-building and deceit.

Peitho as a Companion

Although Pausanias (IX.xxv.v) writes that Hermesianax, a fourth-century BCE Greek poet, associated Peitho with the Graces – perhaps as a sister – Peitho's most enduring role as a companion, or attendant, is with Aphrodite. For example, Pausanias describes an elaborate throne of Zeus in southern Greece that features an image of Peitho greeting Aphrodite at her birth, "as she rises from the sea" (V.xi.viii). Calling Peitho a "major figure in Aphrodite's entourage" (p. 177), Breitenberger (2007) adds that "we can infer from Sappho's extant fragments that Peitho as a personified deity is featured in the environment of Aphrodite: either as her daughter or her attendant" (p. 127). In the study of decorated pottery in the following section, Peitho also will appear as Aphrodite's attendant.

In describing the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho in the Athenian Acropolis, Pausanias writes:

The worship of ... Aphrodite [Pandemos] and of Persuasion [Peitho] was instituted by Theseus when he gathered the Athenians from the townships into a single city. In my time the ancient images were gone, but the existing images were by no obscure artists.... (I.xxii.iii).

Pausanias thus suggests that ancient architectural adornments – just as their more recent replacements – featured an enduring association of Peitho with Aphrodite Pandemos.

This civic association with Aphrodite Pandemos is our strongest indication that a significant aspect of Peitho did indeed skew to the social-gain extreme of the horizontal axis in our Cartesian grid:

Pausanias' ... story connects Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho to Theseus – the mythical and thus undatable king of Athens – to emphasise the role of these goddesses in civic cooperation and democratic spirit on which their polis was supposed to have been founded. (Smith, 2011, p. 56)

Peitho's association with Aphrodite Pandemos, asserts Breitenberger (2007), "has a clear civic and political significance" (p. 118).

Peitho's association with Aphrodite, however, also flourished at the personal-gain extreme of our horizontal axis. In *Moralia*, Plutarch reminds us of an important aspect of Peitho's role and nature. "Indeed, the ancients ... assigned a place there [at Aphrodite's side] to Persuasion [Peitho] ... so that married people should succeed in attaining their mutual desires by persuasion and not by fighting and quarreling" (138, C-D). Peitho's association with Aphrodite does not "exclude ... an activity, like loving, the engagement in which constitutes us as human beings" (Kane, 1986, p. 100).

Even Peitho's association with Aphrodite, however, was not without the familiar respectful/disrespectful duality. As we shall see in the description of decorated pottery in the following section, one artist depicts both Aphrodite and Peitho as active participants in Paris' adulterous and disastrous seduction of Helen.

Peitho in Greek Pottery

The rise of Peitho as a goddess in fifth century BCE was preceded by a "mighty artistic sixth-century accomplishment" in Greece: "the uniquely rich, rapid, and varied evolution of painting on pottery" (Grant, 1987, pp. 26-27). Peitho figured prominently in such art, which, taken as a whole, echoes the multifaceted personality of Peitho found in written accounts of her lineage.

Peitho's Depiction at Weddings

Peitho's appearance in pottery portraying marriage scenes would, traditionally, be located somewhere in the first quadrant of our Cartesian grid: the intersection of personal gain and respect for others/honesty. Of such artistic scenes, Smith (2005) writes:

The erotic role of Peitho is emphasised in many ... mythological scenes that concern courtship and marriage; the weddings of Alkestis and Admetos and Ariadne and

Dionysos; the wedding of Harmonia ...; Aphrodite and Adonis; and Thetis and Peleus. (p. 15)

In one such scene, Peitho joins Aphrodite, Eros, and others in attendance on the bride Harmonia (Smith, 2005, p. 15n). “Most Attic representations of Peitho emphasize her erotic role...,” asserts Smith (2011). “Peitho is commonly found in mythic scenes that concern courtship and marriage” (p. 58).

Peitho’s Depiction as Shunning Force

Throughout classical Greek literature and art, Peitho is presented as an alternative to Bia, the goddess of force and compulsion (Kirby, 1994). One extant vase, for example, shows Peitho fleeing the sexual attack of the twins Castor and Pollux on two female priests. The clear suggestion is that Peitho works through communication rather than physical violence – though, as Foley (2012), like modern critics of power disparities within public relations (Curtin & Gaither, 2005), notes, a powerful gray area can exist between Peitho and Bia. Of this particular scene, Smith (2005) writes, “Peitho’s dramatic escape ... implies that she did not condone this union in accordance with Athenian standards; the scene thus serves as a counterexample of the ideal marriage” (p. 15).

Peitho’s Depiction in the Seduction of Helen

Peitho also appears as an influential figure in Paris’ adulterous seduction of Helen, an event that occurred in the home of Menelaus, Helen’s husband, and helped trigger the Trojan War. In the words of Aeschylus’ Clytemnestra, who only moments earlier had condemned “miserable” Peitho, Paris “went to the house of [Menelaus] and shamed the table of hospitality by stealing away a wife” (*Agamemnon*, 385ff.). One such vase shows Aphrodite and Peitho with Helen as Paris takes her arm to lead her away (Buxton, 1982, p. 50ff.). Such an instance of Peitho clearly would be located in the third quadrant of our grid, somewhere in the intersection of personal gain and disrespect for others/dishonesty.

Of these depictions of Peitho – at weddings and, conversely, in dishonest seductions and rapes – Buxton (1982) concludes, “In the right place – marriage – Peitho brings men and women harmonious delight; in the wrong place – illicit sexual relationships – Peitho can be an agent of discord and catastrophe” (p. 37).

Though each of these scenes focuses more on individual than civic relationships, Smith (2005) cautions against ignoring the broader social nature of such depictions: “[C]ivic personifications could be interpreted on the private level—as personal virtues—and on the public level—as civic virtues—especially because they appeared on vases that functioned

both in public and private” (p. 26). Peitho’s image in Greek pottery, thus, spans our two continuums of personal/social and respect/disrespect for others.

The Greeks’ Resolution: Peitho at Her Best

Naas (1995), as cited earlier, holds that “discourses and arguments about the nature of persuasion can be found just about everywhere” (p. 8) in the art and writings of the ancient Greeks. Significantly, three of the greatest minds in classical Athens arrived at largely the same conclusion about persuasion: Like the goddess herself, persuasion is multifaceted; but peitho is at its best when we use it to build respectful, honest relationships, particularly those that benefit the community. This was the message of the dramatist Aeschylus in his *Oresteia* trilogy; of the rhetorician Isocrates throughout his works; and, to a large degree, of the philosopher Plato in his *Phaedrus*.

Aeschylus and Peitho

Aeschylus’ *Oresteia* trilogy tells an elaborate tale of murder, revenge, and justice: Clytemnestra murders her husband, Agamemnon, for sacrificing their daughter Iphigenia to appease the gods; their son, Orestes, then murders Clytemnestra in revenge and is pursued by the Furies, who avenge wrongs, particularly betrayals within families. In Athens, the goddess Athena convenes a trial to determine Orestes’ fate. In each key phase of the trilogy – murder, revenge, and the quest for justice – Peitho plays an essential role.

In the first two plays of the trilogy, *Agamemnon* and *Libation-Bearers*, the goddess Peitho is seen as a self-serving, destructive, dishonest force. We already have noted Clytemnestra’s condemnation of “miserable” Peitho as the descendant of the goddesses of ruin and strife (*Agamemnon*, 385ff). An individual who succumbs to Peitho, Clytemnestra warns, “inflicts unendurable harm on his community” (*Agamemnon*, 395), and she cites Paris and his seduction of Helen as an example. The goddess Peitho fares little better in *Libation-Bearers*, in which the Chorus summons “guileful Persuasion [Peitho]” to “enter the arena” (727-728) with Orestes, who has lied about his identity to gain entrance into the palace in Argos in hopes of killing Clytemnestra. In our Cartesian grid, these descriptions and actions of Peitho would fall primarily into the personal-gain/disrespectful and dishonest quadrant. Clytemnestra’s censure of Paris and “miserable” Peitho, however, shows that personal instances of peitho can have profound social impacts.

As a secular noun – a distinction, again, that Buxton (1982) challenges – *peitho* appears in Clytemnestra’s comment to the Chorus that “what I say is getting inside her

[Cassandra's] mind and my words are persuading [*peitho*] her" (*Agamemnon*, 1050-1052). At this point in the first play, Clytemnestra has been urging Cassandra, Agamemnon's Trojan mistress, to enter the palace in Argos, where Cassandra hopes to – and does – murder her. Such usage of *peitho*, again, would fall into the personal-gain/disrespectful and dishonest quadrant.

In *Eumenides*, the trilogy's third play, Aeschylus offers a momentous re-envisioning of Peitho. Hitherto in the trilogy, when not reviled, Peitho has been invoked by mortals for dishonest and disrespectful personal gain. In *Eumenides*, however, Athena, the goddess of wisdom, convenes a trial of Orestes, in which she invokes Peitho to help placate the Furies; Rynearson (2013) casts the trial as "the moment of truth for the entire trilogy" (p. 1). Remarkably, Athena succeeds, and she openly credits Peitho for helping her to introduce the notions of compassion and fairness into a new concept of justice. As Athena tries to persuade the Furies to release Orestes and remain in Athens as honored deities, she urges, "If you have reverence for the awesome power of Persuasion [*Peitho*], the charm and enchantment of my tongue ... please do stay" (885ff). When the Furies agree to stand down and remain peacefully in Athens, Athena declares, "I rejoice; and I am happy that the eyes of Persuasion [*Peitho*] watched over my tongue and lips when they responded to these beings [the Furies] who were savagely rebuffing me" (969ff).

Significantly, Athena and Peitho cleave to respectful honesty in negotiating with the Furies: Athena promises the Furies that, in return for relinquishing their traditional roles as avengers, they may remain in Athens as revered household goddesses. As Athena leads them to their promised abode in sacred caverns, the reformed Furies pray that "civil strife, insatiate of evil, may never rage in this city" (976ff), and the grateful citizens of Athens respond, "In the age-old recesses of the earth may you receive great reverence with rituals and sacrifices" (1036ff). Clearly, the Peitho of *Eumenides* falls into the social-gain/respectful and honest quadrant of our Cartesian grid. Winnington-Ingram (1951) declares that Aeschylus' new concept of Peitho is "perhaps the most striking of all the conceptions which we find in Aeschylus, and the most original" (p. 420).

One key message of the *Oresteia* trilogy thus seems clear: Persuasion is at its best when filtered through wisdom and directed, at least in part, toward community good. Several scholars echo Winnington-Ingram's assessment of Aeschylus' achievement. Noting "the transformation of *peitho*" within the trilogy, Kennedy (2009) concludes, "Where *peitho* leads to the destruction of Troy [and] Agamemnon ... in the earlier plays of the *Oresteia*, it leads to the salvation of Orestes and of Athens in *Eumenides*" (p. 36). In "Peitho and the Polis," Kane

(1986) writes, “At the end of the trilogy, Peitho has been transformed into a benign deity, the goddess of political persuasion who awesome majesty Athena asks the Furies to revere” (p. 101). And Long (2007), observing Aeschylus’ innovative fusion of Wisdom, Persuasion, and Honesty, declares, “[Athena] opens the possibility for human flourishing in a city founded not upon violence, but upon the powers associated with ... Peitho and Styx [goddess of promises], the powers of persuasion and respect for honor” (p. 72).

Isocrates and Peitho

Born roughly two decades after Aeschylus’ death in the fifth century BCE, Isocrates was praised by the Romans Cicero and Quintilian as the greatest of the Greek rhetoricians (Benoit, 1990). Isocratean rhetoric, described as “the values-driven discourse of responsible citizenship” (Marsh, 2013, p. 12), featured a version of peitho infused with the values of moderation and justice (Poulakos, 1997). Like Aeschylus, Isocrates favored a form of persuasion that was respectful, honest, and mindful of community wellbeing. Significantly, this form of rhetoric proved to be highly successful in Athens and beyond:

[T]here is no doubt that Isocrates has one claim to fame at least, and that is as the supreme master of oratorical culture. . . . On the whole, it was Isocrates, not Plato, who educated fourth-century Greece and subsequently the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. (Marrou, 1956/1982, p. 79).

In a passage modern scholars have dubbed “The Hymn to Logos” (Jaeger, 1944, pp. 89–90), Isocrates acknowledges the twined importance of peitho and logos [speech and reasoning] in building communities:

[B]ecause there has been implanted in us the power to persuade [*peithein*] each other and to make clear to each other whatever we desire, not only have we escaped the life of wild beasts, but we have come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts; and, generally speaking, there is no institution devised by man which the power of speech [*logos*] has not helped us to establish.... With this faculty we both contend against others on matters which are open to dispute and seek light for ourselves on things which are unknown; for the same arguments which we use in persuading [*peithomen*] others when we speak in public, we employ also when we deliberate in our own thoughts.... And, if there is need to speak in brief summary of this power, we shall find that ... in all our actions as well as in all our thoughts speech [*logon*] is our guide, and is most employed by those who have the most wisdom. (*Nicocles*, 6-9)

Logos thus enables peitho, which, in turn, enables introspection, cooperation, and civilization.

For Isocrates, all such enactments of peitho embraced, ideally, the values of justice (*dikaiosyne*) and moderation (*sophrosyne*): “Dikaiosyne and sophrosyne do not merely determine the horizon of an agent’s moral conduct,” writes T. Poulakos (1997) of Isocratean rhetoric. “Because they circumscribe political identities, they also implicate the conduct of the entire polis” (p. 35). Marsh (2013) has described Isocratean rhetoric as being “concentric” (p. 23), with the values of moderation and justice first influencing internal dialogues and personal relationships and then radiating outward to community and international relationships.

Like Aeschylus, Isocrates believed that peitho, at its best, should be filtered through wisdom. In his essay *Panathenaicus*, he describes “wise” and “complete” rhetoricians as being, in part, individuals who

possess a judgement which is accurate in meeting occasions as they arise and rarely misses the expedient course of action ... [and] who are decent and honourable in their intercourse with all with whom they associate, tolerating easily and good-naturedly what is unpleasant or offensive in others and being themselves as agreeable and reasonable to their associates as it is possible to be. (30-31)

In his essay *On the Peace*, Isocrates asserts, “[A]rrogance and insolence have been the cause of our misfortunes while sobriety and self-control have been the source of our blessings” (119).

Isocrates clearly favored and taught much the same form of persuasion that Aeschylus fashioned in *Eumenides*: a form of persuasion filtered through wisdom and driven by respect for others and a commitment to community wellbeing. Like the peitho of *Eumenides*, we would locate this form of persuasion in the social-gain/respectful and honest quadrant of our Cartesian grid. Little wonder, then, that critic Henri Marrou, in his *History of Education in Antiquity* (1956/1982), concludes, “[I]n the hands of Isocrates rhetoric is gradually transformed into ethics” (p. 89)

Plato and Peitho

Born eight years after Isocrates, Plato championed a form of persuasion that differs from the ideal peitho described by Aeschylus and Isocrates. Plato’s ideal persuasion is indeed directed toward the wellbeing of others – but honesty, as we shall see, is not inherent in the concept.

Plato's dialogue *Phaedrus* features three speeches, ostensibly about lovers. The first, actually Phaedrus' reading of a speech by Lysias, contends that love should not be part of seeming loving relationships; the instigating lover thus would have no emotional attachment and therefore could not be hurt. Socrates cleverly counters with a speech maintaining that the instigating lover should, rather, avoid pain by selecting an immature lover and keeping that individual in a state of subservient inferiority. Then, fearing that he has offended Eros, the god of love, Socrates composes a third speech that presents the instigating lover as one concerned primarily for the spiritual and intellectual improvement of the beloved.

In his landmark essay "The *Phaedrus* and the Nature of Rhetoric," Richard Weaver (1953) labels the three lovers the non-lover, the evil lover, and the noble lover – and he compellingly demonstrates that the three speeches are metaphors for three kinds of rhetoric and that art's inherent peitho: "[*Phaedrus*] is consistently, and from beginning to end, about one thing, which is the nature of rhetoric" (p. 3). The three forms of love thus symbolize a sterile, uncaring rhetoric; a dishonest, self-serving rhetoric; and an altruistic rhetoric that seeks to improve the lot of others. Plato, as well as Phaedrus and Socrates within the dialogue, clearly opt for the third form, the noble lover, the altruistic rhetoric. For the moment, this would seem to align Plato with Aeschylus and Isocrates.

In *Phaedrus*, however, Plato adds a requirement found elsewhere in his dialogues: Rhetoricians must know the absolute truth of a situation before they use peitho to bring others to that truth. Midway through *Phaedrus*, Socrates personifies logos and has her say, "Why do you talk nonsense, you strange men? I do not compel anyone to learn to speak without knowing the truth, but if my advice is of any value, he learns that first and then acquires me" (260D). Paradoxically, this knowledge of absolute truth allows Plato's ideal rhetorician to lie in order to persuade the unenlightened. In *Republic*, for example, Socrates declares that ruling philosopher-kings – rulers because they have divined absolute truth – may deceive their subjects:

The rulers then of the city may, if anybody, fitly lie ... for the benefit of the state.... It seems likely that our rulers will have to make considerable use of falsehood and deception for the benefit of their subjects. (389B, 459C)

Plato's ideal form of peitho thus would fall into the fourth quadrant of our Cartesian grid: the intersection of social gain with dishonesty. Philosopher kings would use peitho for the benefit of their subjects, but it would not always be honest peitho.

As Heath (2009), Ihlen (2010), Marsh (2013), and other scholars have demonstrated, public relations owes much to the intellectual achievements of classical Greece. As modern scholars and practitioners of public relations wrestle with the concept of persuasion, they may wish to consider the Greeks' conclusions about the goddess Peitho.

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Entertaining liars: Historiography, public relations history, and counterfactuals

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ABSTRACT

In philosophy there is an ancient paradox known as the “liar paradox.” Reputed to originate with the Cretan who stated that “All Cretans are liars,” the statement contains the same paradox as “I am lying” or “this statement is false.” Such statements violate the accepted dichotomy of true/false. Following in the wake of recent historiography, we entertain thoughts on four specific set of liars: historians in general, accounts of spin doctors who fight fiction with fiction to provide a heightened sense of reality; filmmakers who have a developed sense of protocols for truth-seeming accounts; and counterfactual history writers. More than ever, in an age of limited attention, to get audiences to entertain ideas of history involves engaging them with more than facts.

To classify historians as liars, is, strictly speaking, correct since no one can accurately claim to know the past and therefore has to partially invent it. While this as essential and a

bedrock that is worth returning to repeatedly, we have no desire to disparage the will to know the past and to know it to the best of our ability. Indeed, we agree with historian Peter Hoffer (2008) that while it might be “easy to demolish the very *idea* of historical knowing” (p. ix), it is “impossible to demolish the *importance* of historical knowing” (p. ix). Writing in *Truth and Method*, Gadamer (1997) noted that “Every finite present has its limitations” (p. 302). History and PR history alike display, at least intermittently, awareness of this and expand present situations through stories of the past and artful designs for the future. Gower’s (2007) succinctly raises questions about subjective agendas of “historians” who view public relations as a process of linear progression “from press agency, to publicity, to two-way communication. . . . first enunciated by Edward Bernays in 1941. It was followed by Eric Goldman’s expanded version of the evolution in his 1948 book, *Two-Way Street: The Emergence of the Public Relations Counsel.*” (p. ix). By 1984, Grunig and Hunt “identified each step in two-way symmetrical communication. . . . [and the] progression was now accepted as fact, [although] . . . “fraught with problems and personal agendas” (p. i).

History positions specific communities within specific presents to orient them to particular kinds of futures. That process is political and involves subjectivity and invention: “the writing of history is a matter of interpretation and . . . there is no objective way of writing history or about it” (Black, 2012, p. 7). For Black this is because “the historian is no magician able to unlock the past, but a guide who stimulates readers (and increasingly viewers) to think and see with their own minds and eyes, so it is useful to grasp the process of guidance and what lies behind it” (p. 8). In this spirit of seeking to stimulate independent reader thinking, we draw attention to the necessary artifices of history and some of their implications.

To focus our argument, and make it manageable, we look in more detail at a number of examples. Developing the paradox of liars, one Chinese short story writer, Bai Xiao-Yi claims that ‘The truer the story you tell, the less true it sounds’ (1996, p. 230). If we consider one area of relatively recent PR history, it reveals an interesting blurring of boundaries between fact and fiction. Our “fictional” text is the political thriller *Spin Doctor* by Michael Shea (1995) and our “factual” text, *Ultimate Spin Doctor: The Hard Life and Fast Times of Tim Bell*. The latter is an unauthorised biography of Mrs Thatcher’s favourite PR man by Mark Hollingsworth (1997). The former is by Michael Shea, who worked for a decade as the Queen’s Press Secretary and so has insider knowledge of the political promotion game, and his creation of a fictional British prime minister carries considerable authenticity.

Paradoxically Shea's untrue account comes across as much more credible than, according to Mark Hollingsworth, the real life of Tim Bell, a leading light in Saatchi and Saatchi who was Margaret Thatcher's PR consultant for much of her term of office. Bell makes much of one of his favourite sayings, 'I can fall in the sewer and come out smelling of roses' (p. 17) and, certainly, despite drugs and public obscenity convictions, he ended up with a knighthood.

Our next set of examples considers the challenge of more distant historical periods by looking at certain cinematic and narrative portrayals of different pasts. History professor Robert Berkhofer (2008) notes how "filmmakers deliberately emplot . . . to promote a goal or message" and documentary "filmmakers at times use actuality footage to re-present past persons and activities as originally recorded" (p. 180), so these "representations serve "the same function in filmic historical representation as a quotation does in a textual historical representation" (p. 180). We examine a range of such parallels, comparing cinematic protocols, historiography and PR representations and how they have been applied by filmmakers.

Our final section looks at "creative" history using Fergusson's (1997) Chaos theory-influenced *Virtual History: Alternatives and Counterfactuals* and aligned speculative approaches in the US such as Carnes (2001) *Novel History: Historians and Novelists Confront America's Past (and Each Other)* and Cowley's (2000) *What If™: The World's Foremost Military Historians Imagine What Might Have Been*. All three extend boundaries and, in so doing, extend possibilities in a way that could free up future considerations of histories and different pathways for public relations. We also explore the power of counterfactual questions to open up controversies and different ways of considering PR history.

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**Placing activist communication at the centre: how Friends of the Earth framed
the Newbury bypass campaign**

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EXTENDED ABSTRACT

There is a growing acknowledgement that the development of public relations as a profession has been shaped by activist as well as by corporate actors (Coombs and Holladay 2012, Demetrious 2006, 2013, Ihlen 2013, L'Etang 2009). These academics argue that PR history has largely privileged the corporate voice while positioning social movements and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as a risk for 'legitimate' corporate PR to manage. "The dominant paradigm in public relations is firmly rooted in the concerns of US capitalism...Activists appear to be constructed as problematic in public relations. They are *the other*, the implied organisational opponents" (L'Etang, 2009, p. 84).

This paper contributes to the literature and aims to enrich our understanding of activist public communication as a legitimate aspect of PR. It uses a case study approach, examining the role of the NGO 'Friends of the Earth' in the Newbury bypass campaign of 1996. Following Demetrious' proposed model of public communication (2013), the paper considers the wider societal impacts the campaign aimed to deliver: specifically how did it attempt to balance the public interest with organisational objectives?

The proposed bypass around the South East market town of Newbury in England would cross and damage ancient battlegrounds, archaeological sites and sites of special scientific interest. The Newbury campaign to stop the bypass was the biggest road protest the UK had seen, and was iconic in its scale, innovative tactics and their effect on the next generation of activists. It was also the first in which Friends of the Earth used a website for campaign communication. The campaign

positioned the bypass as an issue of concern to ‘middle England’. Using aristocrats as third party endorsers, and drawing on the rich historical associations of the planned route, the campaign attempted to move beyond media representations of road protests as sites of conflict or a barrier to progress, to stimulate long-term systemic change in approaches to transport policy.

The paper’s purpose is threefold: to explore the factors that influenced the framing of the campaign; to identify which values were included and given salience in the campaign materials; and to explore how the campaign communicators balanced a range of expectations when developing those frames, specifically balancing self-interest (meeting fundraising or other short-term organisational goals) with public interest (delivering long term systemic social change).

Framing is a key tool for NGOs to influence the decision makers who can deliver social change; influence public opinion via the media; and engage supporters directly to encourage them to take action. The study uses the work of Snow and Benford (1986) and Gillan (2008) as frameworks through which to consider the frames in this campaign. Positioned within the critical public relations stream, this study considers how NGO campaign communicators compete with and anticipate other actors, and balance short-term campaign or fundraising goals with delivering systemic social change.

This paper draws on analysis of Friends of the Earth archive material on the Newbury campaign, much of which has not previously been open to researchers. The material includes around 80 press releases as well as copies of the member’s magazine *Earth Matters*, archived pages from the campaign website, and briefings for the media, supporters and staff. This material was supplemented by campaign budget papers, extensive meeting minutes, a campaign evaluation, feedback from journalists and other planning documents which gave an insight into the intended impact of the frames and communications materials, to compare with the materials themselves. Interviews with core members of the team who ran the campaign explored how the campaign was framed and positioned in relation to other players (including other NGOs); how PR aspects were managed and negotiated between communications and campaigns staff; and how the campaign contributed to the development of campaign communication skill sets within Friends of the Earth.

The research showed that Friends of the Earth used three key frames during the campaign. The frame of ‘middle England’ was used to counter prevailing media

descriptions of the protestors as anarchists, dropouts and people outside mainstream society. Instead it associated protestors with values of tradition, historical resonance, community and a pastoral sense of place. The second frame of 'the right to protest' was designed to reinforce the legitimacy of the campaign against the backdrop of a huge police and security response including the first sustained widespread use of the new Criminal Justice and Public Order Act, which made certain types of peaceful protest illegal for the first time. The third frame of 'alternative solutions' to the bypass used expert, scientific and financial evidence to question whether the bypass was in the public interest. This was the most widely promoted frame and appears throughout all campaign materials. However, it was the least frequently picked up by the media, who preferred to focus either on conflict, or on the frame of middle England, which showed the aristocracy and the middle class in an unusual context. These two angles made better news and features stories but did not advance the public interest as much the alternative solutions frame.

Activist and NGO campaigns are often analysed in PR literature in terms of the risk they pose to corporate or government interests (Grunig 1984, Deegan 2001). Their role in representing the public interest, so vital to maintain democracy, is less widely analysed.

The paper argues that the Newbury case study is an example of civil society attempting to represent the public interest, in this case through proposing alternative solutions to the bypass; representing the scale of public feeling; defending the public's right to protest; and critiquing government policy making where it failed to be democratic or scientifically reliable. However the scale of resources required, combined with the media's expectation that the main story of a protest will be about conflict, are and have historically been significant hurdles to ensuring that the public interest will be fully represented. Comparisons can be drawn with the current protests in several countries against fracking, where similar patterns of framing can be seen. This is a problem that should be of concern to all PR practitioners and academics, whether or not they specialise in the not for profit sector.

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Public Relations of Trade Unions in 1960s and 1970s in Turkey: An Untold Story

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Trade unions and public relations are usually seen as unrelated in the Turkish context. The identification of public relations with the private sector led trade unions to keep public relations at a distance. Consequently, communicative action discourses of trade unions have been generated excluding the concept of public relations. Nevertheless, like other organisations, trade unions operate under the pressure of communicating with their various target groups and improving their communication skills. Especially, the relations with their members, which obviously is their *raison d'être*, indicate that public relations is a vital concept for trade unions. It is necessary for trade unions to employ public relations tactics and strategies in order to recruit workers, pressure employers and government, gain public support and so on.

In this regard, this study examines the case of 1 May 1978, which is derived from a broader research on public relations of trade unions during the period 1960-1980. For this particular presentation I will focus on the ways in which DISK, established in 1967, employed public relation strategies and tools for mobilising the masses for the 1 May demonstrations in the shadow of the massacre which took place during the previous year's demonstrations.

Trade Unions and Public Relations

Since the public relations literature focuses on private enterprises, trade unions are referred as one of the main publics that organisations need to communicate with. Similarly, public relations text books provide crucial tips to future public relations professionals for communicating and developing relations with trade unions. However, like private companies, trade unions need to build cases in accordance with their interests and the workers' interests, and to communicate with their public, like other organisations. The main target groups of trade unions are potential members, members, governmental institutions, media and the public that can be reached via media.

Currently trade unions use all the public relations strategies and tactics available. Almost all unions have created a presence on the World Wide Web. In addition, unions engage on a daily basis in speeches, rallies, meetings, interpersonal communication, direct

and indirect lobbying, press releases and press conferences, appearances on news and talk shows, philanthropic efforts and social responsibility activities, fundraising tactics, membership recruitment and campaigns (Hansen Horn, 2005, p.478).

Nevertheless, the use of public relations by trade unions is not a recent phenomenon. For instance, May Day marches that can be seen as event management date back to 1880s. May Day marches were an opportunity to show solidarity and pride in workers' organisations. The first May Day procession took place in London in 1890, when around a quarter of a million trade unionists marched to Hyde Park (Stevenson, 2014). Another interesting example is from the Progressive Era in the USA. During the Progressive Era in the United States labour right advocates used alternative strategies to receive public attention. For instance, Upton Sinclair's novel based on the meat packing industry in Chicago, *The Jungle*, was published in serial form in a newspaper in 1905 and widely read (Trott, 2006). Trade unions have been employing the main tools of public relations for a long time. For instance, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers (AUBTW) celebrated its centenary in 1948, and produced a booklet for members describing the union's achievements during the previous 100 years (UCATT, 2002, p. 387).

Trade Unions and May Day in Turkey

Union Movement in Turkey

The first unions in Turkey were founded between 1919 and 1922. After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, membership in labour unions increased. The accommodation of Turkey to national and international developments led to a liberalisation of the Law on Associations, and the prohibition of associations and alliances based on social classes was revoked. Subsequently, hundreds of trade unions, with an increasing radius of action, were founded (Cited Wannöffel, 2011). The Turkish Confederation of Workers' Unions (TÜRK- İŞ), which mainly organises public sector workers, was formed in 1952 on the basis of the first trade union law of 1947. After the military coup of 1960, Trade Union Act no 274 and the Collective Bargaining, Strikes and Lockouts Act no 275 were enacted in 1963. These guaranteed the right to strike and to engage in collective bargaining, and facilitated a dramatic increase in union membership. The Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DİSK) was founded in 1967 after a strike at a glass factory resulted in a split within TÜRK-İŞ. Organising mainly private sector workers, DİSK adopted an alternative position. It supported the socialist Turkish Labour Party (TİP), some of whose founding members were DİSK leaders and members (Sahande Dinler, 2012).

May Day in Turkey and the Taksim Square Massacre in 1977

May Day celebrations took place in 1909 in Skopje, which at that time was part of Turkey. The participants at the first demonstration were predominantly Bulgarians and Serbs and a few Turks. The first demonstration in Istanbul took place in 1912 and these first meetings served as a means of handing out pamphlets rather than demonstrations for labour movement solidarity. Shipyard workers celebrated May Day in 1921 in Istanbul while it was under invasion. May Day was announced as a "spring and flower festival" and holiday for workers in 1935. The first massive May Day celebration took place at Taksim Square in 1976. This celebration was led by DİSK with the participation of hundreds of thousands of workers (Yazıcı, 2011).

Taksim Square holds a symbolic position for the May Day celebrations in Turkey. Taksim Square was built in 1926 and was the first square with the first monument planned and designed in the new republic. Starting from the two boundaries of the city and with Taksim as the meeting point, the demonstration procession reclaimed the city as part of its universalist discourse on labour at Taksim Square, with its huge concrete plateau surrounded by offices, banks, international hotels and prestigious projects like the opera house and art gallery. It is a place which maintains a reciprocal daily relationship between its space and the crowd's trajectories. This relationship was a major pragmatic and symbolic concern in the configuration of the 1 May demonstration (Baykan and Hatuka, 2010).

According to the *Encyclopaedia of Socialism and Social Struggles*, 1 May 1977 was the most crowded and enthusiastically celebrated May Day demonstration in Turkish history. The report of the police department published after 1 May 1977, states that 99 trade unions attended the march in Taksim. The same report mentions that there were 100 thousand people in the square when the massacre began. The crowd was targeted with shootings from the top of some buildings on the square just before the march was over. Despite announcements by the organisation committee not to panic, 34 people were killed, 26 of whom died because of suffocation and trampling (1988, p. 2281). None of the perpetrators were caught and brought to justice. After the incident, over 500 demonstrators were detained, and 98 were indicted. Among the 17 defendants who had been put in pre-trial detention, three were released before the first hearing and nine were released at the first hearing on 7 July 1977. The remaining prisoners were released soon afterwards. The trial ended in acquittal on 20 October 1989 (Mavioglu ve Sanyer, 2007).

DİSK and Public Relations Efforts for May 1978: the Strategy and Tools

For obvious reasons, DİSK took the 1 May 1978 march very seriously. It was crucial for DİSK to demonstrate that it has not dread of the massacre and the pressures that it received after May 1977. Furthermore, leftist political organisations had regarded DİSK as leading the May Day organisations (Koç and Koç, 1978, p. 473-474). Thus, organising another crowded May Day just after the massacre would have been a significant achievement for DİSK.

It was necessary for DİSK to develop well-planned public relations activities in order to organise May Day as a form of "event management" with the aim of showing that it preserves its powerful position, its ability to mobilise people after the massacre and to assert the significance of May Day.

DİSK's strategy was to organise a single march for concentrating the attention of the public, media and workers on May Day. The confederation decided that May Day demonstrations should take place only in Taksim in order to gather larger numbers of people from other cities, which would eventually keep media attention, focused and keep the 1977 massacre on the agenda. Accordingly, the executive committee concluded in their meeting on 8 February 1978 that "May Day, the day for the unity, solidarity and struggle of the working class, shall be celebrated in the halls of Ankara, Izmir, Adana and Diyarbakir". The May Day organisation committee elected in the previous meeting and Fehmi Işıklar, secretary general of the confederation and pioneer of the labour movement, chaired the committee; Mustafa Aktulgalı, Burhan Şahin, Kemal Akar and Müşür Kaya Canpolat were appointed as members (DİSK, 1978). The committee met twice with the representatives of five different socialist parties. Then, a larger meeting was organised with the attendance of 34 organisations which agreed on the motto of the event "To the May Day Square on May Day!" The determination to celebrate May Day at Taksim Square was emphasised. The member trade unions were invited to establish central committees and make the necessary arrangements for May Day (*DİSK Journal*, 1978, p. 28).

DİSK employed various tools in planning the communicative process of May Day 1978. Primary tools were posters, competitions, exhibitions, union journals, public speeches and press releases.

Posters have been the distinctive tools of communication for leftist movements in Turkey. Particularly, "propaganda" work of 1960s and 1970s benefited from posters as a vital means for announcing their activities and conveying their messages on the walls of urban spaces (Aysan, 2013, p. 11). DİSK has also used posters in meetings, strikes, marches and

other activities very often. Aysan (2013, p. 361) states that one can see various works of volunteer amateurs as well as professional and educated graphic artists in the visual archives of DISK.

DISK adopted an innovative approach to poster design and launched a competition for May 1978. In the board meeting on 8 February 1978, "... it was decided unanimously that a poster competition will be organised for May Day and that first place will be awarded with 7,500 lira, second place with 5,000 lira, and third place with 3,000 lira." The competition had media coverage mostly in the leftist press: "The deadline for the poster competition organised by DISK for May Day of unity, solidarity and struggle of working class is tomorrow. Colour and black and white works will be exhibited in the DISK General Presidency building. Works will be selected by the preselection committee consisting of Bülent Erkman, Kemal Nebioğlu, Mustafa Aslier, Semih Balçoğlu, Tahsin Saraç, Yaşar Kemal and Yücel Yaman." (4 April 1978, *Cumhuriyet*, p. 6). Distinguished personalities of Turkish art such as Semih Balçoğlu and Yaşar Kemal from the selection committee contributed to the reputation of the competition. The committee assessed the submitted posters on May Day. The winners were announced via leftist newspapers, reporting that, "The May Day poster competition organised by DISK was finalised yesterday. Şekip Davaz's work was awarded first prize. Emre Senan was awarded second prize and Aydın Erkmen was awarded third prize in the competition" (9 April 1978, *Cumhuriyet*, p. 5). DISK presented the posters to the public via exhibitions in Istanbul and Izmir after the competition (20 August 1978, *Cumhuriyet*, p. 5).

The DISK journal was another important tool of communication during the organisation of May Day 1978. The April issue of the journal was primarily focused on May Day preparations. The journal emphasised the importance of effective communication indicating that "the good relations with political parties and democratic popular organisations will ensure a packed May Day square on May Day". The special section consisted of five pages with photos of organisation committee, and emphasised the significance of celebrating May Day in Taksim Square after the "bloody May Day 1977". A poster containing photos of 14 people who were killed in the bloody May Day, titled "they will live in memory," was published in the DISK journal and the journals of other member unions of the confederation (*DISK Journal*, 1978, p. 27).

Speeches contribute a great deal to the public relations of trade unions in terms of gaining visibility and supporters for their case and influencing public opinion. DISK effectively used speeches during the preparations for May Day. The determination to use

Taksim Square was strongly emphasised in various meetings via speeches. DISK secretary general Fehmi Isiklar`s speech at the 1st Technicians Congress set an example. In the speech Isiklar stated that no power can block the way to the May Day square, as the celebration is an indicator of the struggle and ambition of the Turkish working class (7 May 1978, *Cumhuriyet*, p. 9).

DISK benefited from the press releases as well. The most remarkable of these releases was secretary general Isiklar`s response to the news about the government`s opposition to celebrating May Day in Taksim. A newspaper quotes his speech saying, “May Day, the day of the unity, solidarity and struggle of the working class, will be celebrated in Taksim Square again. We regard the attempts to prevent this as the prevention of legal rights. No power can prevent us from using our legal rights. DISK completed the legal procedure by applying to the Istanbul governorship on 6 February 1978 and declared that May Day will be celebrated in Taksim Square. The necessary announcements were made to all members and irreversible preparations were done.” (1 April 1978, *Cumhuriyet*, p. 5). The DISK executive board publicised another press release on 28 April 1978: “We celebrate the day of the unity, solidarity and struggle the working class, honourable May Day, in the May Day Square under the leadership of DISK. DISK is in charge of May Day celebrations. The march and the meeting will be realised in accordance with working class discipline” (cited in Koç and Koç, 476).

DISK took seriously the organization of the May Day event. A day before the demonstration colossal May Day placards were prepared by several artists on a floor of the DISK building (Aysan, 2013, p. 353). The speech platform was situated in front of the Intercontinental Hotel with various billboards and placards symbolising the working class upon which slogans such as "Long Live Socialism" and "We will call to account for 1 May 1978" were written. A large billboard stating "Long Live May Day" was on the front side of the Culture Centre. The portraits of those who were killed in May Day 1977 were also among the remarkable visuals (2 May 1978, *Cumhuriyet*, p. 9). Furthermore, 3D visuals produced by artists and students who were encouraged by DISK, played an important role in depicting the demands of the working class. Supported by the participation of hundreds of thousands, this meeting was the last May Day celebration in Taksim until the 2000s.

Conclusion

Although trade unions are not well addressed in public relations literature, it is important to highlight the role of public relations in trade unions in terms of public relations historiography. Apparently, trade unions develop particular public relations strategies

depending on their historical context and employ public relations tools in order to reach their organisational goals. No doubt, cultural and political particularities of different countries are reflected by different trade union public relations concepts and practices. Examining the ways in which trade unions employ public relations from historical perspective can also support alternative public relations historiographies.

This study reveals that trade unions in Turkey were able to manage public relations strategically during a period in which public relations were just beginning to be institutionalised in Turkey, although they did not use the term public relations explicitly. The fact that while many private and public institutions were just introduced to the notion of public relations, a trade union confederation was capable of using public relations effectively indicates that Turkish public relations historiography must focus on the role of NGOs and trade unions as well. Discovering the public relations practices of trade unions is crucial for understanding the past, the present and the future of public relations in Turkey.

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Authentic or Defensive? - The representation of the BBC

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Introduction

This paper will explore the justification strategies employed by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the reception of those strategies in the media during the last 40 years. The aim is to identify the brand positioning used by the BBC as an organization, and to understand whether that positioning may or may not be perceived as 'authentic'. The research will analyse the 'corporate communications' activity¹ and public relations representation of the BBC. Whilst the BBC has a long history, having been formed at the end of 1922 as a company² and then incorporated in 1926 (Burns 1997:1), this study will focus on its emergence as a digital media organization in the latter part of the 20th Century.

Methodology

Thematic analysis is a potential alternative to discourse analysis as it has the facility to incorporate aspects of quantitative content analysis whilst allowing the focus on themes, or grand discourses, favoured by Fairclough (2003) and others. Boyatzis (1998) conceptualizes themes as patterns which describe and organize information (Boyatzis 1998: vi). The analysis of results can highlight 'salient constellations of meanings' of an 'affective, cognitive and symbolic dimension' (Joffe 2012:209) and can thus be used across a wide variety of data, including questionnaires, documents and visual material (Boyatzis 1998: 5). Themes can be identified either inductively from the raw data, or deductively from theory or prior research (1998:vi). There is flexibility in the analytical approaches which can then be used, ranging on a continuum from 'the exclusively qualitative and verbally descriptive methods to primarily quantitative methods of statistical analysis' (1998:128).

¹ The body of communications activity which has reputation creation and management as its purpose.

² The British Broadcasting Company was set up in 1922 as a consortium of British wireless receiving set manufacturers, with John Reith as Managing Director. Its initial commercial aim was to expand the market for wireless receivers (Burns 1997:1-7).

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of thematic analysis for my own research is the way in which it can help interpret phenomena at both a manifest and latent level (Boyatzis 1998:vi), identifying ‘patterns of explicit and implicit content’ (Joffe 2012:209). The researcher can thus incorporate some of the quantitative objectivity of content analysis, whilst using the interpretive qualities of discourse analysis, taking into account the potential multiple meanings of individual words and phrases, without focusing intensively on structural linguistics (Joffe & Yardley 2004:57):

Ideally, contemporary TA [thematic analysis] is able to offer the systematic element characteristic of CA [content analysis], but also permits the researcher to combine the analysis of the frequency of codes with analysis of their more tacit meanings, thus adding the advantages of the subtlety and complexity of phenomenological pursuits (Joffe 2012:211).

As with all essentially qualitative methodologies there is a danger of researcher projection and subjectivity (Joffe 2012:209), but this can be avoided by such techniques as explicit coding and staying close to the raw information (Boyatzis 1998:12). Boyatzis also warns of the problems associated with using theory-driven, or prior research-driven codes, which often use the wording of theory or the language of the researcher’s field; such conceptual rigidity ‘increases the likelihood of a code that is difficult to use and has low validity’ (1998:33). However, Joffe argues the importance of taking into account previous research and findings in order to help build upon and revolutionize knowledge and therefore calls for a ‘dual deductive-inductive and latent-manifest set of themes’ to be used together (Joffe 2012:210).

A further critique of thematic analysis is similar to Fairclough’s (2003:24) critique of discourse analysis in that issues can be abstracted from how they appear in life if material is organized according to connections made by the researcher (Joffe & Yardley 2004:66). Joffe & Yardley propose that, in order to avoid this, the aspiration of researchers using thematic analysis should be to ‘stay true to the raw data, and its meaning within a particular context of thoughts’, rather than focusing too much on the frequency of abstracted codes (2004:67). Buetow (2010) takes this one stage further arguing that a key issue facing researchers is the poor demarcation of thematic analysis when used in practice and the conflation of the recurrence and importance of codes (Buetow 2010:123). Buetow suggests that even single codes have the potential to be important and therefore conceptualizes the notion of *saliency analysis*, which ‘identifies and keeps visible’ data which stands out at both the manifest and latent levels (2010:123).

Existing studies exemplify the way in which thematic analysis can be used effectively to identify ‘grand discourses’. Ward et al (2009) used thematic analysis to review 193 academic papers in order to better understand and explain knowledge transfer messages and terminology used in the health sector (2009:157). The work led to the successful identification of 28 different models, which were distilled by analysis to five common components (2009:163). Similarly Carroll et al (2011) used documentary analysis of 30 Evidence Review Group reports (2011:137) to systematically identify and map the strengths and weaknesses and key issues raised in manufacturer submissions to the National Institute of Health and Clinical Excellence. Whilst Carroll et al (2011) used the technique to identify aspects inherent within documentary texts, Halkoaho et al (2012) used thematic analysis to conclude that ‘the justification of the research from an ethical point of view’ was missing from 56 ethical statements submitted by principal investigators to the research ethics committee for tissue research (2012:5), and thus we see the usefulness of the technique used at a latent level to interpret data and its implications.

Whilst thematic analysis is prevalent in health and social science research, Joffe (2012) argues that its use has extended across a broad range of empirical papers (2012:219) and that it can be appropriate for media studies which has traditionally relied on content analysis (2012:210). She suggests that both mass media material, and interviews with lay people and professionals, can be used to examine the processes of communication and to elucidate the ‘specific nature of a given group’s conceptualization of the phenomenon under study’ (2012:212). In addition to media studies usage, a range of contemporary studies have used thematic analysis in conjunction with questionnaires to further understanding in organizational and business contexts which likewise has relevance for my own study of organisations. Hastings et al (2013) thematically analysed interviews with commercial and public sector professionals to advance understanding of the ‘rules and roles of using email in [organizational] dissent expression’ (2013:323), whilst Jones et al (2013) used an inductive approach to ‘identify and generate a typology of the range of different types of networks in which software technology SMEs engage’ in order to understand the constellation of relationships involved in each network (2013:689) and to conceive of a model of strategic network marketing (2013:671).

Studies which I feel have specific relevance for my own research are Martin et al’s (2013) use of thematic analysis to better understand the social construction and representation

of the notion of leadership across six different societies³. Martin et al used a questionnaire approach to help better reveal the connection between word-deed consistency and the interpretation of values pertaining to leadership (2013:446) an approach which enabled the team ‘to achieve a fine-grained understanding of leader integrity as a multi-faceted construct’ (2013:458), thus suggesting the efficacy of the technique for revealing perceptions of notions such as value and integrity. Also useful for my own work is Bryant & Garnham’s (2013) and Penaloza & Barnhart’s (2011) use of Foucault’s ideas as a deductive tool for analysis, as I am interested in using Boltanski et al as a framework for connecting my research with the social world. Bryant and Garnham specifically set out to draw on both theoretical and empirical resources to explore perceptions of reasons for farmer distress in Australia (2013:2). The paper engages with Foucault’s analysis of the neoliberal economy as a counterpoint to a traditional view of farmer distress being linked to drought (2013:2) and uses this as a base point for deductive thematic analysis of farmer interviews. Thematic analysis was used to counter a prevailing representation of farmer distress, using Foucault’s ideas as a framework for exploring other narratives or discourses, here understood as themes.

Penaloza and Barnhart (2011) used thematic analysis and Foucault’s notion of *subjectification* (2011:744) to consider alternative themes⁴ and subject positions of consumers in relation to their cultural perceptions of credit and debt (2011:743). Situating the research within a view of culture as dynamic, oral histories were used to track changes in patterns in the normalization of credit and debt over the course of consumer life spans (2011:744), and I would like to propose that a similar methodology might be used to track thematic changes of organizational subject positions in relation to notions of what constitutes brand authenticity and justification. Of particular interest in Penaloza and Barnhart’s study is the way in which the definitions and evaluations of participants were much more layered than the standard definitions of credit and debt. This led to the development of a model of different subject positions (2011:753), based on the notion of a continua of meanings which participants ‘tipped’ in various directions. According to their subject positions, participants were positioned against an overall categorization of a social and a market domain (2011:751).

³ ‘Respondents included 189 managers who were native citizens of and worked full-time within one of six societies, namely the U.S., Ireland, Germany, Austria, China (PRC), and Hong Kong. (Martin et al 2013:447). The team ‘followed procedures by Boyatzis (1998) to conduct a data-driven thematic analysis of the manifest and latent content of the responses’ (2013:448)

⁴ Penaloza and Barnhart (2011) identified four sets of cultural meanings (themes) relating to the normalization of credit and debt: independence/social integration, indulgence/self-discipline, security/threat, and constraint/freedom (2011:747) and these were then formalized into a model of patterns and trajectories (2011:753).

I believe such an approach will be useful for helping to understand the complexities of organizational and brand justifications, whilst also considering the domains (or *worlds*) those justifications relate to. Indeed Penaloza and Barnhart argue that ‘another promising area of research is the interplay of social and market domains in forging meaning in other forms of consumption’ (2011:760).

A further methodological area, linked to thematic analysis that is worth consideration is Discourse Historical Analysis (DHA). Concerned with the historical dimension of discourse, this method uses ‘as wide as possible a range of available knowledge sources’ (Lorenzo-Dus & Marsh 2012: 278) and is thus well suited to the study of intertextual themes as its aim is to ‘examine intertextual and interdiscursive relationships vis-à-vis the social problem under investigation’ (Lorenzo-Dus & Marsh 2012:278). Working on four levels, DHA considers texts according to: (1) linguistic features; (2) discursive relationships; (3) extra-linguistic sociological and institutional influences; (4) as well as wider macro socio-logical political and historical contexts (Lorenzo-Dus & Marsh 2012:278), thus working at a micro, mezzo and macro level. In their analysis of the securitization of poverty Lorenzo and Marsh (2012) looked at directly comparable documents across time to enable them to identify semantic-discursive themes and legitimation strategies and there is a clear value in the way that such analysis enables a ‘multi-dimensional deconstruction of the way certain topoi and arguments are recontextualised and reformulated’ (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999:91).

To facilitate a thematic research approach Lorenzo-Dus and Marsh used Van Leeuwen’s (2007) legitimization framework which relies on Fairclough’s four (de)legitimation categories: authorization (referring to authorities), moral evaluation (relating to value systems), rationalization (cognitive validity) and mythopoesis (rewarding legitimate actions and punishing non-legitimate actions) (Lorenzo-Dus & Marsh 2012:281-282). It is clear that these may be of use for a thesis considering the justificatory representation of digital media brands, but van Leeuwen’s application works on a micro linguistic level. For example, Lorenzo-Dus and Marsh, in their 2012 study, use van Leeuwen’s legitimization categories as a basis for exploring metaphors used in the securitization of poverty (Lorenzo-Dus & Marsh 2012:282) whilst Van Leeuwen and Wodak argue that alongside a study of data content and discursive strategies DHA should include a study of ‘the linguistic realization of these contents and strategies’ (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999:91). As my study aims to identify and analyse justificatory at the mezzo / macro level, this third aspect of DHA would probably not be relevant.

I do, however, find the way in which DHA enables a temporal aspect to be embedded in research enquiry to be particularly useful. Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) reflect on how DHA addresses the historical dimension of research foci in two ways: firstly by considering available historical information and original sources in which discursive strategies are embedded; and secondly by exploring the ‘the ways in which particular types and genres of discourse are subject to diachronic change’ (Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 91). For example, Van Leeuwen and Wodak used the DHA to analyse strategies of legitimation and justification used in rejection letters sent to Austrian immigrants hoping to bring their families into the country. This enabled related genres of discourse and strategies of argumentation to be connected to the history of post-war immigration in Austria generally (Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999:85), thus facilitating Fairclough’s argument that discourse research should be connected to its temporal socio-political environment (Fairclough 2003:124). The reason I feel this approach is important to my study in particular, and may make it uniquely different to traditional content analysis studies, is that organizational reputation is both historical in nature (Gregory 2000:3) and socially situated (Aaker 1996:viii) and therefore, I would propose, would benefit from a longitudinal and cross-disciplinary approach. For Van Leeuwen and Wodak this meant that in addition to a study of the letters sent to Austrian families their research also considered ‘the laws to which they refer, the broader context of immigration, and the debates about family reunion in the media and Parliament’ (Van Leeuwen & Wodak 1999:91).

In order to determine a viable and useful body of data to study it is my intention to focus on what Boltanski and Chiapello refer to as ‘test points’ for organizations (Boltanski & Chiapello 2007:31), and as such have identified the BBC Charter renewal years, and broadcasting committees, as points of study. Burns identifies that periodically heavyweight broadcasting committees, linked to the renewal of the BBC’s licence fee, effectively ‘put the BBC on trial for its life, or for possible dissection’ (Burns 1997:296), a point which is supported by Stevenson: ‘Every fifteen or so years Charter renewals provide a good opportunity for thinking about what the BBC’s role and purpose is’ (Stevenson 1993:1).

The initial construction of a Charter for the BBC, and subsequent renewals, have all lead to specific reports and a public sphere debate around those reports:

UK broadcasting has been shaped by the successive analyses and bundles of recommendations put forward in official reports at roughly decennial intervals: notably in the Sykes (Report 1923), Crawford (Report 1926), Ullswater (Report 1936), Beveridge (Report 1951), Pilkington (Report 1962), Annan (report 1977) and

Peacock (Report 1986) reports. The principle focus in all reports was the status of the BBC.... (Collins in O'Malley & Jones 2009:148)

The Constitution of the BBC was formed in 1926 and its responsibilities and powers were articulated in its Charter and Licence⁵, which positioned it as ultimately responsible to the British Parliament and Government (Burns 1997:27-29). Every ten years its Charter is renewed and this forms a focus for a public sphere debate about its role, purpose, management, government relationship and financial resources. The next renewal of the BBC Charter takes place in 2016.

In his seminal⁶ study of the BBC as an organization Tom Burns (1997) studied the structures and articulated purposes of the BBC over a ten year period and this potentially provides some useful deductive themes for research. From the start, the BBC was developed within an environment of public fear about the potential social, cultural and political influence of mass media (Burns 1997:34) and this links to an ongoing debate about the nature and purpose of public service broadcasting⁷, themes which according to O'Malley & Jones have been considered and debated by successive UK governments throughout the existence of the BBC up to the present day (O'Malley & Jones 2009:8). The organization faces a fundamental dilemma of needing to be controlled because it is powerful, whilst also enabling democracy by facilitating minority voices (Burns 1997:15). The BBC's relationship with the British Government is cited as an ongoing source of tension, with Burns identifying the challenge of reconciling operational independence alongside an 'uneasy' relationship with political parties, politics and government officials (1997:12-14). Further themes related to purpose from Burns' study include: providing access to cultural heritage and to educate (Burns 1997:19-20); determining what was fit and proper for the nation to view (1997:149); reflecting public opinion (1997:186); a focus on entertainment in the 1960s driven by the arrival of commercial competition (1997:54); and Reith's original desire to present the best of British to the British people (1997:42).

This latter point is corroborated by Hajowski⁸ who talks of debates about the BBC's role in 'reflecting, defining and projecting British national identity' (Hajowski, 2010:2) and

⁵ The BBC's Licence to operate was the responsibility of the Postmaster General and was initially given in 1925 (Burns 1997:40).

⁶ Burns based the book on recordings and notes taken 'during some fifteen weeks spent in the BBC in 1963 and on a second period of study in 1973' (Burns 1997:vix).

⁷ 'There have been six Committees of Inquiry on Broadcasting which have been constituted since public broadcasting began [in the UK] in 1922' (Burns 1997:40).

⁸ Hajowski focuses on programming content to explore the BBC's project of British nationality and empire, analysing talks, programmes, documentaries and drama (Hajowski 2010: 38). In particular, he uses the Radio

helping to create an ‘imagined community’ for Britain (2010:6). Hajowski argues that the BBC has had, and perhaps continues to have, a key role in constructing and reconstituting a pluralistic and diverse British culture (2010:3), put more forcibly by Smith who argues that the BBC ‘has become part of the national psyche and, in a sense, of the political constitution of a nation’ (Smith in Stevenson 1993:8). Hall agrees, arguing that as ‘a national-cultural institution’ the BBC had a principal role in developing a symbolic unity for the nation out of its diversity of conflicting identities and differences (in Stevenson 1993:32). In some sense, we might argue that Hall is describing the active, dynamic process of brand construction and change which my work attempts to argue, further supported by Hall’s views that the BBC ‘stands in a *constitutive* relation to its ‘publics’ whom it forms as it addresses’ (in Stevenson 1993:35).

A different legitimization theme for the BBC emerges in its projective role, working as a ‘promotional tool’ for Britain (Hajowski 2010:20). This was perhaps first embodied in war-time morale-boosting propagandistic activity, in which it employed the monarchy and the Empire as symbols ‘of British unity and common effort’, according to Hajowski (2010:51). Later in 1955, its Director General Harman Grisewood seems to confirm this use, claiming that the BBC ‘continued to coordinate propaganda campaigns with the government’ (2010:233) and likewise Patricia Hodgson (BBC Director of Policy and Planning) in 1993 talks of how the BBC’s worldwide presence ‘promotes understanding and brings credit to Britain’ (in Stevenson 1993:76). In terms of legitimization, Hajowski focuses on the way in which the Empire, and in particular links to the monarchy, were used in ‘an attempt to legitimize the new medium of radio by attaching it to the authority and prestige of monarch’ (Hajowski 2010:103). An area for focus might therefore be to seek to identify other symbolic partnerships used by the BBC itself as part of a legitimization process.

Mulgan and Paterson, perhaps reflecting Reith’s early vision for the BBC, argue that the corporation is ‘central to the cultural life of Britain’ (Stevenson 1993:ix), supported by Smith who highlights how it constantly works to improve and increase the range of tastes (in Stevenson 1993:9). This seems to be confirmed by Hodgson who claims that ‘the BBC believes that its role is to set standards and to extend choice’ (in Stevenson 1993:66). It is also ‘recognised throughout the world as a producer of quality programming and for its impartial news coverage’ (Stevenson 1993:ix) and is argued to have a role in providing ‘a flow of reliable, independent political and international information’ (Smith in Stevenson

Times to analyse programmes and BBC Listener Research Reports to gauge the extent of national representation within and by the BBC (2010:4).

1993:9). This impartiality and honesty seems to be an important legitimating factor linked to its editorial impartiality based on 'straight dealing, honesty and fairness' (Hodgson in Stevenson 1993:73). Indeed, in its own 1993 document 'Extending Choice', the BBC sets out its own criteria for judgement which are: programming quality; audience value; efficiency/effectiveness; and international impact (Hodgson in Stevenson 1993:75). Hodgson also highlights the industry benefit provided by the BBC which provides a large quantity of highly trained people with high standards of programme production for the UK and global broadcasting industry (Hodgson in Stevenson 1993:75).

Going back to Burns' analysis of interviews with BBC staff there are further themes which may prove to be interesting research foci. He highlights the use of the word 'moral' as a recurring motif, talking of 'this highly charged mental and moral environment' and of the BBC having 'a moral order of its own' (Burns 1997:84). In addition, the word 'professional' had 'extraordinary wide currency throughout the BBC' in the 1960s (1997:122) and during the 1960s and 70s there was an emphasis on 'professional excellence' as opposed to serving the public good (1997:190). BBC staff identify a culture or 'manner' which is associated with an implicit 'code of conduct and values', influencing the social intercourse of the business (Burns 1997: xiii). The BBC and its staff are described variously as 'articulate, intelligent and civilized' (1997:xii) and a 'cultural corps d 'elite' who adhere to 'a special code of manners' (1997:99)

Themes can also be potentially identified from the challenges the BBC has faced; the 1962 Pilkington Committee, for example, accused the BBC of 'trivialisation' due to the homogenizing effect of making programmes for an audience of millions (Burns 1997:41) and internally its own staff seem often dismayed at the 'vulgar or tedious' uses to which highly technical, advanced equipment is put (1997:107). In the 1930s the organization was accused of over bureaucracy, unadventurous programming and high-mindedness (1997:43) and later, during discussions about licence fee rises, it was criticized for financial mismanagement and extravagance (1997:232), specifically at the time of the Peacock committee in 1985 when there was a wide 'belief that the BBC was high cost, inefficient and ridden with restrictive practices' (Brittan in O'Malley & Jones 2009:101). The Annan Committee of 1997 put forward several measures encouraging openness and interactivity including public hearings, a public enquiry board and an Independent Broadcasting Complaints Commission (Collins in O'Malley & Jones 2009:154).

Burns suggests that it was the arrival of commercial television which put the BBC operation into the framework of brand-image making (Burns 1997:43) and I am particularly interested in developments post this time, when the BBC is more focused on how it presents and justifies its existence within such a competitive environment. A theme here may be the BBC's response to a strong liberal economics critique which emerged during the latter part of the 20th century and which asserted the need for a funding and operational system for the BBC linked to market forces (O'Malley & Jones 2009:8).

A more current issue, according to Jones (O'Malley & Jones 2009), is that of a new media ecology in which public service broadcasting is refocused as communication⁹, embodying the 'user-citizen' at its centre, fostering and supporting public media spaces and engaging with consumers and producers, rather than audiences, thus 'the future of the BBC as the dominant PSB [public service broadcasting] player will depend on its ability to be flexible enough and to change fast enough to allow the "user to lead"' (Jones in O'Malley & Jones 2009:187). Jones' specific mention of public service broadcasting highlights an issue that I must take into account, that the defence and legitimization of the BBC as an institution is often confused and mixed with a debate about the broader values it embodies and represents:

The debate about public service is thus both a discussion of the validity of a principle and an inquest into the stewardship of the BBC, and the two, having been placed together upon an agenda, are now impossible in practice to separate (Smith in Stevenson 1993:6).

The search for content for a historical thematic analysis will cover four time periods: the 1985/6 debates raised by the Peacock Committee and report and 1995, 2006 and 2013/14 which are all pre-Charter renewal periods. The Nexis UK (global newspapers) database was used to identify media coverage for analysis. Initially I focused on items that included a quote or reference to the 'BBC's reputation'. This produced 1541 results. I included only coverage from UK based press agencies, newspapers or media industry trade journals. In addition to this, any repeat stories, or stories which focused on specific BBC products, programmes or personnel were discounted, along with any cuttings outside the four identified time-periods. This led to a total of 83 media cuttings. A further search was then undertaken using the search term 'BBC brand'. This produced 1142 items which were reduced, using the same format as above, leading to a combined total of 133 cuttings over the four identified time periods.

⁹ It is interesting to note that the BBC website was 'Europe's most popular internet site' in 2000 (Jones in O'Malley & Jones 2009:190).

Findings

An initial coding grid was developed using 17 deductive themes. The introductory sections of four annual reports, incorporating the chairman's and director general's statements (1985, 1995/6, 2006/7, 2013/4), as well as a random sample of 10% of the media cuttings were used to add a further 25 inductive themes. This paper reports on preliminary findings from a thematic analysis undertaken of the 113 media cuttings (102,936 words), and an initial 270 pages from the four annual reports.

Looking firstly at how the BBC projects itself through its annual reports, the work reported on in this paper today has a higher proportion of pages taken from the reports in the 80s and 90s. In coding and categorizing my findings I have begun the process of creating a hierarchy of major themes, supported by minor sub-categories, which emerge from the data. The key major justificatory themes are: **civic purpose** (45) supported by discourse around enabling democracy (6), controlling taste and decency (7), entertaining the public (4), educating (15) and serving the public interest (13). The second major theme is the BBC as **progressive** (34), focusing on the future (18) and being a technological (12) and creative (4) leader. The third theme is the sheer **size and scope** of the BBC and its work (31) focusing on its international nature (8), its breadth of coverage (12) and its wide, popular audience appeal (11). The fourth theme is providing value for the tax payer (20) whether this through efficiency (3), careful financial control (4) or dealing cleverly with severe financial constraints (5), predominantly through commercial earnings (8). The fifth strong theme is **professionalism** (19), focusing on quality of both programmes (9) and personnel (10). Further, less frequently recurring themes, were: **interactivity** with the audience (17); providing a focus and projection service for **British identity** (14); being **well managed** (11); utilizing **symbolic partnerships** (11); and being trusted to provide **independent news** coverage (9).

Looking in more detail at the predominant theme of **civic purpose**, the sub-categories that dominate all relate to deductive themes identified as part of the public service debate, voiced in successive broadcasting committee reports. Thus the focus is on enabling democracy by maximizing opportunities for politicians to put their case directly to television and radio audiences (BBC Annual Report 1985:1); providing 'full and serious reporting of parliamentary affairs' (BBC Annual Report 1985:22), or facilitating 'thought-provoking items' to help create active, thinking citizens (BBC Annual Report 1985:38).

The articulation of these deductive themes under civic purpose are often explicit, with the BBC directly highlighting its activities in specific areas. For example there is a description of a seminar by the Board of Governors ‘to examine the important and complex issue of **taste and decency** (BBC Annual Report 95/96:3), or a celebration of the way in which ‘*Fairest Isle* continued as the biggest-ever tribute to British music and **culture**’ (BBC Annual Report 95/96:3). Some of these identified values and justificatory terminologies are reflected in titles of departments and sections in the annual reports, for example: Educational Broadcasting; Light Entertainment; Continuing Education Radio; The World Service; Appeals for Charities; and International Broadcasting.

The BBC’s corporate communications significantly focuses on its **educative purpose** (15) repeatedly highlighting, through the use of numbers, the take-up of its services by UK educational and general audiences. For example ‘BBC publications sold to over 30,000 schools and colleges about four million items’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:35). Much is made of its innovative and interactive approach; ‘1995/6 saw the launch of the Learning Zone which transmits a wide range of educational programmes during the night hours on BBC2. It was an immediate success with two-thirds of further education colleges video-recording material (BBC Annual Report 95/96:3).

Likewise the BBC specifically addresses the fact that it serves **the public interest** and defends its work in this area vociferously (13), highlighting its civic role particularly in the UK, but also across the globe in helping people in all aspects of their lives: ‘During the worst days of the civil war in Lebanon BBC External Services provided the main source of accurate reporting to residents cut off in Beirut’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:2); ‘More than £12,000 was raised to help flood victims in India’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:16); ‘The series concentrated on what the individual can do to prevent coronary heart disease’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:30); ‘this has proved beneficial not only to BBC user departments, but to British companies who have been licensed to exploit BBC designs’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:79).

An inductive theme that emerged from the research is the way that the BBC positions itself as **progressive** and **future orientated**. The BBC talks of how ‘in 1983/4 the BBC was occupied in almost equal measure with the present and future’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:1) and how ‘the transformation of the BBC gathered pace, releasing money and resources for new investment’ (BBC Annual Report 95/96:1). This area of justification often focuses on financial investment for the future, for example a ‘£13.8m modernization of the Monitoring Service’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:78) or a complete list of technological developments and investments across the globe (BBC Annual Report 1985:74).

Technology is the second sub-category under the progression theme, and this is positioned as an area of excellence, but also of duty for the BBC: 'It is therefore incumbent upon a national instrument of public service broadcasting to play the fullest part in the research and development of DBS' (BBC Annual Report 1985:2). Terminology used is deliberately progressive with talk of being a 'pioneer' [in DBS] (BBC Annual Report 1985:10), of having 'provided a clear lead' [in broadcasting and developing microcomputers] (BBC Annual Report 1985:27) and being at the 'forefront of developing new technology for natural history coverage' (BBC Annual Report 1985:38).

A further inductive theme which emerged from the research is how the BBC often focuses on its sheer, **size and scale**, emphasizing the breadth of its coverage and its reach to people in the UK and across the world. All the annual reports have catalogue-like lists and details of programmes, technical data, awards and committees, with significant use of numbers, facts and figures to demonstrate breadth and scale. Its global nature is emphasized (8) positioning it as 'the world's most reliable source of news and information' (BBC Annual Report 1985:2), reaching an extensive global audience, broadcasting in 37 languages (BBC Annual Report 1985:65). Specific examples highlight this scope: 'the Prime Minister took part in a World Service phone-in answering questions from around the world in a programme heard by 25 million people' (BBC Annual Report 1985:2). In addition there is a concerted effort to emphasize scale from an organisation that covers a 'very large range of subjects' (BBC Annual Report 1985:7), in formats that are 'as varied as ever' (BBC Annual Report 1985:5) with 'themes and subjects designed for an equally diverse spread of audiences' (BBC Annual Report 1985:30). The BBC's length of service is highlighted throughout, with many references to the amount of time things have been running, for example 'his 30 years' partnership' (BBC Annual Report 1985:38) and 'in its 26th year' (BBC Annual Report 1985:37).

This breadth of programming is supported by a strong discourse about the popularity of programming (11). A wealth of facts and figures about viewing and listening figures is supported by a consistent narrative of 'a wide audience appeal, that is as high as any time in the BBC's long history' (BBC Report 95/96:6), supported by data, for example 'some 45 per cent of the population listen at some time each week (BBC Annual Report 1985:12' and the re-iteration of satisfaction; 'particular talents and well-proven formats have continued to attract high and appreciative audiences' (BBC Annual Report 1985:38).

Value and professionalism are also strong justificatory themes for the BBC coming fourth and fifth in terms of repeated narratives. Under **value** the key theme is the added value the BBC brings from its commercial earnings (8) with five pages in the 1985 report, for example, detailing the scope and earnings of BBC Enterprises which had ‘strengthened its position in the world market by pushing sales to £31 million’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:90). This discourse of revenue growth is supported by others focusing on: the good work the BBC does despite **financial constraint** (5) which is ‘threatening the creativity of programme makers’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:1); the way the organisation is **carefully controlled financially** (4) ‘our three-year expenditure programme had been carefully planned’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:1); and the fact that the organisation provides value for money: ‘Our first concern, therefore, must be to maintain and improve the standards of existing output and to get the best possible value for money from the licence fee. With that in mind we have co-operated fully with the Home Secretary’s request for an independent measure of our efficiency. We have as strong a wish to give value for money as the licence fee payer has to expect it’ (Stuart Young in BBC Annual Report 1985:v).

In terms of **professionalism**, the BBC highlights professional, high quality, **award-winning programming** (9), as well as the professionalism and standing of its **personnel** (10). Here we see an emphasis on the value of judgements from outside the BBC; ‘Awards were won over the whole range of BBC output – journalism and factual programming, sport, drama, light entertainment, religious, arts, educational, science and natural history programmes’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:1) and these are meticulously listed, for example, over five pages in the 1985 report (BBC Annual Report 1985: 7-9 / 17-18). There is a recognition that professionalism of staff is a core value for the corporation; ‘More than anything else the BBC is built on the talent, courage and integrity of the men and women who work for it’ (BBC Annual Report 1986/7:1). There are extensive descriptions of training provided and key personnel are named throughout the reports, emphasizing how the BBC nurtures talent.

The ability of the organisation to **listen, understand and respond to its audience** is a further strong theme (17). Extensive details are given of the ways in which the BBC **listens** to its audience groups (6), whether through study groups (BBC Annual Report 1985:3), pages listing the details and contents of public letters and phone calls (1985:54-57), detailed descriptions of public meetings (1985:57-58) or six pages outlining the BBC’s different advisory bodies (1985:58-64). The BBC highlights the way it seeks to interactively (11) ‘understand some of the underlying concerns of its audience’ (BBC Annual Report 95/96:2),

through public meetings, roadshows, outside events and competitions as well as audience research processes and innovations (BBC Annual Report 1985:44-45/77).

Again picking up on deductive themes from prior academic work, it seems that the BBC does use its responsibilities relating to **British identity** (14) as a justificatory narrative. There is a sense in which the BBC has a vital role in both bringing together and representing the **pluralistic nature of British identity** (8); ‘Representing the UK, its nations, regions and communities: portraying and celebrating the rich range of cultures and communities across the UK at national, regional and local level across the range of our output’ (BBC Annual Report 95/96: 3) and using national events as a source of unification (1), underlying ‘the BBC’s traditional role in bringing the nation together for momentous occasions’ (BBC Annual Report 95/96:2). It is also clear that the BBC sees its role as projection of British identity too, with a celebration of the many ways it **promotes Britain** (6), serving both citizens and businesses: ‘In English and 36 other broadcast languages opportunities are sought to publicise British goods and services to potential markets throughout the world’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:71).

Further strong themes are narratives around **good management** (11), with a focus on ‘rigorous’ performance reviews, restructuring (BBC Annual Report 95/96:1), staff changes (BBC Annual Report 1985:40) and the fact that the organisation responds to mistakes (95/96:1), whilst **symbolic partnerships** (11) are used to show the status and power of the BBC with repeated references to working partnerships with a wide variety of organisations and the kudos of involving leading global figures, for example ‘a series of phone-ins, carried simultaneously on the World Service and Radio 4, in which a king, a president, three prime ministers and other eminent figures have taken part’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:2).

Interestingly the theme least used by the BBC itself to justify its existence is its reputation for **impartial, honest and independent** news coverage (9). This is referenced consistently and clearly; ‘The BBC must always stand for, and stand by, courageous journalism, vigorously pursued....Fair and decent journalism, and the BBC’s reputation, demand no less’ (BBC Annual Report 1985:21), but it is almost as if the BBC does not need to remind us extensively of its expertise in this area. It is mentioned in all the reports, but is not overemphasized by the use of examples.

When it comes to the 17 media cuttings analysed from 1985 the BBC comes under fierce criticism of being **beholden to the government of the day** (27) centered around a dominant story about the BBC governors over-riding the director-general and pulling a programme on Northern Ireland under alleged pressure from the Thatcher government;

‘Opposition leaders, journalists and civil rights groups have accused the government of censorship and jeopardizing the BBC’s independence’ (Barker 1985). Interestingly, throughout the criticism of the decision to pull the Northern Ireland programme there is emphasis on the BBC’s world-recognised independence and editorial integrity which is unquestioned and seen as needing to be protected (20); ‘The BBC blankets this nation of 56 million with radio and television. Its External Services, which have a reputation for fairness and objectivity, speak in 37 languages to a worldwide audience claimed to number 120 million’ (Thorson 1985). The debate instead tends to focus on over-bureaucracy and partisanship of governors at the BBC (6) and the way in which the governors’ actions have led to a scandal which has tarnished the BBC’s reputation (14), ‘the BBC governors have made the situation worse by placing question on the BBC’s reputation for independence’ (Lederer 1985) and inhibited its ability to enable democracy (7).

Great value is put on the BBC’s reputation, linked to references about how many people view the BBC globally (6) and a focus on how it is the senior management who are fault, not the institution, with several references to how previous governors have successfully resisted government pressure; ‘the system has worked well for 58 years’ (Summers 1985) and continued public support: ‘in an NOP poll 75% of those canvassed thought the BBC was neutral; and a straw poll on the BBC’s own programme Open Air suggested the public’s instinct is to defend the BBC against all attacks’ (Stoddart 1986). Linked to this theme is the media’s discussion of the positive role the BBC plays projecting Britain (4), alongside the acknowledgement that this also causes tension, with an expectation of partisan support in times of crisis clashing with notions of global editorial independence.

In the pre-charter years of 1994 and 1995 the range of critical and supportive media messages relating to the BBC’s reputation is much broader with an even spread across nearly all 42 identified variables, but there is a significant media critique around the **commercialization of the BBC** (23) and a strong emerging theme of the value of the **BBC’s ‘brand name’** (17), particularly in **international** market places (13).

The brand name is seen as a trusted, respected and valuable commodity which is deserving of protection with the idea that anything that ‘casts a shadow’ over this highly prized brand reputation being extremely serious. Indeed BBC programmes must work hard to be ‘worthy of the BBC’s reputation’ (Clarke & Webster 1994) and there is a sense of the need for protection for example fears that the BBC’s reputation might be ‘hurt’ by London parochialism (Ballantyne 1995), or by news presenters ‘cashing in on their fame by charging up to £5000’ working as media trainers (Brown 1995). Evidence emerges of the BBC’s

systematic attempts to control and be in a position to exploit the BBC brand: 'The BBC has registered its initials and logo with the Patent Office to prevent other companies using them for commercial purposes. As part of plans to expand its commercial activities, the BBC has also applied to register its initials in more than 50 countries around the world' (Frean 1995); 'A BBC spokesman added that the corporation wanted to ensure that anyone wanting to use the brand name would have to go through the same legal hurdles as they would if they wanted to use the name Marks & Spencer. "Licence payers have invested an awful lot of money in the BBC brand over the decades, so it makes sense to protect it"' (Frean 1985).

The value in the brand is at the heart of the debate over commercialization with tension between brand exploitation and the BBC's role in serving the public interest and the fear that 'the BBC may be in danger of compromising its editorial credibility by partnering with commercial players' (Clarke & Webster 1994). This fear is supported by the fact that the fundamental premise of good brand reputation still remains firmly linked to editorial independence (14). The BBC gains media sympathy with several stories highlighting that it is lack of finance that is forcing the BBC into commercialization; 'revenue from commercial activities – an additional £200m per annum if all goes to plan – could prove "very useful" in the face of rising costs and a flat income from the licence fee' (Maddox 1985).

A well-articulated tension arises in this decade between the role of the BBC in developing and celebrating culture (4) and the need to provide popular entertainment (6), and justify itself on the basis of large audience numbers (6). There is an expectation that the BBC will seek and serve wide audiences, pushing the creative boundaries of entertainment (3). There is praise for the way BBC drama has 'reinforced the BBC's reputation for tackling the dangerous, original, individualistic work from which ITV is in full retreat (Summers 1994) and for its high level partnerships (3); 'Think of a Winter Olympic Games and you are bound to think BBC' (Daily Mail 1994). On the other hand the BBC is sometimes accused of taking its cultural role too seriously and is accused of 'moral superiority' (Davidson 1994), with stories of Eastenders being referred to as its first 'popular bi-weekly serial' because 'at that stage, no one in the BBC was prepared to be caught using the word "soap"' (Lawson 1995).

In 2006 and 2007 there is again a wide spread of media critique of the BBC across all 42 variables, but by far the most visible critique is the debate over the BBC's commercialization activities which intensifies even further (31). One of the key stories is the plan to sell advertising on the BBC's global website, an activity which is not new to the BBC: 'the publicly funded BBC had already "crossed the Rubicon" over adverts, by deciding to sell

airtime on its global entertainment channels and on BBC World, its global news service' (Milmo 2006). The problem is identified as a potential journalistic compromise; 'MPs have called on the BBC to abandon controversial plans to place advertisements on its international website. They have warned that it will risk undermining the BBC's reputation for impartiality when presenting news' (Strauss 2006). A second critique is about the organisation being too powerful (9); 'The Government's BBC White Paper in March incensed media rivals by failing to curb the corporation's commercial reach, which was increasingly squeezing them out of the market' (Lewis 2006). However, as in 1994/5 there is sympathy for the BBC's predicament; 'Like every other global media player, the BBC is busily preparing for the coming age of downloadable entertainment on demand. Now a budget crunch has given the makeover added urgency. The solution: tap the full commercial potential of one of the world's best-known brands' (Underhill 2007).

A further area of criticism comes around the BBC's role in enabling democracy (7); 'Gradually, and without a semblance of public debate, the BBC decided it shared many of the Government's social objectives. As a result, it reduced its crucial commitment to scrutinising government policy and replaced counterintuitive thinking with slavish propaganda' (Luckhurst 2006).

There emerges strong accusations of dumbing down, and trivializing programmes (10); 'The Government's Green Paper last year took the BBC to task for the preponderance of derivative and other low-grade television programmes such as makeover, property and bargain shows, urging it to concentrate more on high-quality factual and drama programming' (Merge 2006). This is linked to a further narrative focusing on high cost and excess; 'Far from getting its financial house in order, the BBC has continued to sanction highly inappropriate salaries for presenters such as Jonathan Ross and Terry Wogan' (Yorkshire Post 2006).

In terms of favourable coverage the media praises the BBC's impressive international reputation (14), its independent editorial integrity (14) and its strong valuable brand (14) with high cultural impact(3): 'The BBC is Britain's foremost cultural institution and its strength benefits us all' (Bell 2006); 'When push comes to shove, it's the BBC that most people turn to in a crisis. It's still one of the most trusted brands in the world' (Lewis 2006). Praise for the BBC, and positive news stories, focus around its progressive (11) technological (6) approach, for example the launch of 'a free online learning service for five to 16-year-olds designed for the first time entirely from a child's point of view (Gray 2006), a partnership with You Tube (Wardell 2007), an expansion into social media (Conlan 2007), developments in mobile

content (Schreiber 2007), the launch of 'a global web portal through BBC.com, an alternative to Apple's iTunes known as the Commercial iPlayer, digital franchises and links with other media producers' (Mahmud 2007) and 'Hundreds of millions are being pumped into infrastructure projects designed to transform the way the BBC delivers its programmes "anytime, anyplace, anywhere"' (Gibson 2007). Although even this area is not without its detractors: 'In classic monopoly fashion, the BBC has sought to exploit its new-found dominance by extending into other people's markets through cross-subsidy. In particular, it has created a significant global online presence, although this has virtually nothing to do with its original public service remit' (The Scotsman 2006).

Today (2013/14) the furore over commerciality seems to have settled (9) although there is still some articulation around the debate and defensiveness on the BBC's part; 'A BBC spokesperson said: "The BBC's reputation for providing impartial and independent news will always take precedence over wider commercial goals"' (Burrell 2014). The focus instead is on over-bureaucracy (15) at a high-cost BBC (15); 'A YouGov survey earlier this month found 42 percent of respondents thought the BBC offered good value for money, down one percentage point from July last year, while an unchanged 48 percent said it did not. The rest did not know' (Digital Journal 2014).

The BBC is seen to have brought a number of scandals upon itself and reputational damage (10) as a result of mis-management, specifically relating to failure to identify and respond to Jimmy Savile's crimes, and the discovery of fat-cat pay-offs to retiring executives, alongside bullying claims (Calahan (2014); 'The BBC paid £25 million to 150 departing bosses between 2009 and 2012, some of which went well beyond any contractual entitlement' but 'the scandal over outrageous pay-offs is a double blow to the BBC, alongside the revelations about Jimmy Savile and the alleged sexual misconduct by other key presenters' (Scot 2013).

There is a sense that the BBC's reputation has been 'badly tarnished' (Dominiczak 2013) and even 'poisoned' (Osley 2013) by such scandals, with many BBC management practices condemned predominantly on the basis that they bring the corporation's reputation into disrepute; 'In its report published today, the PAC warns of a danger to the BBC's reputation if it forms questionable business partnerships' (Burrell 2013). There is much talk of 'enhancing the BBC's reputation' being justification enough for taking on new approaches and programmes. There is acceptance in the media that the new Director General, Hall, will look after the brand reputation of the BBC, and this is seen as a very good thing; 'Hall is a man who understands the legacy of the BBC brand . He seems to understand the intrinsic

nature of the BBC' (Borkowski 2014). Borkowski, a PR specialist quoted in PR Week, nevertheless identifies the challenge Hall faces: 'If he can get his internal communications together, Hall has an exciting challenge on his hands: the BBC is a great brand in desperate need of reinvention' (Borkowski 2014).

As in previous decades there is unwavering acceptance of the BBC's valuable international (10) reputation (10) for independent news journalism (8); 'We in Britain can be proud of our history of taking unadulterated information to countries suffering from a news drought. The BBC's reputation has taken a hammering over recent years, but in that essential task it remains beyond reproach' (Popham 2013). In addition, there seems to be a more comfortable acceptance around recognition of the value of the BBC brand:

This brings tangible financial benefits for Britain, encouraging people to visit, study and do business here. In November, the BBC published research into this return which included a survey of business leaders in three main trading partners, the USA, India and Australia. Some 79 per cent believed that "the BBC is a great ambassador for the UK". Fully 56 per cent agreed that the BBC plays a direct role in influencing business decisions in our favour - a clear sign of the economic value of the BBC's global brand (Lord Hall in i-Independent 2014)

Coupled with acceptance of the BBC's wide audience appeal (9) in this decade there is a much less questioning acceptances of the organisation's commercial value and enterprises: 'Exported to more than 200 countries, Doctor Who is one of the BBC's five biggest earners, alongside brands such as Top Gear and the international version of Strictly Come Dancing, which last year together generated revenues of over £300m' (Plunkett 2013). There is also praise for the BBC's technological leadership; 'iPlayer has certainly done a lot for the BBC's reputation as a champion of new technology and a catalyst for the UK's digital economy. Three billion iPlayer TV and radio requests in 2013 against ITV's 577 million online video views shows how far the BBC leads the way among broadcasters in online and mobile viewing' (Spanier 2014).

Overall, whilst a number of clear critical themes are identified the media coverage of the BBC is unwaveringly positive. Most negative stories provide counter-balancing reminders of the BBC's global reputation for editorial integrity; very few stories focus this as a main story line. Throughout the four decades alongside this assertion of brand values and reputation, there is reference to the 'Beeb' and to 'Auntie', positioning the BBC as a well-loved family member that can be excused the odd transgressions. Very rarely is there an unbalanced accusation that the BBC has betrayed all its values. So is the way the BBC

projects its brand authentic or defensive? Is there a difference between the corporation's own corporate narrative and its representation in the media?

In a piece of relatively crude initial analysis the themes projected by the BBC have been charted next to the themes highlighted in the media (Figure 2). From this comparison of the way the BBC projects itself, versus its representation in the media, it is clear that there is a mis-match between the justificatory narrative of the BBC and the areas of critique highlighted by the media. Whilst the BBC focuses heavily on its civic purpose, its future-orientated management and technological leadership and the scale of its services, the key themes for the media are the high value of the BBC brand itself, which needs to be protected, linked to its independent news coverage. Criticisms of the dangers of commercialization, governors' partisanship and high costs, are addressed by the BBC to some degree, but are not a major focus of justificatory narratives. Does this therefore suggest that the BBC is slightly out of touch with what the British public and its media deem to be its authentic valuable qualities? It is this question that I will endeavour to address in further analysis and work in this area. Future research will involve further coding of the annual reports, and also the inclusion of media coverage and the BBC Annual Report from 1997. In addition, a thematic analysis will also be undertaken of the current BBC website to test and understand the interactive nature of the organisation's engagement with its public.

Figure 1: BBC Time Line

Date	Event	Reference
1922	British Broadcasting Company is set up	Burns 1997:1
1923	Sykes Report	O'Malley & Jones 2009:148
1923	First issue of the Radio Times published	BBC Annual Report 1985:193
1924	First monarchical broadcast by King George V from the opening of the Wembley Empire Exhibition	Hajowski 2010:88
1925	BBC given Licence to operate overseen by Postmaster General	Burns 1997:40
1926	Crawford Report	O'Malley & Jones 2009:148
1926	British Broadcasting Company is dissolved	Burns 1997:1
1927	The British Broadcasting Corporation constituted under Royal Charter for ten years. Sir John Reith appointed as Director General.	BBC Annual Report 1985:193
1936	Ullswater Report	O'Malley & Jones 2009:148
1936	BBC television services begin	O'Malley & Jones 2009:3
1937	Royal Charter renewed for ten years	BBC Annual Report 1985:193
1946	Broadcast receiving licence increased to £1 for radio; combined licence for television and radio introduced at £2	BBC Annual Report 1985:194
1947	Royal Charter renewed for five years	BBC Annual Report 1985:194

1951	Beveridge Committee on Broadcasting	Hajowski 2010:13
1952	Royal Charter renewed for ten years	BBC Annual Report 1985:194
1953	Coronation ceremony televised for the first time	BBC Annual Report 1985:194
1954	The Television Act established the Independent Television Authority and introduced commercial television to the UK	Hajowski 2010:13
1957	The Queen's Christmas broadcast televised for the first time	BBC Annual Report 1985:194
1962	Pilkington Committee	Burns 1997:41
1962	Royal Charter extended to 29 July 1964	BBC Annual Report 1985:195
1964	Royal Charter renewed for 12 years	BBC Annual Report 1985:195
1969	Man's first landing on the Moon televised on BBC1	BBC Annual Report 1985:195
1976	Royal Charter extended to 31 July 1979	BBC Annual Report 1985:195
1977	Annan Committee on the Future of Broadcasting	O'Malley & Jones 2009:3
1978	Television licence fee increased to £10 for black and white; £25 for colour	BBC Annual Report 1985:195
1979	Royal Charter extended until 31 July 1981	BBC Annual Report 1985:195
1981	1981 Broadcasting Act established two new commercial TV channels	O'Malley & Jones 2009:3
1981	Award of new BBC Charter	Stevenson 1993:ix
1985	Establishment of the Committee on the Finance of the BBC (The Peacock Committee)	O'Malley & Jones 2009:1
1990	1990 Broadcasting Act established The Independent Television Commission	O'Malley & Jones 2009:7
1996	Award of new BBC Charter	O'Malley & Jones 2009:177
2003	Communications Act established The Office of Communications (Ofcom) as a new regulator for the industry	O'Malley & Jones 2009:7
2007	Award of new BBC Charter	O'Malley & Jones 2009:166
2016	Next renewal of BBC Charter	

Figure 2. Initial analysis of themes identified across BBC reports and media coverage (selected years)

Reports		Media Coverage				
Themes		Sub-Categories	1985	1994/5	2006/7	2013/14
Civic purpose	45	Serves public interest	0	7	4	5
		Enables democracy	7	6	7	0
		Entertains	0	6	3	1
Progressive	34	Progressive / future orientated	0	3	11	6
		Technological leader	0	1	6	6
Size and scale	31	International	6	13	14	9
		Wide audience appeal / popular	3	6	11	9
Value	20	Commercial earnings	2	23	31	9
		Constrained by lack of finance	2	7	4	3
Professional	19					
Interactive	17					
British identity	14					
Well managed	11	Well managed	1	8	0	1
Partnerships	11					
Independent	9	Independent news	20	14	14	8
		Beholden to the Government of the day	27	4	2	0
		Trusted, valuable brand	0	17	14	10
		Badly managed	6	7	2	15
		High cost	0	2	6	15
		Tarnished reputation / scandal	14	6	6	14
		Trivialises	1	1	10	4
		Powerful organisation	1	1	9	2
		Auntie / Beeb	2	7	3	7

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**The birth of the first Spanish public relations consultancy:
Contributions to the history of public relations in the midst of a dictatorship**

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ABSTRACT

In November 1960, a small agency called S.A.E. de RP (*Spanish Ltd. of Public Relations*) was born in Barcelona, Spain. Joaquín Maestre, an advertising agent, and Juan Viñas, a radio broadcaster, hired the service of a secretary and founded the first PR consultancy in the country. When the practice of public relations began in Spain the political conditions in play were markedly different from those in the United States. Following a three-year Civil War, the dictatorship of General Francisco Franco was established in 1939 (1939-1975).

This paper will examine the beginning of the public relations practice and profession in a dictatorial Spain through the archives of the first consultancy and in-depth interviews conducted with some of the public relations pioneers. An analysis of the archival material, interviews content, and literature review will show how S.A.E. de RP (*Spanish Ltd. of Public Relations*), the first Spanish public relations consultancy contributed in the midst of a dictatorship to three areas: the practice (first clients and campaigns), the profession (the founders played a significant role in setting up the first professional bodies and organizing the first PR conferences) and the Spanish history itself (the preliminary results suggest that public relations not only contributed timidly to buttress Spanish economy, but also to justify the importance of business in the eyes of public opinion to avoid pigeonholing in the country's Francoist economy).

Spanish public relations history can be divided into five periods (Gutiérrez and Rodríguez, 2009): origins and first campaigns (1953-1960), associative efforts (1961-1969), search for social recognition and institutionalisation (1970-1975), development with democracy (1975-1989) and towards recognition of strategic value (from 1990 till today).

The role of public relations in the field of communication and historical studies in Spain has been a relatively marginal one. Little has been published on precursors of this business with different designations at earlier dates in Spain (Rodríguez Salcedo, 2008). And those authors who have dealt with the phenomenon of public relations historical development (Arceo, 2004a, 2004b; Arceo, 2006; Checa, 2007; Moreno, 2004; Noguero i Grau, 2004, 1995, 1994) place its origin in the mid-1950s or even in the 1980s, with the end of Franco's dictatorship and the advent of democracy (Arceo, 2006, p. 115).

However, there is a minor and recent national trend that claims, not only the existence, but also the ascent of public relations activities in the 60's and 70's (Rodríguez Salcedo, 2008 and 2012; Gutierrez y Rodríguez, 2009; Xifra, 2012). Thus this paper would help to ensure this latest trend and expand knowledge of both the second and third stages of Spanish public relations history (Gutierrez and Rodríguez, 2009), widely ignored by academics. At the same time, this research explores and challenges the assumption of democracy being necessary for the implementation of public relations. Therefore the study might shed some light on other national histories in the field of the history of public relations.

The originality of this study lies on the use and access to the personal archives of the Spanish PR pioneer, Joaquín Maestre, donated to the University of Navarra (Spain).

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**An assessment of the use of Public Relations techniques and technology by
Muriel Matters to promote the cause of women's suffrage**

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ABSTRACT

Muriel Matters arrived in Britain in 1907 to pursue a career in acting and speech performance after minor success in Australia. In her home of South Australia women had been able to vote, and stand for parliament since 1895 so she was surprised at the struggle for female suffrage in Britain. Consequently, she was politicised and abandoned her acting career and began working as a journalist. Encouraged by Peter Kropotkin and radical journalist, W. T. Stead, she became an enthusiastic and active member of the Women's Freedom League (Gosse 1986) and an activist for women's suffrage.

Rather than advocating and pursuing militant action Muriel Matters was aligned with Millicent Fawcett in pursuing non-violent methods to win public support for the suffrage cause. She used her performance and oratory expertise and a remarkable knack for creating media events to gain public and media attention and interest. Her innovative approach included using emerging technology and media in creative ways, such as hiring a hot air balloon to drop leaflets on London and travelling around England and Wales in a specially designed caravan.

This study of Muriel Matters reviews the promotional and media strategies she employed, and locates them in the context of the broader women's suffrage movement and its long campaign to win public and parliamentary support for the right of women to vote. The study is further situated in the context of the emerging Public Relations practices of the early nineteenth century and the development of mass media. It argues that the approaches Muriel Matters advocated are recognisable as techniques of Public Relations. Further, the approach to political protest and media promotion pioneered and adopted by Muriel Matters and her peers is examined as an early pre-cursor of social campaigning public relations that in subsequent decades was used to promote other social cause campaigns. From this perspective it examines the historic development of a distinctly feminist approach to social campaigning and public relations.

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**Beyond the Border: Public Relations in Austria – From Information to Information?
Analysing the Evolution of the Occupational Field in Austria
by Means of Interaction Dynamics**

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to characterise the development of public relations in Austria since 1945. Honestly speaking, little information is available as to whether and how public relations has developed in Austria. Indeed, we do not possess enough in-depth knowledge about the history of the occupational field of public relations in Austria. Nessmann (2004; 2008) outlines essential milestones for the Austrian public relations history in his overviews. Nessmann (2004, 2008) stated that there were some kinds of information practices in former times, for instance at the time of the emperors Babenberger and Habsburger and during the First Republic (1918-1938) in Austria. However, according to Nessmann (2004; 2008) the development of an occupation had its beginnings only after World War II. Against this background, a historical analysis of the development of public relations in Austria seems to be urgently needed and is therefore an important step.

In comparison, there are various kinds of elaborated national and international studies focusing on PR-history, e.g. Cutlip (1995) “Public Relations History: From the 17th to the 20th Century”, Bentele (1997) “PR-Historiographie und funktional-integrative Sicht. Ein neuer Ansatz zur PR-Geschichtsschreibung”, L’Etang (2004) “Public Relations in Britain: a History of Professional Practice in the 20th Century”, Zawawi (2004) “A History of Public Relations in Australia”, Edwards (2006) “Public Relations Origins: Definitions and History”, Raaz & Wehmeier (2011) “Histories of Public Relations. Comparing the Historiography of British, German and US Public Relations”, to name just a few examples.

This study was initiated as a course project with the assistance of eleven students, two graduate assistants as well as a doctoral student who participated in the research. Firstly, the students focused on the history of Austria with a view to political, economic, social and cultural circumstances, and the media development. The aim was to outline a factual frame in different periods focusing the general history. Secondly, we were looking for witnesses to get in-depth-knowledge about the public relations practice in the timeline. Thirdly, the students

analysed public relations on the factual base. Fourthly, a theoretical analysis by adopting sociological approaches on occupations and professions by Spatzier (2014)¹ indicates the characterisation of the public relations development.

From these perspectives the research was designed to offer insights into the evolution of public relations in Austria since 1945 by means of interaction dynamics and gives answers to such questions as: How to identify different paradigms? How to locate typical interaction patterns in practitioners' every-day-work life on the timeline? What types are considered to be dominant in the different decades? Against this background, the contribution is based on empirical research by adopting content analysis, interviews and a group discussion with contemporary witnesses.

Historical events, e.g. political, social, cultural and media developments, to name a few examples, form the analysis frame and are, according to Habermas (2009), theoretically explained by the structural transformation of the public. The sociology of the professions by Beck, Brater & Daheim (1980) and the interactive professionalization approach by Schütze (1992) found two theory-based approaches to analyse.

The considerations of this contribution follow a four-step sequence: Firstly, the discussion of the theoretical background illuminates the analysis of access. In addition, this section presents the methodological approach. Secondly, the literature review examines the political, social, cultural² and media-development frame. Consequently, we shall argue that the attribution of meanings is related to the frames and determines practitioners' views on public relations. Thirdly, the meta-analysis in combination with the interviews and the group discussion of contemporary witnesses shed light on the understandings of public relations over different periods of time. Fourthly, a final summary will be presented.

2. Theoretical background and methodology

According to Kunczik (1997, p. 20), public relations as a field of activity depends on the presence of public. Furthermore, with regard to Austria, Nessmann (2008, p. 407) stated that an early beginning of some kind of public relations goes back to the times of the emperors in the 18th and 19th century. However, as noted by Beck, Brater & Daheim (1980, p. 20) specific occupation-related patterns and procedures are required to define an occupation. Grunig & Hunt (1984) outlined four communication models in reconstructing the evolution of public relations in the United States. On a very wide base, these models may be seen as

¹ unpublished research report

² In this context culture is both a "*form program of society*" (Luger/Wöhler 2010, p. 18, H.i.O.) and a culture in terms of art such as opera, theater, film, music, pictures.

some kind of occupation-related patterns. Grunig & Hunt (1984, p. 25) referred to communication styles and types of interaction in their presentation and reported that the development of public relations in the United States commenced with the “press agent/publicity model” from 1850 to 1900. In addition, they both cited as follows (1984, p. 25): “the public-information model came next, beginning about 1900 and continuing as the major model of public relations until 1920.” The next model to be mentioned by Grunig & Hunt (1984, p.25) is the so-called “two-way asymmetric model”, which subsequently developed in the 1920s. According to Grunig & Hunt (1984, p.25), the “two-way symmetric model” ultimately came into practice in the 1960s and 1970s.

In a more concrete vein, Bentele (1997; 2010) defines seven periods concerning the development of public relations practice in Germany:

- development of the occupational field (mid19th century-1918)
- consolidation and growth (1918-1933)
- media relations under the Nazi Regime (1933-1945)
- new beginning and upturn (1945-1958)
- consolidation of the professional field (1958-1985)
- boom of the professional field and professionalization (1985-1995)
- growth of PR research and PR science, professionalization; globalisation, Internet (1995-now)

Although the development of the occupational field started in the mid19th century, Bentele (1997) argued that after World War II public relations practice restarted as occupation. It can be assumed that practitioners appropriated specific occupational patterns clearer and more widespread after the restart. In this context Szyszka (2008) showcased four stages in the development of public relations after 1945 with regard to Germany:

- foundation (before 1960)
- establishment (1961-1972)
- positioning (1973-1983)
- expansion and differentiation (since 1984)

Starting with the assumption that external parameters are related to the agenda and activities of public relations and thus are indicators of development, the study is initially premised on an evidence-based level with historical events from 1945 to the present. Economic, political, social and cultural events as well as the media development are in the foreground at this first stage in order to achieve a first phase classification by means of reconstruction. Results can be obtained by analysing historical literature, e.g. work-ups, to cite an example.

Subsequently, within the reconstructed phases, the interaction and orientation patterns of the practitioners were analysed.

Against the background of a phase reconstruction, the concrete theoretical framework is helpful regarding the analysis of the sociological origin. On the one hand it deals with the sociology of occupations and special features in this context. On the other hand, the professional interaction approach seems to be fruitful, especially considering the orientation and action patterns. According to Kurtz (2001, p. 10) the term profession (occupation) goes back to the personal vocation of Christians to a spiritual task with utter devotion. With the sophistication of the markets as well as the orientation of money it came to the emancipation of the concept towards occupations. Daheim (2001, p. 23) referred to occupation as a professional work force, capability or competence pattern. Then Beck, Brater & Daheim (1980, p. 20) characterised a work area as an occupation, where relatively independent activities in combination with activity-based compositions define specialised, standardised and institutionally fixed patterns of labour force. The attribution of an activity as an occupation is a prerequisite for further developments in this area, which may finally lead to a profession. Specific interaction models showed by the practitioners indicate specialisation and qualification. Schütze (1996, p. 183) refers ostensibly to the action and interaction methods for problem solving. With Schütze (1996, p. 185) interactions with others (e.g. clients, employees) can be taken as a process manager. Against this background the following categories of analysis can be outlined:

- patterns of orientation
- main activities
- interaction modalities

The results for the above-mentioned categories allow drawing conclusions for the developments with a view to specialisation and qualification. Coevally, the findings provide a characterisation of the different stages. As noted at the beginning, there is insufficient literature with regard to the development of public relations in Austria. Consequently it was of great importance to us to find witnesses for interviews. Simultaneously, insightful knowledge was provided by a group discussion.

The chronological sequence of research had its beginnings in the investigation of historical events for a phase reconstruction. Subsequently, the students formed separate groups with various tasks with the aim of gaining in-depth factual findings. The results of this study are a combination of the factual findings by the students and the theoretical analysis. The aim

was firstly, to reconstruct the general historical aspects in terms of economic, political and social and cultural circumstances as well as the media development. Secondly, the task was to characterise the different phases in the direction of public relations.

3. Phase reconstruction

There are different approaches for a phase reconstruction or considerations that advance a periodization meaningful: On the one hand a categorisation based on specific moments of observation, as stated by Grunig & Hunt (1984) with their four models of public relations. On the other hand parameters as relational facts are working for a phasing, how it is done by Bentele (1997; 2013) and Szyszka (2008). In lean on to these classifications a procedure for a phase modeling and reconstruction of Austrian contemporary history is possible. In addition to the economic, political, social and media parameters, cultural events allow drawing conclusions as a basis of a periodization in the direction of the general history.

Considering various perspectives of the analysis regarding the Austrian history different phases can be derived. By overlaying the filtered historical events, a periodization could be worked out. The political and economic parameters are the main characteristic parameters for identifying the Austrian history. The developed parameters and the certainty of visible overlapping in the Austrian history lead to the periods of a development given below following on World War II:

1945-1955: reconstruction and rebuilding

1955-1970: economic miracle

1970-1983: reforms and public debt

1983-1995: crises, coalition and concentration

1995-now: European Union and digital age

After World War II, Austria's population was characterised by human tragedies and material losses. Additionally, a loss of orientation and identity was visible. According to Butschek (2012, p. 256), the period from 1945 to 1955 is defined as the phase of reconstruction and rebuilding, in which the social life, the politics, the economy and the media landscape were under allied supervision. The State Treaty in May 1955 can be considered as the turning point. This contract meant a newfound freedom and neutrality for Austria thanks to the withdrawal of the occupying forces – the cornerstone for a self-conscious Austrian population was set. From 1955 to 1970, the time of the so-called economic miracle, a significant upturn in the economy was recorded for the first time after years of denial. According to Brusatti (1975, p. 185), it came to surprisingly high sales figures due to a rising consumption power. The policy was influenced by a large coalition between the Christian-related party

(ÖVP) and the social-democratic party (SPÖ), which is according to Steinmaurer (2002) also recognisable by the media landscape. An increasing proportional representation was noticeable. In the following period the policy changed to a one-party government with the SPÖ. With Wien-konkret (2014) a new way of political thinking was generated by the charismatic chancellor Bruno Kreisky, who intended reforms and public debt in order to maintain prosperity. The period from 1983 to 1995 is marked by crises, demonstrations because of pollution, a new coalition and, according to Steinmaurer (2002), a unique concentration process in the media landscape was visible. An important milestone for the completion of this phase and the start of the next period was Austria's accession to the European Union in 1995. From this point we can refer to the digital age. Private broadcasters shake the throne of public service providers and physical borders were opened by the European Union.

The approach of the study was not necessarily to demonstrate public relations periods in a first step. Quite the contrary, the idea was to identify the complete historical frame of Austria's development, in particular political, economic, social, cultural and media aspects and to reconstruct periods regarding Austrian history. Afterwards the public relations history in Austria was analysed by interviewing witnesses and elaborating important literature to outline the orientation, interaction, and main activities for each period. The study does not claim to evaluate public relations phases. Rather, the research aim is to illuminate the public relations activities in the defined periods.

4. Characterisation of Public Relations Development

The phase reconstruction described five defined periods in the contemporary history of Austria after World War II. The subsequent steps of the analysis based on the theoretical background refer to the categories of orientation patterns, main tasks and interaction modalities.

At first, it should be noted that, generally speaking, the orientation patterns could be seen related to external factors. On the one hand, economic, political, social and cultural events as well as media developments affected the attitudes of the society and the action in communication. On the other hand, attitudes of the society affected economic and political thinking and the action in communication. For instance, in the first phase from 1945 to 1955, the occupying powers, especially the United States, were ostensibly responsible for ensuring a first awareness of public relations in Austria. In the second phase from 1955 to 1970 it was primarily the economic success that was responsible for the promotional style of public relations. The period from 1970 to 1983 can be viewed as a special political era in Austria, characterized by a special way of thinking and acting. The charismatic chancellor Bruno Kreisky

was known for this characteristic attributes. Changes in the attitudes of the society together with demonstrations because of pollution in combination with economic crisis from 1983 to 1995 were responsible for a special thrust force in the direction of development of public relations. Finally, globalisation and mediatisation in the digital age are indicators of network thinking in the area of public relations. Nevertheless, this network orientation helps to organise the information distribution in the best way. In a nutshell, we can say that external parameters are related to the acting of public relations practitioners. However, there is still a fundamental question: How do specific orientation patterns and actions of the actors look like in the different stages?

Period: reconstruction and rebuilding (1945-1955)

Mainly influenced by the United States, a new field for Austrian journalists was opened up: public affairs. U.S. occupation soldiers preferentially recruited Austrian journalists and individuals, who were well versed in writing, in order to document the good deeds of America in Austria. On the one hand these stories were used to tell the Americans who stayed at home about what was happening in Austria. On the other hand they helped to influence positive opinions in the Austrian society. After the tragedy of war, Austrians hardly trusted in politics, business and in their own society. Regaining confidence in organisational units was the basic agenda of so-called public affairs. Writing texts and producing photographic documentations can be mentioned as the main task of the recruited subjects. A further exemplary institution for public information with the aim of winning back lost confidence at that time was the Catholic Church.

Economic-political institutions such as the Industrial Association in Vienna became aware of the American public's information agendas. Basically, it was the management's duty to inform the members and the public about the institution in a positive manner. Beyond such examples first interests in business enterprises developed by means of information to promote confidence. The embassies of the companies had an advertising character. The main task for the players was the following: writing of creative, advertising texts, which should help overcome mistrust. According to Gröpel (1953) and Schweighardt (1954) public relations was understood as art and not as a profession at that time.

In a nutshell, we can say that public relations was performed only slowly by a few players at that time. Public relations practitioners orientated at journalism and the main task was writing texts to inform the public with a positive advertising character. At the same time, according to Schweighardt (1954), public relations was understood as an art, as a kind of philosophy, whose action methods, however, were reduced to writing and distributing infor-

mation. We can summarise this first period as contextualization of public relations. There are first signs of public relations as a field of activity, which is classified in the vicinity of journalism and advertising.

Period: economic miracle (1955-1970)

During the period of the economic miracle, public relations continued to be journalism-based. Public relations activities were limited to the selection of data, writing of information and sharing the latter. The economic boom that brought prosperity to the population led to the utilisation of advertising information in the field of public communication. In contrast, the first public relations agencies emerged from the idea to get into the media without having to pay for advertising. However, the profession and the agenda were not quick-witted in the mind of the population neither in the mind of business people. Quite the contrary, the witnesses even believe that public relations was not of high importance at that time. The economic boom led to a sufficient range against which there was a plenty of demand due to prosperity. People were quite satisfied with the situation and did not see the necessity to ask questions or to maintain critical beliefs. This is precisely the reason why companies were not forced to explain their responsibility with regard to their commercial movements. Therefore the advertising information seemed to be sufficiently informative, although a few players in the field of activity were urged to distinguish themselves by using advertising methods. The main task was issuing press releases, wherein the advertising style could not be ignored.

To sum up, this period with the focus on public relations can be understood as rather channelling. The first signs of an independent discipline can only be seen in the approach. Journalism and advertising styles characterize the interaction modalities. In addition, there were journalistic educated players who found access to public relations, for the reason that companies sought people who could write. Furthermore, according to the witnesses, first kinds of regularly press meetings were organised by the club of journalists.

Period: reforms and public debt (1970-1983)

Despite the international crises such as the oil crisis in the early 1970s, Austria's population was still satisfied. According to Urbas (1980, p. 147) the people in Austria showed the highest confidence values due to the policy in 1974/1975. For instance, the confidence value due to policy in Austria was up to 42%. In comparison, the highest confidence value in the United States was up to 16% or in Great Britain up to 24%. For this reason, the advertising information was still dominating the public communication in an organisational frame. However, at this time an east-west divide in Austria with a view of public relations is recognisable. While a small public relations agency scene is visible in the east, which also leads to

the fact that the main players are joining a professional association, public relations in the west continued to be an unknown existence. In 1975 the public relations club was established as a professional association in Vienna. Since 1980 this association has been operating under the name 'Public Relations Verband Austria' (PRVA). In the west, however, this first institutionalisation was not completely recognised. For this reason, it is not possible to speak about an institutionalisation of the field in general in this phase, but rather about first signs of a constitution. The practitioners in the east slowly began to acquire clients. Logically plausible the focus was on an extensive press and media work. As already mentioned, the development in the west was somewhat slower. Only in the mid-year 1980, a thinking about public relations as a new measure in addition to the advertising began. In summary, this phase is still influenced by the advertising and information paradigm. At the end of this period the ups and downs in the economy were significantly affecting the activity area of public relations. Crises, conflicts, declining economic numbers as well as changes in values and attitudes in the society regarding ecology led the companies to envisage informative measures.

Period: crises, coalition and concentration (1983-1995)

From the mid-1980s public relations was discerned by companies and publics in a moderate progress. This circumstance is due to the crisis-ridden time in which the jobs and tasks related to resolving conflicts. Nevertheless, information distribution continued to be the main task of public relations. The conflict resolution was also based on that simple scheme.

Jointly responsible for the recognition of public relations in the west was the introduction of public relations as a topic by Benno Signitzer at the University of Salzburg. In the east the public relations association improved the image of the occupation. Moreover, in 1987 the first public relations course at the University of Vienna started in cooperation with the professional association (PRVA).

According to Signitzer (2002) public relations was struggling with little academic and political prestige at that time. Public relations was seen as a dirty word and mostly positively associated with the context of non-profit work. Non-profit organisations like Greenpeace were also the ones who reached a breakthrough for public relations. Demonstrations because of pollution and activism for conservation of the nature were occasions in which public relations was proven as an information medium.

Nevertheless, the occupational profile remained diffuse and contradictory. On the one hand the players did not identify themselves as journalists, on the other hand they were under the spell of journalism. The attempt of a demarcation to marketing and advertising followed the attempt of a connection to marketing, in which the public relations association became

more open-minded for communication professionals, because of addressing marketers as members. There were also ideas that public relations may be regarded as a management function, in order to maintain its distance from advertising. In contrast, the patterns of activity indicated no significant changes. Although practitioners spoke of concepts, whose main intention was still information distribution to the various stakeholders. However, the different target groups did not play a significant role. Tailor-made messages were not used in practice. Against this, there was still one message to all.

The rethinking of the population due to environmental scandals and crises led to the conclusion that companies saw the responsibility of public relations in explaining backgrounds, products and the philosophy of the company. Public relations seemed to be a convenient tool for this task. Nevertheless, this rethinking does not present a new orientation and interaction model, but still highlights the information paradigm.

Period: European Union and digital age (since 1995)

The digital age is indeed characterised by a network culture, which, however, serves to the focus on public relations to disseminate information in a best way. The distribution of information is still the core activity. Although there are practitioners who regard themselves as all-encompassing, communications consultants represent exceptions. The main task is providing information about companies, organisations, products and backgrounds. Social media also have not made any significant contribution to the promotion of dialogue-oriented communication. According to the study of Spatzier & Moisl (2013), the information paradigm is dominating the interaction in social media. Furthermore, the journalistic orientation is still present. The witnesses emphasised the use of journalistic skills, especially the journalistic knowledge and the associated craft skills such as writing. Although approaches and examples to improve conversational communication are sometimes visible, this form is still an exception arising out of the ideal. The witnesses have dialogue in mind, but act in the information paradigm. Interestingly, for the witnesses dialogue is equated with information. Practitioners cannot tell the difference between dialogue and information. What does this mean exactly? Although practitioners believe to communicate dialogue-based, few of them actually do so. Instead of using dialogues as a strategic tool, they only provide information.

The development of public relations is especially noticeable in quantity. Due to this, the quantity of possibilities may be responsible to disseminate information. The possibilities for information dissemination have differentiated themselves. In summary, the occupation has become more visible. Public relations in Austria has a proximity to advertising and marketing, but characterises first signs for a communication discipline.

The stated key points may lead to marginally differentiating orientation and interaction patterns within the defined periods:

Period: reconstruction and rebuilding (1945-1955)

- patterns of orientation: journalism, art, advertising
- main activities: writing texts
- interaction models: promotional information

Period: economic miracle (1955-1970)

- patterns of orientation: advertising and journalism
- main activities: writing promotion texts
- interaction models: promotional information

Period: reforms and public debt (1970-1983)

- patterns of orientation: advertising and journalism
- main activities: writing and disseminating texts
- interaction models: promotional and factual information

Period: crises, coalition and concentration (1983-1995)

- patterns of orientation: journalism, advertising
- main activities: writing and disseminating texts
- interaction models: factual and promotional information

Period: European Union and digital age (since 1995)

- patterns of orientation: journalism, advertising, communication
- main activities: writing and disseminating texts
- interaction modalities: factual and promotional information

These mentioned elements are the dominant perspectives that emerged from the analysis. However, it is incontestable that there are further examples. Moreover, it is not excluded that there were normative exceptions. Against this, the focus was and continues to be on information.

5. Conclusion

The findings of this research show that public relations development in Austria is from information to information. The development of public relations in Austria is especially evident in quantity. The main orientation pattern in all periods is journalism. During the economic boom and the subsequent period of ups and downs in the economy, the orientation

pattern caused the deferral of marketing and advertising. Nevertheless, the proximity to advertising is still evident today.

The interaction modality of the various phases is limited to the distribution of information. Although in the last two phases the situation analysis and planning partially came into mind, the most essential aim is information. The network culture also brings no change with it. In the first phase information was a key element in order to gain confidence and overcome distrust. The main task of the practitioners was to write stories. The messages during that time showed an advertising character, especially in the corporate context. In the second phase, the economic miracle, the information was mainly used to promote products and corporations. In the third and fourth phases the subject content was important. Due to the crises the focus was on a factual conflict resolution through information. Today practitioners have a dialogue in mind, but indeed are practicing the distribution of information.

Interestingly, the profession of public relations in Austria has developed relatively late compared with Germany and the United States. The results, presented on the basis of the background given by the witnesses, shows that public relations in Austria moves from information to information and is far removed from dialogical communication.

In line with the theory-oriented background and the historical information presented here the study has highlighted the orientation patterns, main activities and interaction modalities by the practitioners in a timeline. The development may seem mainly in quantity. The orientation, the main activities and the interaction modalities differ marginally in comparison over time.

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The “creative confrontation” of Herbert Schmertz: Public relations sense making and the corporate persona

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ABSTRACT

Herbert Schmertz, a lawyer by training, directed, from 1970-1988, an aggressive ongoing Mobil Oil public relations initiative designed to demonstrate that the company had a personality that constructively spoke out on social issues. In the process, Schmertz used an often-combative approach—what he called “creative confrontation”—that gained extensive attention from the news media of the time. While public relations scholars have studied Mobil’s public relations efforts (e.g., Murphree & Aucoin, 2010; Brown & Waltzer, 2005; Kerr, 2005), scholarly public relations literature has largely omitted examining an important dynamic imbedded within Schmertz’s implementation of public relations: the synergy and modifications of the inclinations of the lawyer (argument focused and relying on precedent) with the orientation of public relations (audience centered and anticipatory). Despite the lack of study of this aspect of Mobil’s public relations initiatives, this work maintains it is important to examine how Schmertz went about demonstrating a synergy of the dispositions of the legal and public relations occupations. Therefore, this paper is concerned with examining how his efforts reveal: 1) how such a blending was used to make a case for Mobil as a beneficial corporate person that could affect social dialogue, and 2) how a relatively young meaning-making practice like public relations has the potential to be affected by cross-pollination with another more-established field.

Accordingly, this work explores how Schmertz, the top public relations executive for Mobil Oil from the end of the 1960s to the end of the 1980s, attempted to convey the organization’s corporate persona and, in the process, offered potential new routes for how public relations could envision its sense-making role in society. This paper tracks—by examining news accounts of the time, his own writings, and material in the ExxonMobil archives—how Schmertz articulated the concept of creative confrontation and then guided its implementation. Bourdieu’s Field Theory (1977, 1998) is used to contextualize the broader relevance of the materials.

This work finds that, as a newcomer to the field, Schmertz brought specific training and awareness that, for a while, allowed him to bend some of the tendencies (or dispositions) of the public relations field, while also disrupting some of the given rules of the game (or habitus) of the occupation in the cause of conveying the corporate persona.

There are some signs that Schmertz's approach has resonated with some in the public relations field. For example, *PR News* called him one of the most influential public relations practitioners of the late 20th century ("*PR News* founder," 1995), and, by 2007, it wrote that his approach was particularly notable for making it "respectable for companies to express views, opinions, and philosophies to various constituencies" (Brinch, 2007, p. 5). Moreover, Schmertz's emphasis on conveying the corporate persona appears to be consonant with the increasing realization that public relations has an important role in using narrative to help corporations to successfully navigate today's complex world. Recent scholarship (Coombs & Holladay, 2012; Wehmeier & Schultz, 2011) that examines public relations' role in corporate social responsibility efforts points out that public relations has a vital part in helping corporations articulate who they are, and the reality as they see it, with a goal toward shaping meaning that is beneficial for the corporation and society.

In sum, this paper offers a distinctive examination of how Schmertz set out to develop public relations strategy and tactics that reflected a disruption in "taken-for-granted" approaches to public relations. Additionally, in reviewing Schmertz's advocacy for the corporate personality, this work offers a fresh, and relevant, examination of the significant role that public relations may play in amplifying the narrative of the corporate persona.

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What's in a Name? The History and Evolution of Sports Venues as a Public Relations Tool

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1.1 Introduction

For as long as athletes have been coming together to compete against each other, fans have been gathering to watch those events. And when people come together en masse, communication is bound to occur. It makes sense, then, that the organizers of such events would seek to use those times to communicate to those fans, and in turn attempt to create attitudes toward certain positions. Such is the case with the naming of sports venues, it serves as an attempt to create among people who come to those venues an attitude toward a person, place or product, and as long as the experience among the people is a favorable one, the memory associated with the venue and in turn its name, is likely to also be favorable. Thus, the naming of a sports venue can have a positive impact on reputation, a key component in any public relations campaign.

1.2 Early History of Sports and Venue Branding

Perhaps the earliest example of sports venue naming as a means of reputation management is the coliseum in Rome. Built by the emperor Flavian, the original name was actually the Flavian Amphitheatre, named in the tradition of the Roman emperors by the person who executed its construction. We might, however, take pity on Flavian, as his name was only associated with the structure for a short while. Nero was able to rebrand the amphitheatre by erecting a large statue of himself, known as the Colossus of Nero, a 115 foot tall bronze likeness. And while the amphitheatre's official name did not change, it is likely that in the colloquial, the name coliseum came into popular usage.

2.1 Importance of Branding in Public Relations

While most often associated with the marketing function, branding is an integral aspect of public relations work. While establishing a brand for a product or service is often done through advertising and traditional marketing elements, public relations plays an integral role in not only communicating that brand, but also by ensuring the brand is readily identifiable, trustworthy and credible. Establishing engagement with audiences is the purview of the public relations professional, and when organizations wish to have their audiences engage with a brand (as opposed to an individual or group), public relations becomes an important aspect of the marketing mix.

2.2 Sports Branding

Like Nero, and Flavian before him, those in charge of sports have also recognized the importance of establishing an effective brand in front of the throngs of people who attend sporting events. Sports branding exists on several levels. First, each city where a team exists has a particular brand – which is often transferred to that team. For example, New York is a very metropolitan, fast-paced city – concerned with being a leader in the United States. That brand translates literally to one of its professional baseball teams (the NY Mets – short for metropolitans) and more figuratively to its other team, the NY Yankees (the team most world series' wins in Major League Baseball history).

Branding in sports isn't always necessarily a function of the place where the team plays however. Teams can establish brands independent of their location. For example, the Oakland Raiders professional football (American) team has a long-established brand of being a motley crew of very rough players who will do whatever is necessary to win – including rough play and tough talk. Fans have embraced this brand, and view their team as the “toughest” in the NFL. This type of brand often transcends the team, depending on the popularity of that team, and encompasses the location in which they play. This concept will be addressed further, later in this paper.

Branding in sports is also established by the stadium in which games are played. This type of branding often focuses on traditions, as the most established stadium brands are generally the oldest stadia. While this paper is focused on this particular type of sports branding, it is important to note that many marketers attempt to take advantage of stadium branding in other aspects as well. This is evident in the example of Fenway Park in Boston,

which has outside of its walls a large neon sign advertising Citgo. While not part of the stadium, the Citgo sign is inexorably linked to the stadium as a part of the landmark. And while this type of branding is outside the purview of this paper, it is nonetheless an important part of the sports branding mix.

This paper is focused on the role of branding for stadia with regard to the name of a particular stadium. Most stadia in the United States have a sponsored name, and with that comes the potential for a nearly never-ending stream of branding opportunities for the organization whose name is on the stadium. However, the advantage of branding via stadium name often takes years, and often happens in a ground-up approach. These limitations will be discussed at length later in this paper. However, for organizations and sponsors willing to put in the financial resources necessary to establish an effective stadium brand, the rewards can be substantial.

3.1 Case 1: Wrigley Field

Built in 1914, Wrigley Field was originally known as Weegham Park, after team president Charles Weegham. By 1918, William Wrigley had gained controlling interest in the club, and from 1920 until 1926, the stadium was known as Cubs Park. However, Wrigley was not the only owner. A man known as the “father of modern advertising”, Albert Lasker, was also a partial owner of the team and stadium. In 1925, Lasker sold his interest in the team to Wrigley, encouraging Wrigley to rename the field after his chewing gum company, telling him “this will do your chewing gum business a lot of good.” In time for the 1927 season, Wrigley listened to his friend, renaming the ballpark Wrigley Field, and establishing one of the oldest baseball traditions in the United States.

But Wrigley Field is much more than simply a baseball stadium – to many who live in and around Chicago, Wrigley Field represents baseball, the Cubs and a long history of traditions –both good and bad. The area around Wrigley Field is known as Wrigleyville, and the stadium itself is a tourist destination for people from all over the world. It has been featured in multiple movies and television shows, and is truly an icon of the city of Chicago. And it could be argued that Wrigley Field, in many ways, represents the brand not only of its neighborhood, but also the city of Chicago, and to some extent, the traditions of baseball in the United States.

That is not to say that the name “Wrigley Field” has not elicited some controversy, particularly in the modern age of multi-billion dollar stadium naming rights deals. Though the Wrigley family has not held ownership of the Cubs or the stadium since the 1970’s, the Wrigley Corporation has never paid to name the stadium. As such, each time a new owner of the Cubs comes along, much is made as to whether the name of the stadium will change. In 2009, when the current owners (The Ricketts Family) took control, this controversy was reignited. However, the Ricketts family has since stated it does not plan on changing the name, ensuring the brand of Wrigley Field will continue to thrive.

3.2 Case 2: Busch Stadium

Busch Stadium, now in its third iteration, has been a mainstay of St. Louis since the 1960’s. It started in 1953, when the St. Louis Cardinals were sold to the Anheuser-Busch company. (Ironically, this sale likely prevented their shut down due to the marketing efforts of another person famously associated with public relations, Bill Veeck.) The company originally planned to rename Sportsman’s Park (the original name) as Budweiser Stadium, but the commissioner of baseball at the time did not like the idea of naming a stadium after a beer – though every major league stadium sold beer at substantial profit. However, the commissioner could not prevent Augie Busch from naming the stadium after his family, which he did shortly after the sale of the team and stadium were complete. However, many fans continued to refer to the stadium as Sportsman’s Park, which would continue for many years.

In order to help brand the stadium and the company, soon after the name of the stadium was changed, a new beer, Bush Bavarian Beer, was introduced by the Anheuser-Busch company, circumventing the rule by major league baseball that the stadium couldn’t be named after a beer. The original stadium was replaced in 1966 by Busch Memorial Stadium, which the Anheuser-Busch company still owned. Perhaps due to the change in location, the new stadium was more readily accepted by the Busch Stadium name – though some fans likely continued to call the stadium by its original name.

The current stadium opened in 2006, very near the site of the previous one. Though the Busch family has not owned the Cardinals since 1995, the name has remained – but only since 2004 has it been a corporate-sponsored name. The sponsorship includes exclusive sales rights within the stadium, and the license to use the Cardinals logo in product promotion for Anheuser-Busch.

The Busch stadium case, then, is different from the Wrigley Field case in that the Anheuser Busch company recognized the value in maintaining the baseball stadium brand, and paid to ensure it retained that right, thus creating a bridge between the old way of doing things, and the modern, sponsored age.

4.1 Impact: Value-Added Branding

The naming of sports stadia, in the two cases above, represents a value-added branding dimension. In the case of Wrigley Field, for example, while the original intent may have been to “do some good” for the chewing gum business, the naming of Wrigley Field has had a large impact on not only the Wrigley Company, but on the area of Chicago where the stadium sits. The team certainly benefits by playing games in the second oldest major league park, and generally holds a distinct home-field advantage. Even adjacent building owners have been able to create value by selling rooftop seating with views of the field during games. The city has benefitted from increased tourism to the area, and it could be surmised that baseball as a whole benefits from maintaining the Wrigley Field tradition. Certainly what happens in the stadium has a large impact as well, from the singing of ‘Take me out to the ballgame’ made famous by announcer Harry Caray, to the idea of ‘throwing back’ opposing teams’ home runs.

Additionally, the “hard luck” of the Cubs baseball team, and their failure to win the World Series contributes to the overall brand of Wrigley Field, as a destination for hope, and inevitable disappointment – which seems as though it would be depressing – save that Cubs fans embrace this and make it their own. And in fact, had the Cubs been winning consistently over the years, it likely would have meant the replacement of Wrigley Field.

So overall, the naming of Wrigley Field, and the consequent added value of the branding of the stadium, has contributed to both the community and the sport.

Busch Stadium, a much newer incarnation, has nonetheless shown some of the same value-added branding, though in a more modern sense. Like Wrigley chewing gum, Anheuser Busch beer is considered an American classic, and adds to that brand by supporting America’s pastime. Additionally, Anheuser Busch is synonymous with St. Louis, and the stadium has reminded people that Busch is not only a brand that employs thousands of people, but seeks to give back to the community. While Anheuser Busch has many branding

symbols outside of the stadium (including the famous Clydesdales), the value of continued stadium sponsorship has served as a reminder of continuing tradition.

4.2 Transcendent Branding

Sports stadium branding has shown the potential to become an image of transcendent branding – meaning that the branding extends beyond its initial purpose, and also goes beyond marketing. These stadiums serve not as symbols of power and prestige, as both Flavian and Nero did in Rome, but as monuments to tradition and community. The stadium name also transcends that of just the building it occupies, and becomes for many fans, a place of comfort, relaxation, exultation and disappointment. Much in the same way the Flavian Amphitheatre served as an escape from the day to day drudgery of Roman life, the modern stadia serve as a friendly place to enjoy childhood pastimes, connect with friends and family, and to take part in a shared experience. Certainly one could argue that more modern stadia, with restaurants, shopping and skyboxes threaten this atmosphere of fandom – but the stadium still serves that basic function of becoming a place that is beyond what one will experience in day to day life, thus serving a transcendent role.

5.1 Potential Determinants

Many considerations must go into deciding whether or not an organization should attempt to affect some reputational change via sports branding, and particularly, through the naming of a stadium. Particularly since the cost of stadium sponsorship is so expensive, much care must be made, and lessons from history should factor heavily into that decision.

The following are some suggestions by the authors in determining whether it is in fact feasible for an organization to engage in sports branding. They also serve as a way of determining whether or not the branding effort might be successful.

1. The success of the team – the team does not need to win championships consistently, but if the team fails to entice attendees, then it is unlikely the branding will have an impact.
2. The location of the venue – stadia that are easily accessible are more likely to build community, as opposed to stadia that require travel for locals to attend.
3. Media attention – this is a two-part consideration. Firstly, how much are the media covering events occurring at the stadium, secondly, how often are they using the full, official name of the stadium. Finally, how quickly do the media

adopt a familiar tone with the stadium, thus potentially engaging more of the fan base.

4. The organization name – easy to remember names that are fairly short become memorable and used more often. Names which are more complicated or longer tend to take longer to establish a brand.
5. What the sponsored name is replacing – replacing a long-standing name will take many years – as was the case with Busch Stadium. Organizations need to weigh the cost of waiting nearly a generation for the impact of the new name versus other branding opportunities

5.2 Pitfalls – realized and potential

While there is considerable upside in establishing a name brand in sports, there are potential downfalls as well. Stadium naming can be seen as an excess, and in the case where an organization fails, the name of a stadium can have negative repercussions on the brand, the team, and the community. Enron, for example, was found to have been one of the largest cases of corporate malfeasance in history, and their name was attached to the Houston Astros. While there is no direct connection or causal relationship, it is odd that the Houston Astros have failed to achieve the attendance and team results since Enron was stripped of its sponsorship. Similarly, the Wachovia Center was renamed after the bank folded, which drew the ire of fans of Philadelphia, a sign of disrespect to their beloved Philadelphia Spectrum.

In addition to the potential for high profile risk – there is another issue, as noted above in the considerations of whether an organization should consider sports branding via stadium naming. When a stadium decides it will allow for corporate sponsorship, the new name does not automatically supplant the previous name, particularly if there is a longstanding tradition involved. For example, the NY Mets played baseball in Shea Stadium since 1962. However, when the Mets moved to Citi Field in 2009, many fans continued to refer to the new stadium as Shea, thus limiting the impact of the naming of the new stadium. Likewise, U.S. Cellular Field in Chicago has battled the tradition of Comiskey Park, with many casual fans assuming the latter continues to be the name of the stadium, though the Chicago White Sox have not played a game in Comiskey Park for more than a decade. (It should be noted the stadium opened in 1991 – but was given the name ‘New Comiskey Park’)

Finally, as sponsorship deals tend to be 10-20 year contracts, they seldom come up for renewal, though for a few years many stadia were getting new names every few years. This

is often wearing on a fan, and can cause a negative reaction to new names. As such, organizations that choose to engage in stadium naming must be willing to engage for a long period of time before any real benefit can be realized.

5.3 Conclusions

The decision to engage in sports branding, and in particular, naming rights, should be carefully considered. While an organization may like the idea of a giant monument to their impact in the community and on sport, there are some very real potential downfalls that must be taken into account. Not the least of which is the amount of time that must be dedicated before fans start to consider the name, and the even longer amount of time it takes to become a branded commodity to a larger degree.

It is likely that the stadia currently holding some of the value-added and transcendent branding qualities will continue to do so, while the rest of the (fairly) recently named stadia try to catch up. Organizations need to remember that sports fans tend to have very long memories, even going beyond their personal experiences, to those of their parents and grandparents. There are still a considerable number of fans who have been unable to forgive the LA Dodgers for leaving Brooklyn, many fans upset that Cleveland Browns were moved to Baltimore, and some people in St. Louis who still refer to Busch Stadium as Sportsman's Park. And no matter how hard a brand attempts to establish itself within a community, it is the community that decides what role the stadium, and its name, will play.

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The Public Relations Operations of the French Resistance: A War of Words?

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1. Introduction

This paper is intended as a contribution to French public relations (PR) and media history. It describes the media relations operations of the French Resistance in World War II as undertaken by the Bureau d'Information et de Presse (BIP), which was established in April 1942 by the Resistance leader Jean Moulin and led by the ex-journalist Georges Bidault.

Beyond a descriptive narrative of the BIP, the paper attempts an evaluation of the role of the BIP in the Resistance and suggests that Resistance historiography has emphasised armed action and largely overlooked the BIP's importance. The authors propose that the BIP was undertaking public relations activity in behalf of the Resistance and that the institution had a significant influence on the post-war media sector in France.

2. Public Relations in France up to 1940

When compared to the comprehensive historical studies of public relations in the UK by L'Etang (2004) and Bentele's (1997) work on Germany, French public relations history is lightly covered. The historical writing that does exist is mainly the work of practitioners and takes the form of 'narratives that relate the structuring and construction of the field' (Carayol, 2004, p. 137). Discussions at a symposium of communications researchers in France in 2000 'demonstrated the virtual absence of historical studies of a scientific character' on French public relations, according to Carayol (2004, p. 137).

The history of journalism in France has enjoyed more detailed academic attention (Delporte, 1999; Le Bohec, 2000) while studies of PR by universities have declined since 2000 (Carayol (2010, p. 168). This can be explained partly by the negative attitude towards public relations in French society as a result of its perceived promotional role in driving consumption and creating a superficial society (Baudrillard, 1972).

This promotional dimension – and related unease – is present in contemporary French dictionary definitions of public relations and in a more recent book on French public relations (Chouchan and Flahault, 2005, p. 5), where the verb *promouvoir*, or to promote is used to define public relations.

3. Historiography of the French Resistance

The history of the resistance has been comprehensively documented with over 3,000 books published in French alone, with numerous academic papers and many museums dedicated to the subject. Resistance history was being written even before all German soldiers had left France, following the decision by De Gaulle's government to establish the *Comite d'histoire de la Deuxieme Guerre mondiale*, headed by the historian, Henri Michel (Michel, 1981, p. 2). Michel's committee co-ordinated regional correspondents who collected information on the Resistance in their area, drawing on more than 2,000 interviews with activists.

A political dimension to resistance history emerged in memoirs by leaders who presented differing pictures depending on whether they had been based in London or France. The head of the Free French intelligence services in London, A. Dewavrin (codenamed Passy), who worked with Bidault and Moulin, records with some detachment that the French Resistance had 'brave thoughts and exalted imaginations which translated into disorganised actions without real effectiveness' (Dewavrin, 1948, p. 105).

Some elements of the role of media in the resistance have been addressed by Bellanger (1961) and Wieviorka (1996) with their work on the clandestine press, which mentions but does not focus on the BIP. The social history and role of groups of workers – such as journalists who wrote for the BIP and the railway workers who distributed their material and the clandestine newspapers - has been largely overlooked while the armed resistance has been eulogised.

Beyond France, military historians (including Roberts, 2009 and Beevor, 2009) have assessed the impact of the resistance in purely military terms. In a 700-page history of World War II, Roberts devotes only nine pages to the French resistance, pointing out that during the first eighteen months of the Occupation, no Germans were deliberately killed by the French in Paris and only one demonstration was held (2009, p. 79). According to Beevor (2009, p.

45) the main contribution of the resistance to the 1944 allied invasion of France ‘lay not in guerrilla action but in intelligence and sabotage.’

4. Media context

4.1. *The Clandestine Press*

Despite a lack of arms, the sense of a need to do something was common among early resisters. The Combat resistant, Jacques Poirier, recalls in an interview (Poirier, 1988) that ‘I felt strongly that young people like me should do something but it was hard to know what to do.’

Instead of guerrilla operations, the media and the printed word played a crucial role in the early stages: ‘Resistance chose to make the first battle it fought a battle of language. Most of the names of the movements...were also the names of underground journals and rather than being simply organs of those movements, the journals were at the start, and in a very real sense, the movements themselves,’ (Ousby, 1999, p. 219)

Parsimonious assessments of the value of armed resistance in military history while at the same time ignoring media operations represent ‘a fundamental misrecognition of the value to be accorded to the ideological and the discursive at this time...it is difficult to see how, without public expression, there could have been a resistance’ (Atack, 1989, p. 18).

The operational scope and the social composition of the resistance also changed over time as new tasks arose but in 1940-1942, it required people ‘to write for newspapers and produce them’ (Jackson, 2001, p. 478). The lack of training and arms ‘made early resistance concentrate on publishing journals’ (Ousby, 1999, p. 241).

This pattern of resistance movements focussing on media and communications followed the same pattern throughout France. ‘A handful of friends got together, decided they had to “do something” and then eventually found a way of producing stickers, leaflets or a newspaper,’ (Cobb, 2009, p. 61 In a chapter of his resistance history describing the different types of struggle (*Les Formes de Lutte*) Muracciolle writes that the clandestine press and propaganda were for a long time the main force or arm of the resistance (1993, p. 75).

The growth of the clandestine press was entwined with resistance from its inception. There were clandestine papers without movements and movements without papers but movements without papers were rare. Most resistance movements were known by the name

of the publications they produced and according to Kuhn (1995, p. 23) it is no coincidence that the main resistance movements in the southern zone were known by the name of their successful newspapers; *Combat*, *Franc-Tireur* and *Liberation (sud)*, while in the occupied zone the same was true of the Paris-based movements, *Liberation (nord)* and *Defense de la France*.

As movements developed, so did the diversity and distribution of the clandestine press. Media was such a crucial component of resistance in the years after the 1940 occupation that some historians used the number of publications and extent of their distribution as a proxy measure for the impact of the resistance overall. 'If it is difficult to estimate the size of the Resistance at the end of 1942, it is even harder to estimate its impact on the population. One measure of visibility is the underground press,' (Jackson, 2001, p. 438).

Resistance by media was important to movements beyond mainland France. In the densely policed Channel Islands on Jersey, a left-wing resistance movement formed by Norman Le Brocq put much of its energy into political meetings and the publication of leaflets (Le Brocq, 1997). Some of the publications were distributed in the Organisation Todt camps (for forced workers) and this publishing of resistance messages was seen by Le Brocq (IWM interview) as critical in channelling dissent on Jersey where the ratio of islanders to Germans (there were more Germans per square mile in Jersey than in Germany) led many to conclude that 'the futility of resistance under these conditions was obvious' (Sanders, 2005, p. 104).

The smaller island of Guernsey also had an active clandestine press. The elderly World War One invalid, L.E. Bertrand listened illegally to BBC news broadcasts and then wrote up stories in order to spread the news (Bertrand, 1945) in the Guernsey Active Secret Press. The journalist Frank Falla produced the Guernsey Underground News Service until he was denounced and jailed in Germany in 1944 (Falla, 1994).

4.2. Press agencies, radio and the rhetoric of resistance

In 1939, the print media in France was vibrant, with 31 daily newspapers published in Paris and 175 in the regions (Albert, 1990, p. 32). This widespread coverage of the French population made the media an important channel for public relations activity.

For some of their content at least, papers relied on the *Agence Havas* news agency. At the time, the Havas group combined an advertising business, *Havas Publicite*, with the country's largest news agency. This co-mingling of advertising with a news agency in France was unusual compared to the USA and UK, for example, which both had not-for-profit agencies founded in the 19th century and were co-operatively owned by newspaper owners (Associated Press in the USA and Press Association in the UK) as well as privately operated news agencies (United Press International and Dow Jones in USA and Reuters in the UK).

After the fall of France in June 1940, the *Agence Havas* news agency was taken over and renamed *L'Office Francais d'Information* (French Information Office) or OFI. The Havas advertising business retained the Havas name, operated separately during the war and still exists today as an owner of both advertising and public relations businesses.

The break-up was achieved by a partial nationalisation which led to the information branch coming under control of the occupying forces (Palmer, 1976, p. 19). According to the memoir of a director of the Havas News agency, (Polonski, 1946, p. 57-58) the Vichy government made it clear that the previously private agency could not remain independent and must be integrated, along with radio, into a State-operated media organisation charged with directing opinion under the control of the authorities.

The OFI proactively issued media guidance notes (*notes d'orientation*) on how to report events (Palmer, 1976, p. 19) in order to control the news agenda. In the southern zone, the Vichy government of Marshall Petain combined its media work with that of the Germans, resulting in a vast scale of propaganda. The Germans alone published 17 million brochures, 100 million leaflets and 400,000 copies of 23 different posters in the Southern Zone alone over a two year period from 1941 (Burrin, 1997, p. 187).

While acknowledging that any media relations effort on behalf of Resistance views was practically impossible to undertake, the disparate body that made up the early Resistance recognised the importance of 'winning the battle for public opinion.....the Occupation was and remained a war of words and images long before armed conflict restarted' (Atack, 1989, p. 3). For Ousby (1999, p. 218) the strict control of the press by the occupying forces was a manifestation of 'the importance of the terrain being contested, of words themselves.....in its concern with language the underground press created a rhetoric of resistance to counter the rhetoric of the Reich and Vichy.'

The use of media relations techniques was at the heart of communicating this rhetoric of resistance: 'It became clear that resistance would not develop its full potential strength until it became the expression of the will of the majority of the subject peoples To convince them, a vast propaganda campaign was instituted.....They used two main weapons: radio broadcasts outside occupied Europe and the clandestine press inside,' (Michel, 1972, p. 86-87)

Vladimir Trouplin, director of the Musee de L'Ordre de la Liberation in Paris suggests that around 300,000 people listened to De Gaulle's first broadcast from London in 1941 (Eagle Media, 2003). Due partly to the promotion of the broadcasts in the clandestine press, by 1942, Vichy estimates suggested ten times that figure were tuning in.

Radio was favoured by De Gaulle because it offered 'a unity of control' compared to the diverse underground press (Wievorka, 1996, p. 128). Bidault (1967, p. 21) took the view that 'British radio, more than anything else, helped to establish de Gaulle's name. The BBC literally made de Gaulle.' Some bitterness comes through in his memoir, when he observes that once the English discovered how inflexible he was, they probably regretted all the publicity they had given to the Free French leader.

5. Establishment of the BIP : The Voice of the Resistance

Jean Moulin, prefect of Chartres in 1940, resisted the Nazi invasion and attempted suicide rather than sign a false document by his German captors. He escaped to begin life as a resistance leader and in October 1941, he flew from Portugal to London, one of only six people to be bought out of France by the Royal Air Force (RAF) from 1940-1941 (Cobb, 2009, p. 88).

After meeting with General De Gaulle, leader of the Free French - as well as representatives from the UK's MI6 intelligence service and the Special Operations Executive (SOE) – he returned by parachute drop in January 1942 as the delegate of General de Gaulle to Nazi-occupied France under the codename Rex. On arrival, he founded the *Conseil National de Resistance* (CNR), or National Resistance Council which aimed to unify the different resistance groups operating in the northern and southern zones and co-ordinate their activities in preparation for an allied invasion.

The priority Moulin placed on media relations drove his first action on returning from London, which was to establish what he called a 'voice of the resistance' linked to but

separate from the Free French and the BBC, (Clinton (2002, p. 131). Jackson (2001, p. 434) describes BIP as the 'Press and Information Bureau, a sort of Resistance press service....to publicise themes of Free French propaganda and pass on suggestions for propaganda to London.' Both definitions have a public relations dimension with BIP acting as a mouthpiece for the resistance in general and the CNR specifically.

The creation of the BIP was announced in a 28 April 1942 telegram from Jean Moulin to the London-based Bureau Central de Renseignements et d'Action (BCRA) intelligence service. The text of the original telegram is held in the papers of Moulin's radio operator and secretary, Daniel Cordier in Centre National de Jean Moulin in Bordeaux and is cited in his memoirs (Cordier, 1999, p. 308).

'28th April 1942, Telegram N°6, sent from London: Jean Moulin:

Missions:

- 1/ Spread information and propaganda from London.
- 2/ Distribute the propaganda material from the FFL using our networks
- 3/ Pass on information which may be of interest.
- 4/ Prepare articles and documents to be published in the press (FFL, British, American, and neutral)

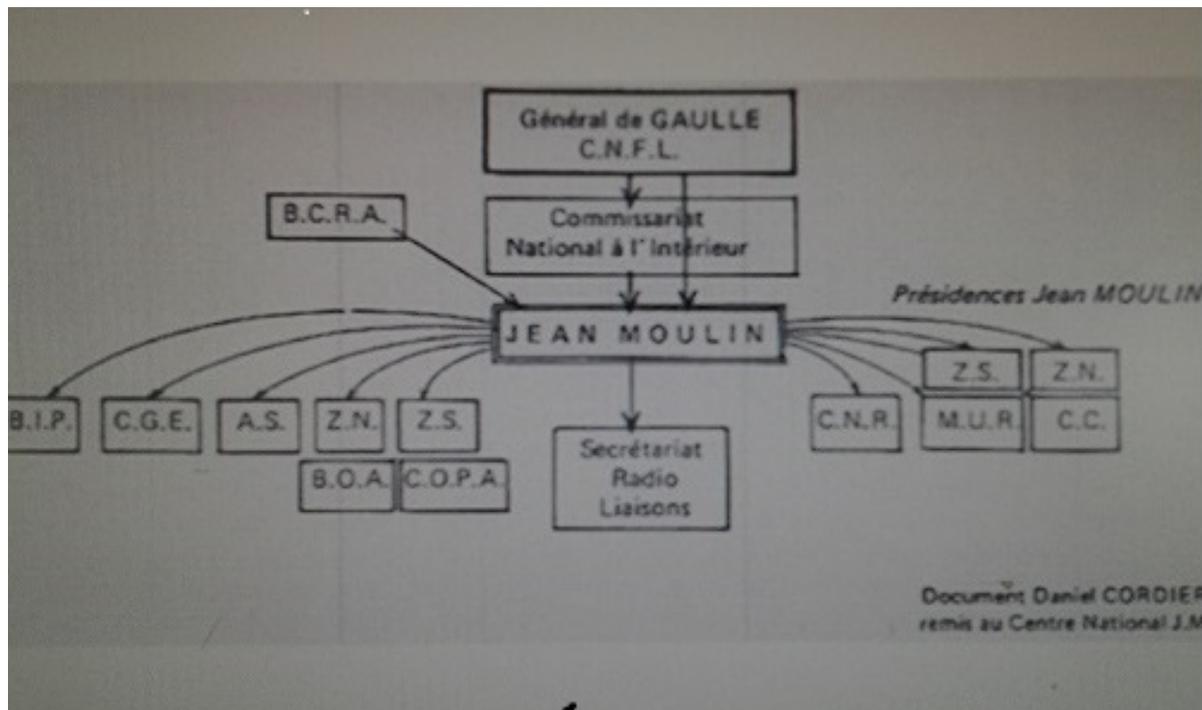
I have obtained the services of G. Bidault, former editor in chief at *l'Aube*, to manage the service with his team.'

Kedward (1978, p. 244) views the establishment of the BIP as a reflection of the increased professionalism of the resistance press in the years 1940-1942 as well fulfilling the important role of linking the publications in both zones: 'In organisational terms, it (formation of BIP) was a recognition of the vital significance of journalism and communication in the growth of the resistance and a rationalisation of the underground press as a sector of activity on its own, manned by professionals.'

Bidault chose to locate his headquarters in Lyons. As the press capital of the Unoccupied Zone, the city was attractive as the headquarters for a media relations operation as it boasted 'a high concentration of journalists, printers and typesetters as well as facilities of the production of newspapers.'(Jackson, 2001, p. 438).

Despite this political communications dimension, the BIP did not run a single minded propaganda operation which favoured one political point of view. Instead, the leadership recognised a need to find a balance across a political spectrum which ranged from the communists on the left (typified by the *Front Nationale* group) to the fascist groups on the right (such as *L'Action Francaise*). Henri Frenay, the leader of the Combat movement, stressed the need for a middle way which accommodated diversity and promoted balance: 'We will no more tolerate communist interference in our country than we will tolerate Nazi interference,' (Cordier, 1999, p. 116).

Moulin's establishment of the BIP and other joint services to support the resistance movements is seen by Cobb (2009, p. 128) as his 'main achievement.' These central services were designed to provide a new 'moral and material unity' and he followed up the establishment of the BIP in April 1942 with the CGE (Comité Général d'Études, July 1942 (Cordier, 1999, p. 306). By the end of the year, these were supplemented by two other technical services, for Wireless Transmissions, and the SOAM (Aerial and naval operations) to support transport of people and supplies.



(Cordier, D. /Centre National de Jean Moulin, Bordeaux)

6. Definitions and Operations:

What was the BIP and what did it do?

Alongside definition of terms, the writers have examined evidence from the BIP's operations as a basis for taking a view on whether the organisation's work could be classed as public relations activity. Regarding the possible definitions and translations of BIP, the words chosen by Bidault and Moulin appear deliberate with *Bureau d' Information et de Presse* sound very official in the French.

The use of *Bureau* denotes a branch of government in France and seems to have been used to inflate the importance of the newly formed institution. The words *bureau* and *information* place the BIP beyond just a traditional press agency (e.g. *Agence France Presse*) and for this reason we favour the term office rather than agency. The Vichy press relations operation had implemented a similar change of language with the *Agence Havas* news agency was renamed *L'Office Francais d'Information* when nationalised.

The use of the word *information* is also important and the suggestion is that it refers to information and data gathering (as well as distribution) rather than news (*les informations* in French). A combination of intelligence gathering from media sources (the underground press), news distribution and a press office is an appropriate translation of BIP and an accurate reflection of its role as an interface between the coalitions of resistance organisations (such as the CNR) and the undercover press in France and other media in the UK and USA and beyond.

The intelligence gathering dimension of the BIP's work may seem an unusual combination with media work but gathering intelligence from the media was widespread practice throughout the World War II. Tombs (2002, p. 104) describes newspapers as a down to earth and yet neglected source which accounted for 60% of the economic intelligence gathered on Germany.

The definition of terms which Tombs (2002, p. 105) uses to define the way Britain's Foreign Research Press Service used newspapers to gather intelligence and to describe the a scope of operations which included intelligence material being 'gathered, analysed and diffused' mirrors closely the language used by Moulin to define the work of the BIP.

French historians use different language to describe the specifics of the work of BIP. Muracciolle (1993, p. 77). describes how from 1942, Bidault's BIP '*diffusa l'information de Londres*' (disseminated information from London) via the *Bulletin de la France Combattante* and the *Bulletin d'informations generals*. These bulletins were partly media background documents and partly news releases put together by trained journalists

The tone of the material they produced and the language they used varied from balanced articles such as might appear in *The Economist* to the use of superlatives to make a point or support the resistance cause.

The BIP bulletins were regarded as the Resistance's own instrument to feed the clandestine press with news and to strengthen counter-propaganda efforts against the overwhelming control exerted by the Nazi occupiers. The bulletins were produced every 2-3 days and distributed to the resistance movements to use in their own newspapers, with over 200 editions produced between October 1942 and April 1944 (Cointet and Cointet, p. 24). From the start, the BIP was engaged in a 2-way or symmetrical communications effort but can it be accurately defined as a public relations operation?

7. Was the BIP a Public Relations operation?

The operations of the BIP went beyond mere dissemination of material. The BIP was undertaking message development work associated with political communications alongside the distribution function of media relations. 'This was not just a matter of providing raw material. It was also a way of spinning the news from the Resistance, of presenting it in the best possible light in France and elsewhere' (Cobb, 2009, p. 128).

In this description, the BIP is fulfilling all four types of public relations activity as defined by Grunig and Hunt (1984, p. 22) as well as Bentele's (1997) characterisation of media relations in Europe during this period, as summarised in Table 1.

The German occupation means that the history of public relations in Germany is relevant to the situation in France between 1940-1944. Bentele (1997, p. 161), in his stratified model of public relations history, summarised 1933-1945 in Germany as 'Period 3: Media relations and political propaganda under the Nazi regime' with the instruments of media relations and journalism controlled by the national socialists to deliver political messages.

Table 1: Adapted from Grunig and Hunt 1984: 22

Characteristic	Press agency & publicity	Public information	2-way asymmetric	2-way symmetric
Purpose	Propaganda	Dissemination	Persuasion	Mutual understanding
BIP activity	'Spread information and propaganda from London....distribute propaganda from FFL using our networks' (1)	'BIP... disseminated information from London (2)	'to publicise themes of Free French propaganda and pass on suggestions for propaganda to London' (3)	'to pass on information to the FFL on resistance work and distribute information from the outside world to the clandestine press.' (4)

(1) Extract from Moulin's Telegram number 6 sent from London on 28 April 1942 (in Cordier, 1999, p. 308)

(2) Muracciolle, 1993, p. 77.

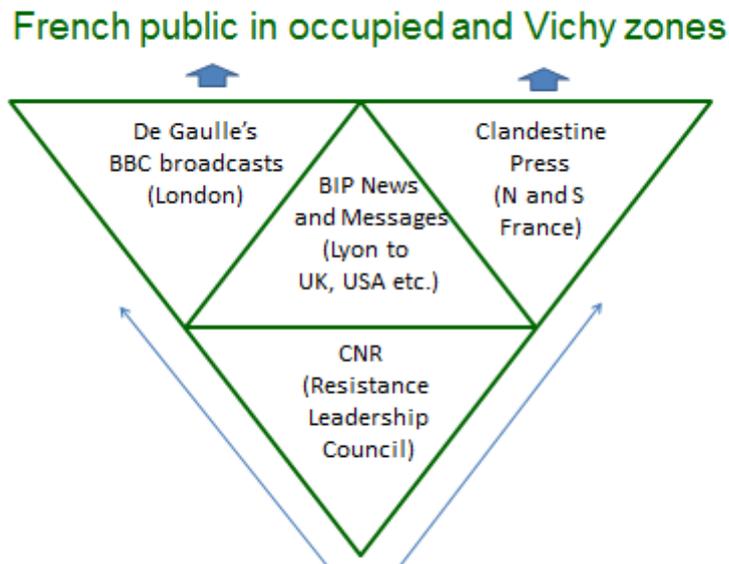
(3) Jackson, 2001, p. 434.

(4) Cointet and Cointet, 2000, p. 82

The parameters described above – and Bidault's specific awareness of media such as BBC radio as vehicles for 'publicity' - suggest a model in which the BIP acted as a public relations function for the CNR. The underground press and the Gaullist radio broadcasts of the BBC acted as a three-way amplifier for the core messages of the resistance, which were defined by the CNR with input from the BIP (Bidault, for example) and then communicated by the BIP through its media relations operation.

Media relations material such as press bulletins including these messages was generated by the BIP using its cadre of professional journalists. This material was then distributed to the clandestine press, to the BBC and to other media in the USA and elsewhere, as summarised in Figure 1.

Figure 1



This paper agrees with the weak propaganda view of public relations while acknowledging also that the connotation of the word propaganda 'is unremittingly negative' (Moloney, 2005, p. 165). Yet Bernays (1952, p. 49) wrote post-war that 'propaganda can, indeed, be used for all kinds of purposes, good, bad and indifferent' and when newspapers are a dominant media (as they were in 1939-145 in France) press agency had great impact.

Even if critics take the view that the BIP was a propaganda operation (and the BIP founders chose not to use that word), propaganda 'in the most neutral sense means to disseminate or promote particular ideas' Jowett and O'Donnell (2007, p. 2) in a context which is almost always linked to patriotism.

The meaning of the word propaganda over time is an important consideration to whether the BIP was undertaking public relations or propaganda, or whether instead for the period under consideration, they were the same thing. L'Etang (2004b, p. 82) suggests that until 1955, the concepts of PR and propaganda were still used in the IPR Journal 'interchangeably and apparently unproblematically.' In an earlier paper, (L'Etang, 1998, p. 414) refers to the importance of using the terms propaganda and public relations are used as they were in the particular historical context: 'This sometimes means that the terms are used

interchangeably which may appear to some either offensive or inaccurate. Nevertheless it seems historically more authentic to employ terms this way,'

As well as matching different public relations definitions on paper, the operations of the BIP looked like a political press office. It was funded by state supporters (the UK via the Free French in London), populated mainly by ex-journalists and focussed on developing media content to support communication of resistance messages.

The BIP was a clandestine media relations operation which both monitored media coverage and generated messages and press material. It was a 'clearing house for material from and for the Resistance, circulating articles to the underground press, or to the press abroad, in particular the UK and USA' (Cobb, 2009, p. 128).

In these definitions, the BIP was undertaking a broad scope of public relations activity, which certainly spanned three of Grunig's typologies of press agency, public information and persuasion and arguably some elements of the fourth, mutual understanding. This two-way communications aspect was described by Cointet and Cointet (2000, p. 82) and De Gaulle's leader of the BCRA or intelligence arm, Jacques Soustelle, who described the BIP as a both a network for two-way distribution of political information and a clandestine news agency (Daloz, 1992, p. 61)

The clandestine press formed a national organisation in 1943 (Bilger and Lebedel, 1991, p. 28) which worked with the resistance organisations and the Provisional Government to shape press legislation after the Liberation in order to ensure a plurality of political voices in the media. According to Kuhn (1995, p. 23), 'the press system which emerged in France in the immediate postwar years was to a very large extent determined by the wartime experience and in particular owed much to the ideas of the resistance.'

Resistance journalists who had worked with BIP took over the OFI on 20 August 1944 as Paris was re-taken and re-named it Agence France Presse. They made their first despatch that day. AFP became a state enterprise in 1945, when the Vichy government fell and what had been the Agence Havas press agency was nationalised. AFP remained in state ownership until 2008 and continues to operate as one of the world's largest press agencies with offices in over 150 countries.

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See, Think, Touch: three recent sequential Papal approaches to public relationships
Three personalities, three approaches, three public relations assistants

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In the last 36 years, three Popes with very diverse personalities have led the Vatican, one of the world's largest organizations (in existence for more than 2000 years) through a constantly changing environment and have dealt with a complex variety of internal and external issues that challenged its very sustainability.

The varying historical and geopolitical contexts have played a crucial role in defining the Church's outreach agenda, as well as the more recent dramatic evolution of the global media system. To understand, in this analysis -based on intensive consultation of documents and in-depth interviews with top Vatican expert analysts, observers and protagonists- we have considered these external variables and combined them with each Pope's specific personality and communicative skills.

To see

Karol Wojtyla was elected Pope in 1978 following the premature death of his predecessor (John Paul I). During his papacy, Wojtyla was assisted by a very close, direct-yet fully institutionalized relationship with spokesperson Joaquin Navarro-Valls, a Spanish non-clerical journalist who directed the activities of the Holy See Press Office from 1984 to 2006. In an extended and illuminating direct in-person interview, Navarro told us that, after a sleepless night, he decided to accept the offered position only if direct and continued access to the Pope was guaranteed. "I come from civil society and my idea is that in every organization the public relations department, in order to better fulfil its function, should be directly connected with its board or leadership".

Later on, in 1988 Wojtyla promulgated Pastor Bonus, an Apostolic Constitution that reformed the Roman Curia, the ensemble of ministries assisting the Pope in the exercise of his pastoral office. For the first time the Holy See Press Office was no longer under the direct

responsibility of the Secretariat of State (the most important governance body within the Vatican). During John Paul II's Papacy, Navarro-Valls claimed direct access to the Pope, lived in the Pope's apartments and was actively involved in shaping the contents as well as the actions.

When "In the name of God", a book written by David Yallop, released in 1997, tried to prove the murder of John Paul I, Navarro-Valls contacted the renowned author and former seminarian John Cornwell to refute Yallop's¹ version. Cornwell was provided by Navarro with a huge amount of mysteriously appeared documents and medical records attesting to the Pope's ill-health that provoked that death. Navarro was by education a medical scholar and a doctor and well knew what he was giving to his interlocutor to offset the assassination option.

Since the early days of his papacy, the Polish Pope well understood the power of visual communication channels, fully recognized and effectively used the power of TV. His multiple, compulsive, when not obsessive, outreach activities strongly influenced, amongst other geopolitical events, the collapse of the Soviet Empire; weakened the Catholic liberation movement in Latin and South America; and reinforced the Church's engrained resistance to modernity. All this activity was supported by a highly professional and continued use of media relations and constant travel. Even Wojtyla's extended and prolonged death marked the longest and most participated public agony in history. He understood the importance of mobility and travelled much more frequently than his predecessors. During his papacy he visited 129 countries travelling in excess of 1.200.000 kilometres. This option also gave him the opportunity to establish very strong relationships with the journalists who accompanied him in his many apostolic journeys. Each time, Navarro would select journalists to follow the Pope and be allowed to write articles for all the world's major newspapers.

Of course, living in an airplane surrounded by dozens of journalist looking for a news angle often caused hassles but, as said, strengthened relationships. For example, in February 1996 the Pope went to South America to visit Guatemala, a country that had been suffering more than 30 years of internal conflict. During the journey to Nicaragua Navarro provided journalists with the news of a private meeting between the Pope and Rigoberta Menchù, an indigenous woman who had received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1992 in recognition of her work for social justice and ethno-cultural reconciliation. None of the journalists had noticed that meeting during the official program so they began to ask for details. After having

¹ CLERMONT: 'the neo-Catholics: implementing Christian nationalism in America'

revealed some of the small talk, Navarro was later forced to admit to a big misunderstanding, and that the Pope never met the woman².

Even after the diagnosis of Parkinson's disease, the Pope continued to appear in public and to travel. As Cardinal Bertone said during a conference in Poland in 2012 "The whole of Karol Wojtyla's life was one big testimony of the culture of life, particularly in moments of suffering. One could say that suffering was another one of his encyclicals".

From the mid-nineties all the world media constantly covered the deterioration of the Pope's health until the climactic final public appearance the 30th of March 2005 when he attempted and failed to utter some words to the crowd in St. Peter's Square. The Pope died three days later. Even in the last three days of agony, journalists were constantly updated by medical bulletins on the quick decline and the news of his death on the 2nd of April was sent to them before the public announcement. "The Holy Father died this evening at 21.37 in his private apartment" was written on the Word file sent to journalists so they could catch the moment of the announcement on the TV screen. Until then, the Vatican, one of the most secretive of organizations, had always considered the death of a Pope a very private moment not to be shown to the public.

This revolution in the Vatican's media relations was of course due to the dramatic rise of TV (and consequentially, the image) as the principal media, but also to the Pope's specific communicative skills.

Today, nine years after Wojtyla's death, his "to see" approach, so strongly based on visual communication is widely recognized as one the main factors that contributed to his legacy of "the Great Communicator".

To think

When Benedict XVI succeeded Wojtyla, it was clear from the start that the German Pope, a highly refined intellectual, would focus his outreach mostly on theological and doctrinal related issues. He had little interest in and sense of being close to 'others'. During his papacy, Benedict was in turn assisted by Father Lombardi, a Jesuit priest who had before been editor of the Jesuit magazine "La Civiltà Cattolica" and also directed the Vatican Radio as well as its Television Centre.

According to our sources, contrary to Navarro who as said actually lived in the Papal Apartments, Lombardi did not have direct and continued access to Benedict. In a 2010 document released by Wikileaks.org, the lack of closeness between Benedict and his

² SANDRO MAGISTER: 'qui lo dico e qui lo smentisco'

spokesperson was an underlying factor of a broader and more complex situation that had led the Vatican on the edge of collapse. According to Julieta Valls Noyes, an American diplomat, author of the document released by Julian Assange, Father Lombardi was considered a “postman” rather than a “shaper” of the content. This distance caused a series of communication missteps and a day-by-day loss of reputation.

During his seven years of Papacy, Benedict found himself involved in many thorny issues, such as the Vatileaks scandal. This crisis began in January 2012 when a large number of documents was stolen from the papal apartment by Paolo Gabriele, the Pope’s personal butler, and disclosed by the Italian journalist Gian Luigi Nuzzi in his TV programme “Gli intoccabili”. The release of these documents revealed a huge power struggle within the Roman Curia. In a private letter to the Pope, Monsignor Carlo Maria Viganò described a deeply rooted system of corruption and nepotism in the awarding of all form of contracts to external businesses. As a consequence of this, Viganò was removed from his position and named Apostolic Nuncio (ambassador) to the United States (“promoveatur ut amoveatur”?). In a second letter, Viganò indicated Marco Simeon as responsible of his removal: the young director of RAI Vatican and a pupil of Cardinal Bertone and very close to bankers like Cesare Geronzi (Mediobanca, Capitalia). In March 2012 Benedict formed a commission of three cardinals to investigate the source of all these classified documents³. Two months later the Vatican Police arrested Paolo Gabriele, the Pope’s personal butler, and the Pope commented:

The events of recent days related to the Curia and my collaborators have brought sadness in my heart...I want to renew my trust in all those who every day, with loyalty and a spirit of sacrifice and in silence, help me fulfil my ministry.

After a short trial (2-6 October 2012) the butler was found guilty of theft and sentenced to a reduced sentence of 18 months in an Italian prison.

Many other documents were disclosed. One of the more discussed was a classified document written for the Pope in which a Sicilian Cardinal predicted a new Pope for 2013. At the time, this sounded as a threat, but today it can be interpreted as anticipation. Benedict abandoned his position in February 2013, perhaps sick and tired of all the scandals, the crises and the internal threats.

As mentioned, he was much more focused on doctrinal and theological aspects (“to think” approach) demonstrating little interest in understanding and taming the accelerated

³ Vatican Insider: ‘Benedict XVI signed the Motu Proprio on the Conclave. The report Vatileaks for the successor’

dynamics of the global media system. The more common interpretation we found in our private interviews for his abrupt resignation is that -being well aware of the potentially imminent collapse of an organization that had reached intolerable levels of centralized inbreeding, corruption manipulation and ready for financial debacle- he forced himself to resign.

The comparison with his charismatic predecessor was inevitable. The first would warm hearts with very simple gestures, while the second suffered a lack of empathy in the context of one of the most problematic periods of the Church's history (scandals, corruption, and disclosure of private documents).

To touch

When Benedict announced his decision to leave the papacy, no one was expecting that his successor would have so quickly injected such a significant and disruptive impact in guiding the Church to such apparent-at-the-very-least- change.

Now in his second year, Francis continues to use Lombardi's experience in relating with the media and also enrolled Greg Burke, ex Fox News Vatican correspondent, who had in fact been originally recruited by Benedict⁴. The choice of hiring an American journalist from the centre of the world's possibly most powerful media center (the Murdoch system) was probably to better offset American catholic class action suits tied to the potential financial impacts of paedophilia-related scandals.

The "Francis Effect" is clearly noticeable. Catholics are beginning to returning to the Church, they wait for hours in St. Peter's square only to see him or hopefully to shake his hand after the celebration of mass.

His mandate, as a matter of fact, tries to achieve change by reducing the distance and the barriers between him and "others" ("to touch"). He loves to be surrounded by people, to interact and joke with them. When he visited Brazil in July 2013, his car was literally stuck in the traffic following a wrong turn in Rio. Thousands of people tried to greet the Pope and three dozen officers (including the Pope's personal bodyguards) had to keep the Rio crowd away from the Pope's car.

Francis' other big aim is to reform the Roman Curia following the scandals. After only 7 months of papacy, Pietro Parolin replaced Tarcisio Bertone as Secretary of State (it took more than double that time for Ratzinger to name his Secretary of State). Francis is fully aware of the very sensitive period for Vatican finances and also created the Secretariat of

⁴ JOHN HOOPER: 'Pope Benedict picks Fox News reporter to burnish Vatican's image'

Economy in charge for disclosing a certified annual balance sheet as well as inspecting the accounts of every office in the Holy See.

This 'change' began immediately when Francis decided to shun the luxurious papal apartment and chose to live in the modest Santa Marta, a guesthouse built in 1996 on the site of an ancient hospice for the poor.

Even in choosing his own name the Pope took inspiration from St Francis of Assisi, a man of peace and poverty. He claims that outreach is the Vatican's core business and that, specifically, the poor of the world represent the priority stakeholder group. Francis flees ostentation and blames hierarchies leading opulent lifestyles. He suspended the Bishop of Limburg Tebartz-van Elst, accused of spending more than 31 million euros on renovating his residence.

"Poor Church for the poor" is the new buzzword inside the Vatican walls and, as an example, he was upset in learning that a very exclusive buffet held on the terrace of the Prefecture of Economic Affairs for 150 VIPs during the very recent canonization of Popes John XXIII and John Paul II, had cost 18.000 euros. As Cardinal Giuseppe Versaldi, president of the Prefecture of Economic Affairs reported, "the Holy Father did not appreciate it at all, to use a euphemism".

All the negative and positive verdicts on his first year share similar anecdotes: he is the priest who practices what he preaches: he walks the talk; the 'thumbs-up' gesture indicating that everything's good; the faithful allowed on the Popemobile; the pontiff who lives in a hostel, carries his own bags, is driven round in an old Ford Focus, and makes unexpected phone calls, and loves selfies, embraces the disfigured, invites the homeless for breakfast, suspends bishops with opulent or self-regarding lifestyles and follows a diet of ostentatious frugality.

For several centuries, the Vatican acted as the master of the world's faithful (1.2 billion) rather than its servant. Many in Rome today still hold firmly to that model. Francis wants that to change. It is in this area that transformation is proceeding with greatest speed. He sacked the cardinals running the Vatican Bank, brought in outside consultants who are closing dodgy accounts and set up a team to propose long-term structural reform. Management consultants are reviewing the Vatican's accounting, communication and management systems.

He has removed key conservatives from the body that appoints bishops, and has set up the powerful Council of Cardinal Advisers from the world's five continents (all of them past critics of the Curia) to deliver a radical decentralization of the papacy.

As a consequence of these changes the Pope is trying to induce and lead (even if someone considers the process only a small change, rather than a revolution), he has gone from being named Person of the Year by Time, to 'greatest leader' by Fortune, and even conquered the front cover of Rolling Stone with an article titled "The Times Are A-changin'" (Bob Dylan). His pontificate has so far become the most popular in history and the media loves him. Insistent rumours we collected in our many interviews indicate that before this coming fall Francis will appoint a new spokesperson in the context of an entirely redesigned Vatican Global Media Center elaborated by tens of carefully selected consultants from the major global management and communication consultancies⁵. This change will, to say the very least, shock the entire communication management professional and scholarly community for its modernity. But it is also fair to say that we also collected rumours that obscure forces are joining efforts to provoke, as has often happened in the Vatican, as well as in many other organizations, an abrupt termination of the Francis papacy. One wonders if this will happen by elimination or, following the example of Benedict, by abdication.

Our analysis also led us to the following two considerations:

Political, religious and volunteer-led organizations have for centuries considered the ongoing process of recruitment of individuals around ideas, values and issues as their true core business with the ultimate aim that the recruited in turn become advocates-at-scale.... Albeit with minor exceptions, only in recent years have for-profit commercially driven corporations begun to transit their stakeholder relationships efforts from a useful and 'nice-to-have' feature to a structural, fundamental and strategic part of their own core businesses. One might also imagine that consolidated customer relationship efforts to traditionally increase sales (marketing) are rapidly up-scaling in practice to a wider and more sophisticated involvement of relevant and carefully identified internal and external stakeholder groups (shareholders, employees, customers, suppliers, public policy makers, communities, active citizenship groups...): idea by idea, value by value, issue by issue.

⁵ JOHN L. ALLEN JR: 'Press for Vatican reform extends to PR, accounting'

The recent rise of monetary value attributed to intangible assets -as well as the growing impact of the global, always-on, 24/7 digital environment- have sparked a radical re-thinking of governance structures and processes that mandate organizations who intend to last in time (i.e. be sustainable) to adopt a communicating-with-stakeholders approach for better achieving their licence to operate, in large part abandoning the well consolidated XXth century communicating-to one.

This new and developing cultural approach is quickly becoming an essential component of knowledge and intellectual luggage not only of communication professionals but, more importantly, of each single organizational function whose managers become well aware that relationships with their own specific stakeholder groups get to be truly effective only if and when that relationship process is coordinated through an institutionalised role, directly reporting to, and in constant proximity of, the organization's leadership.

Most of all, as the listening process has now become more than 50% of any communication effort, this coordinating role needs to be fully enabled to professionally listen-to and interpret often conflicting stakeholder expectations before organizational policies and strategic/tactical objectives are defined and implemented; as well as by adopting ongoing, continued, integrated multi stakeholder and multi channel interactive advocacy and reporting policies.

There are many recent threads of practice and academic studies from scholars and professionals all over the world pointing to this direction.⁶

Also, since the inception of Propaganda Fide -created in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV to promote and organize evangelization in the New World, as well as to buffer the rising Protestantism in the Old World, the Catholic Church has become a significant part of what one today would define 'global proto-public relations' practice⁷ and may be considered one of the first global organizations to adopt an aware and programmed 'relationships with publics' perspective. Also the requirement, since the Propaganda Fide inception, that missionaries regularly report on cultural and social developments from the territories where they operate indicates a strong attention to organizational listening (maybe as an extension of

⁶ Jim Grunig and his Excellence Project plus his more recent updates; the Arthur W. Page Society's work on the Authentic Enterprise, followed by its more recent papers on the New Model and disruption; the Global Alliance's Stockholm Accords and the Melbourne Mandate followed by the 'They have seen the future' benchmark report; the King Report 3 by the South African Institute of Directors; the IIRC framework for integrated reporting and, more recently, the book 'global stakeholder relationships governance: an infrastructure' published by Palgrave Macmillan)

⁷ Tom Watson from Bournemouth University and organiser of the International Public Relations History Conference defines 'proto-pr' as all activities related to public relations before they were so called but have implicit and explicit correlations.

the confession, the interpersonal listening tool that is a very unique characteristic of the Catholic Church).

John Paul II, the “great communicator” had led the Catholic Church through a quickly changing environment right after the Second Vatican Council. Started in 1962 under the Pontificate of Pope John XXIII, the purpose of the Council had been to review the vision and position of the Church in the modern World. As an organization that has always refused to open a dialogue with the World outside, this marked a huge turning point. During the Council, Pope Paul VI (that succeeded John XXIII on June 1963) issued the Inter Mirifica decree, a sort of “Vatican outreach manifesto”

Together with the annual official documents on the same issue that have been promulgated by the Pope ever since, this decree remains a fundamental point of reference for anyone studying the process of Vatican outreach. Here are some brief excerpts:

1. (...) The Church welcomes and promotes with special interest those (technological discoveries) which have a most direct relation to men's minds and which have uncovered new avenues of communicating most readily news, views and teachings of every sort. The most important of these inventions are those media which, such as the press, movies, radio, television and the like, can, of their very nature, reach and influence, not only individuals, but the very masses and the whole of human society, and thus can rightly be called the media of social communication.
2. The Church recognizes that these media, if properly utilized, can be of great service to mankind (...). The Church recognizes, too, that men can employ these media contrary to the plan of the Creator and to their own loss (...).
3. The Catholic Church (...) considers it one of its duties to announce the Good News of salvation also with the help of the media of social communication and to instruct men in their proper use. It is, therefore, an inherent right of the Church to have at its disposal and to employ any of these media insofar as they are necessary or useful for the instruction of Christians and all its efforts for the welfare of souls (...).

This document marks the first formal attempt to provide guidelines and instructions on social communication. And, strange as it may seem, the attention to the impact of the media system came up as a relevant issue for social communication only during the Second Vatican Council, in the Sixties. How can a global organization that everyday has to relate with such a complex and broad variety of stakeholders, begin to consider mass media as “wonderful technological discovery (...) in the present era” only in 1963? Apart from exceptions like Cardinal Fulton Sheen, the American bishop who in 1952 had been awarded an Emmy Award after a 20 year broadcasting activity, the Catholic Church had grossly undervalued the arising power of media.

After the Council “the public image of the Church has undoubtedly changed: the Church communicates rather than excommunicates, establishes dialogue rather than condemns”⁸.

Since 1967, every year the Pontifical Council for Social Communications celebrates the World Communication Day by releasing a message from the Pope focused on one specific aspect of communication.

As all our interviewees confirmed, these documents represent only the expression of the pontifical social communication committee rather, as his closing signature would indicate, than the Pope’s personal view on that specific topic.

However, from an overall perspective the analysis of the different themes addressed year-by-year does lead to a better understanding of some of dynamics related to the actual practice. In the Eighties, at the beginning of John Paul II’s Papacy, contents were mostly focused on the different purposes of social communication: the promotion of peace, the formation of public opinion, the promotion of youth....

The most recent content released by Pope Francis seems to be consistent with his vision:

It is not enough to be passers-by in the digital highways, simply “connected”; connections need to grow into true encounters. We cannot live apart, closed in on ourselves. (...). As I have frequently observed, if a choice needs to be made between a bruised Church, which goes out on the streets, and a Church suffering from navel gazing, I certainly prefer the first.

But is there anything more to this, however brilliant and innovative, shift in papal outreach than a cosmetic rebranding of a global organization that has undergone massive and repeated reputational damage in recent decades? After all, as seen many times in history, there is a limit to how long one can pursue the strategy of one of his predecessors, John XXIII, who had famously said: "I have to be pope both for those with their foot on the accelerator and those with their foot on the brake."

Is it only suggestive to evoke another analogy with contemporary studies in strategic planning analysis⁹ which have recently introduced and elaborated the notion of the network society in the interpretation of the 2010 Stockholm Accords developed by the Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communication Management?

⁸ G. PANTEGHINI: ‘Quale comunicazione nella Chiesa?’ EDB, Bologna, 1993, p.9.

⁹ Sven Hamrefors, a Swedish management scholar, introduced this concept in 2012 while helping to draft and launch the Global Alliance’s Stockholm Accords.

The traditional and consolidated strategic planning process from the late Seventies of last century, based on Michael Porter's value chain, mostly linear and material, becomes at least integrated by another planning process based on value networks. This process recognizes that a substantial part of the value created by the organization is generated today from and within fuzzy (nonlinear) and intangible networks that normally disrupt the distinction between internal and external publics. Members of these networks play specific and value added roles defined by their relationships rather than by their formal position. The generated value is therefore based on the quality of the relationships that exist between members of each network and on the quality of the relationships, which exist between the various networks.

Maybe this 'analogy' helps explain the intrinsic 'sense' of the radical re organization going on in Francis' Vatican and the getting rid of the many shadowy figures that have populated the Vatican corridors particularly during his predecessor's papacy, provoking continued financial scandals and corruption¹⁰.

Francis has embarked on a bold reform of Vatican finances by mandating continued and transparent reporting while also opening to reform arguments in matters of celibacy, birth control, women, gay and human rights.

As said before, rumours we collected in our many interviews indicate that before this coming fall Francis will appoint a new spokesperson in the context of an entirely new Vatican Global Media Center designed and fuelled by tens of carefully selected consultants from the major global management and communication consultancies that will, to say the very least, shock the entire communication management professional and scholarly community for its modernity. The need of such a dramatic reshape in the communication management system is aligned with the most recent trends: organizations have begun to transit their stakeholder relationships efforts from a useful and 'nice-to-have' feature to a structural, fundamental and strategic part of their own core businesses.

¹⁰ JASON HOROWITZ, JIM YARDLEY: 'Pope With the Humble Touch Is Firm in Reshaping the Vatican'

Interviews

Andrea Tornielli, 'vaticanist' at '*Vatican Insider – La Stampa*'

Father Antonio Spadaro, SJ, Director of '*La Civiltà Cattolica*'

Father Federico Lombardi, SJ, Director of the Holy See Press Office since 2006

Prof. Joaquín Navarro-Valls, Director of the Holy See Press Office 1984 - 2006

Vittorio Bruno, journalist, past director of '*Il Secolo XIX*'

**Public Relations in the Early 1800s *Age of Reform*:
Sophisticated, Strategic, and Successful**

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ABSTRACT

Many historians and public relations scholars have stated that public relations as an industry began when it was incorporated into businesses during the Industrial Revolution. Certainly, this era at the beginning of the 20th century overwhelmingly influenced historiographies when it comes to the supposed onset of corporate public relations. However, through two years of historical research, the authors of this paper have unearthed significant and abundant evidence that public relations types of activities that occurred before then were not merely haphazard moments in time; rather, numerous different organizations planned and orchestrated initiatives that are quite similar to what we see conducted in the name of public relations today. Thorough examinations of the organizations' goals and implementations render it difficult to refer to the plans and activities of these organizations as any less than strategic and impactful.

For this paper, the authors focus on an era just preceding the Industrial Revolution—what historians call the *Age of Reform*, an energetic period that lasted from around 1815 to 1860. The reform in Europe and America was fueled by an emergence of Transcendentalism, a philosophy that emphasized harmony, rational thought, progressive morality, and classical learning. The era was driven by the great steam engine of voluntary interaction—people coming together across communities or states in the United States and Europe to foster causes and arouse public opinion around similar interests, ideas, and hopes. Associations for the betterment of society that sprang to life during this period included the London Peace

Society, Anti-Slavery Society, American Temperance Society, Female Moral Reform Society, Aborigines Protection Society, and various women's suffrage organizations. Other organizations advocated for the building and improving of roads, bicycles and automobiles, the enrichment of agricultural communities, the advancement of railroads across the U.S. and Europe, and many other worthwhile social causes. For these causes to take hold on society, they had to be perpetrated through communication.

This article examines the communication efforts of these early 1800s reform movements. The authors argue the case that many of the reform activities were what we now wrap around the term *public relations*—even though history generally has failed to record them as such because the term was rarely applied until well into the 1900s. The initiatives put into place by these associations and movements indicate that those strategies and techniques now considered as modern-day practice were already being used during this Age of Reform. To be successful, the associations and movements of that era required a public following and, in some cases, financial support. It was, therefore, essential for the public to understand their aims and motivations. To achieve these purposes, many of the groups strategically advocated for their particular cause and used both interpersonal and mass media tools to disseminate their messages—tools including printed material such as books, tracts, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, journals, and circulars. The associations also opened up local and regional offices as needed and secured endorsers, or people of interest and influence, to lend legitimacy to the cause.

The paper explores the extent to which these scientific public relations processes were an integral part of the 19th century reform movements—a seemingly contradictory stance to the prevailing wisdom in public relations historiography that places the roots of public relations in more recent history. The authors investigate the strategic purposes of each cause, the publics and institutions the groups attempted to reach with their causes, and the effects of these strategic communication programs on each specific movement. The research examined archival letters and memoranda as well as the communication methods the leaders of these organizations often used to advocate their causes. Where possible, the constitutions established by the various organizations were particularly examined as critical keys for understanding the group's motives in each case.

The authors also discuss Social Strain Theory, believing that many of these social reform movements of the early 1800s conformed to this theory. One element of the theory posits that there must be a strain on society, such as inequality or injustice, to stimulate progress of some kind. The first step in overcoming injustice involved defining and

communicating the problem in a way that is agreed upon and understood by the participants. Part of this process involves framing, and perhaps more particularly, agenda building, where organizations outside the media use various communication means to advance their causes. When history shows the advancements made during the 1800s in women's rights, in agricultural cooperation and production, temperance, and other social causes, it is possible to see the success of the various societies discussed in this paper. Rather than showing them as random acts of communication, as historians have so often done in the past, these should be seen for what they really were—carefully planned and orchestrated public relations activities.

The authors believe that this research helps to shed a different light on the strategic roots of public relations, a stance which takes the field away from a predominant, corporate-centric mindset to the more accurate roots of the field as a means of voluntary society building. The literature on reform movements and associations in the 1800s is extensive, but the literature which would specify the public relations tools and tactics they employed is virtually non-existent. Public relations historian Scott Cutlip admitted that 1900 has been an “arbitrary” starting point for the industry and that public relations scholarship traditionally has incorporated that benchmark in delineating the intersection of corporate and institutionalized public relations. Similarly, Margot Lamme and Karen Russell recently reexamined the historiography of public relations and concluded that “more research is needed concerning the ways in which the rise of mass media in the 19th century . . . might have influenced alone or in some combination the motivations and methods of the public relations function.” These calls for action are what the authors of this paper attempt to fulfill.

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Internal communication education: A historical critical analysis

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ABSTRACT

Purpose

Historical issues of professionalism and public relations education have previously been considered in the context of accreditation of university courses in Australia (Fitch 2013). Education plays an important role in professionalization (Piecicka & L'Etang 2006). However, little previous attention has been paid to the history of internal communication education. Therefore, this article considers approaches to internal communication education from the 1970s onwards to draw out issues of relevance to internal communication practice today.

Methodology

The context of the study is set out with discussions of a conceptual framework including the concepts of internal communication, professionalization and knowledge. The article uses a historical critical analysis methodology to conduct an extensive review of academic literature and professional body archival documentation relating to internal communication education.

Findings

Historical evidence of past approaches to internal communication education will be analysed and discussed in relation to current frameworks. The discussion will consider themes such as specialisation and generalisation in public relations education.

Implications/limitations

The study is limited to publicly available archive material published in the English language. The paper draws out implications for internal communication public relations education.

Originality

The article contributes to the literature on public relations professionalism and education by undertaking a novel professionalization and public relations education study focussed on the internal communication branch of the discipline.

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Examining the Historical Position of Public Relations in Organizational Decision Making Within Several Major Companies

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the historical decision-making role of public relations within three major corporations. Each year an increasing number of public relations scholars in various parts of the world make concerted arguments suggesting public relations should be a management function that assists organisations answer questions such as “What should we do?” and “How should we do it?” in addition to providing advice relative to “What should we say?” and “How should we say it?” Understandably, most of this academic dialogue is theoretical rather than practical. Consequently, these research studies have been of considerably more value to scholars than to practitioners.

The research proposed here will examine the history, growth and development of the role of public relations decision-making within three major corporations: AT&T (formerly known as American Telephone & Telegraph), General Motors and Johnson & Johnson.

AT&T was the corporate home of Arthur W. Page who many credit as the first public relations person to not only hold the title of vice president but also to function as one during his years as AT&T’s chief public relations officer. Page’s writings combined with those of others who have studied him provide an interesting look at a public relations person who insisted our field play an active role in organisational decision-making.

Although not considered as accomplished by the historical literature, Paul Garrett played a similar role within General Motors to what Page enjoyed at AT&T. Not content to function merely as a press agent or publicist, Garrett help move public relations into the decision-making rooms of what was to become the world’s largest and most successful automobile company.

Johnson & Johnson differs from AT&T and General Motors in several ways but still displays a unique role for public relations and organisational decision-making. Johnson & Johnson did not really have any corporate public relations function until Lawrence G. Foster

was hired away from *The Newark News* in 1957. Reporting directly to the CEO right from the start of his J&J career, Foster played a major role in making certain the company's public relations function consisted of much more than publicity and other elements of one-way communication. This was to take on huge significance during the noted Tylenol crisis of 1982.

This paper will examine not only the roles played by Page, Garrett and Foster but also those who later followed them as chief public relations officers at these three corporations.

Public relations as a tool for social transformation:

Case study of railroads in Turkey

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1. Introduction

It is widely accepted that modern public relations in Turkey emerged during the 1960s (see Asna, 1997; 2004). This argument is based on the fact that, at that period of time, several public institutions established public relations units and practised public relations properly in a systematic and planned manner. Public relations education was also institutionalized during this period and academic production in the field began flourish. Private sector companies, especially multinationals, also established public relations departments and they developed and contributed to significant public relations campaigns in this period. During the 1960s, public relations in Turkey had a deliberative, planned and corporate character. This period marks public relations in Turkey as an extension of the conceptualization of public relations as a function of strategic management, which values public relations activities within the corporate domain. Nevertheless, there were significant public relations activities in Turkey prior to the 1960s, which are scarcely mentioned in the literature.

The historical roots of public relations in Turkey were grounded in social reforms and politics. Following the Turkish War of Independence, the Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923. The Republic of Turkey was based on the principle of transformation, and a series of reforms were executed to establish a modern state. Economic and social development of the country was regarded as the most crucial national issue, and changes were carried out in the legal system, education, writing system, language and, more broadly, in lifestyle and culture. Although the term was not yet defined in Turkey at that time, there were significant communication activities during the early years of the Republic that resemble public relations. Starting from the establishment of the new regime, the government utilized such activities to inform citizens, gain public support and produce consent. In addition, public relations activities were regarded as tools for social transformation and development.

Railroads were regarded as a symbol of the modernization movement and were treated as an instrument of national development during 1923-1945. Due to the importance of transportation in political, social, cultural and economic development, special emphasis was

given to the improvement of the railroads (Yıldırım, 2001). During these years, railroads were considered a means to meet the economic, political and socio-cultural needs of the country, and trains took an active role in the all areas of social transformation.

Almost all of the railways were managed by foreign companies holding privileges during the early years of the Republic (Aydın, 2012: 72). Thus the government's railroad policy was structured around nationalization and improvement of the system, and to attain this goal special emphasis was given to staff training. It should be noted that the government's approach to the railroads was not solely strategic (Ahmad, 2008: 112). With no doubt, railroads were crucial for military defence and economic progress but railroad policies had social and cultural goals as well. The government's intentions were to have national and independent railroads that were structured as networks to meet national economic and unification needs (Yıldırım, 2001: 40), and to bring social service and enlightenment to underdeveloped regions. Railroad policies in this period helped the enlargement of domestic markets and the integration of commerce among Anatolian cities. In addition, regions around the railroads were socially revived (Yıldırım, 2001: 39).

Based on these intentions, Turkish State Railways practiced unique and innovative public relations activities, in accordance with the conditions of that time, which contributed the Turkey's socio-cultural transformation. According to Ruhan Çelebi, Turkish State Railways led social development during the early years of the Republic with its education cars, health cars, bookstands in the train stations, amateur theatres, and free public courses offered in studios, factories and boarding schools,. The Turkish State Railways pioneered some important activities to structure the base of the country and to cultivate a modern generation through art, sports and education.

This paper aims to discuss prominent public relations activities of Turkish State Railways during the years between 1925-1950. These endeavours have not yet been discussed in the frame of public relations in Turkey, and are scarcely mentioned in public relations history. To uncover the details of these activities, issues of *Railways Magazine* between 1925-1950 were examined; the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper for these years was scanned; opinions of the employees having detailed information about the subject were gathered. Biographies of Behiç Erkin, founder of Turkish State Railways and the first general manager, were referenced. An interview with a senior expert of the institution, Ruhan Çelebi, was also conducted. Ruhan Çelebi is the founder, curator and person in charge of the inventory of the İstanbul Railways Museum. She is one of the coordinators of a website devoted to Turkish

railroads. Çelebi has conducted historical research about Turkish State Railways and has served as an advisor on several documentaries, academic studies and books.

2. Public relations activities of Turkish State Railways

Behiç Erkin, the founder of national railways and its first general manager, led the public relations activities of Turkish State Railways. Above all, he had a major role in the development of corporate identity and culture in Turkish State Railways. He initiated significant internal public relations practices to develop relationships among employees, and to create trust and a sense of belonging to the organization. For instance, he ordered the construction of special trains devoted to the needs of personnel such as mobile markets and health units; he gave importance to the organization and cleanliness of the stations; he set up a retirement fund and paid close attention to the problems and concerns of employees (Kıvırcık, 2007: 288-289). Behiç Erkin established the first railway school and one of the first public museums of the Republic (Railways Museum), contributed to the cultivation of Turkish engineers (Kıvırcık, 2007: 319). The Annual International Railways Congress held in Turkey on 19 May 1928 was organized by Behiç Erkin, which was a significant attempt for Turkey to host an international organization during those years (Kıvırcık, 2007: 299). With all these efforts, he is remembered and referred as ‘the father of the Turkish railways’.

a. Education Cars & Vocational, Apprentice and Family Schools

During the early years of the Republic, there was a lack of qualified labour having professional and technical knowledge. Turkish State Railways was also in need of trained and skilled personnel for managing railroads, therefore significant effort was devoted to establishment of vocational schools at different levels.

The first vocational school was opened on 11 June 1923 in Konya (Kıvırcık, 2007: 319). A vocational high school was founded on 1 October 1942 in Ankara (later closed in 1950 and reopened in 1955 in Eskişehir) (DEMOK, 2012). There was a boarding school in Haydarpaşa, İstanbul with a 6-month transportation education program which accepted successful trainees (Demiryolları Mecmuası, 1932: 169).

Practical training was available for trainees and active personnel. A mobile school was formed from train cars equipped with all the required educational materials, even a cinema. This mobile unit was also used for in-house training activities, and seminars and conferences were given to personnel in various regions (Demiryolları Mecmuası, 1932: 170).

An Apprenticeship School was established in the Eskişehir factory to raise and train prospective staff between the ages of 14 and 18. The number of accepted students varied according to the demand of Turkish State Railways; in 1932 the number was 210

(Demiryolları Mecmuası, 1932: 171). This apprenticeship school offered a four-year program with daily allowances, where students were trained to be machinists, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, foundrymen, carpenters, draftsmen, and electricians (Demiryolları Mecmuası, 1932: 171).

The Turkish State Railways also opened a Family School with pension for the children and the relatives of personnel who were residing in non-school zones. After completing this school, students had a chance to continue their education in the apprenticeship school. The organization and curriculum of this school was remarkable: There were workrooms, turnhall, painting and singing and piano rooms in the school, and students studied German as a foreign language. Apart from formal education, boarders learned housework and the rules of etiquette and social behaviour.

b. *Demiryolları Mecmuası- Railways Magazine*

A corporate periodical called *Demiryolları Mecmuası* was first published on 1925, one year after the establishment of the national railways. Following the Alphabet Reform in 1928, its monthly publication continued in the Latin alphabet.

Until the 1940s, the main target audience of the magazine was railroad personnel, especially those working in districts with limited educational opportunities. At that time, the magazine was considered educational material and was even defined as a 'portable school' (Demiryolları Mecmuası, 1932: 174) providing technical and practical information about national and world railroads, publishing illustrations and photographs. It was also used as an instrument to build and enhance corporate culture, as well as a tool to develop relationships among employees.

After the 1940s, the magazine took a different route, and was no longer devoted to railroad personnel exclusively, but was continuously revised and enhanced. New writers contributed to the magazine, target audiences were broadened, and articles written in different fields and subjects such as literature, psychology, tourism, pedagogy and fashion started to appear in the magazine pages. Information about western lifestyles and practical information about daily life were also provided. Issues were sent to public institutions and libraries as well and reached a large number of subscribers.

c. *Mobile Libraries and Railroad Station Book Racks*

Turkish State Railways founded a central library with thousands of books and magazines. The index of the available books was distributed to personnel, who could order any book or magazine from the list. This library was considered as a way to improve the reading habits of the personnel and to fill their spare time efficiently, as well as expand their

vocational knowledge. Books were transported between stations and reached every corner of the railroads. Mobile books were particularly intended to reach staff living alone in more remote places.

d. Health Services

The Turkish State Railways provided free public health services to citizens via hospitals, dispensaries, sanatoriums and health units. There were 10 health institutions in 1958 serving different centres and 3 childcare rooms (Çelebi, 2009).

There were also mobile health services that were converted from railroad cars and a fully equipped surgery and operation car. There was regular health screening for personnel and citizens via these health trains, and they were also used for public seminars and conferences to inform citizens about birth control, hygiene, nutrition and epidemic illnesses (Çelebi, 2009).

e. Education Exhibition on Wheels

To celebrate the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic, an education exhibition was organized by the Ministry of Education and Turkish State Railways. This exhibition was considered a tool for public education, using trains to bring information about educational improvements and public health to citizens (cited in Çelebi, 2009). The main intent of this exhibition was moral support to citizens by displaying the Republic's gains over the previous 10 years.

The exhibition was carried on a special train arranged with three railroad cars; an education car which was made in Europe, and two other cars containing educational materials, films, books and posters about the body and health. A doctor, education inspector, school and museum directors were on board, and at every stop, local administrators and specialists participated the exhibition. According to Çelebi (2009), one of the most popular books on the exhibition was about malaria, since there was an intensive struggle with the illness during that time.

f. Demirspor Clubs

Turkish State Railways established several sport clubs on sites that they constructed along railroad lines and stations. In the beginning of 1930s, first Demirspor Clubs were initiated in cities such as Eskişehir and Ankara; following the completion the legislative framework, the number of the clubs was increased and according to formal records, there were 48 Demirspor Clubs in Turkey in 1942 (Bartu, 2011; Yıldırım, 2012: 259).

As part of the organization Demirspor Clubs supported several sports, particularly football, wrestling, weight lifting, athletics and swimming, and produced several champions

(Bartu, 2011). The establishment of sports clubs created the background for Turkish sports in several areas; citizens living in Anatolia met at different sports facilities with these clubs. In addition, these sport clubs enlivened urban life by opening public places such as club houses, restaurants, relaxing sites, gardens. Some clubs even had jazz orchestras (Bartu, 2011).

3. Conclusion

The public relations efforts of Turkish State Railways during 1925-1950 were extremely ambitious and contributed to the general aim of the Republic during those times. Under limited conditions, Turkish State Railways practiced innovative and cost effective activities to reach citizens and tried to contribute to the building of modern Turkey. In some regions, citizens encountered cultural and health service via trains (Demiryolu, 2006: 49). Stations acted as towns' social and cultural centres where people gathered and discussed national issues (Yazgıç, 2006: 31).

Railroads had an important influence on the life of citizens and the texture of urban life, which can be traced from popular culture as well. There are several well-known poems, songs, films, plays and stories that represent citizens' relationships with trains (see Bora, 2012).

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