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ABSTRACTS

Editors: Dr Anastasios Theofilou
Prof Tom Watson
Dr Tanya le Roux
Dr Joyce Costello
Dr Elena-Alina Dolea
Dr Anastasia Veneti

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ABSTRACTS

FROM PERSUASION TO PROPAGANDA: A SHIFT IN POLITICAL PUBLIC RELATIONS IN THE ARAB WORLD

Mohammad Ib. Abdullah

Baghdad University (and PhD candidate, RMIT University, Australia)
mohammad.abdullah@rmit.edu

Mokhtar Elareshi

University of Tripoli (and researcher, University of Leicester, UK)

Jennifer A Robinson

RMIT University, Australia

Abdulrahman Dheyab Abdullah

Al Ain University of Science and Technology

The Arab World has undergone a couple of significant political system changes during long period after the emergence of Islam. Political systems changing are a central component to the shape and process of political public relations (Stromback & Kioussis, 2011), which is emerging as a distinct discipline to address the specific political context. This paper examines how three major changes in political rule in the Arab World have contributed to different models of political public relations.

This paper interrogates the meaning and the nature of political public relations in the Arab World within political system context to expand the understanding of public relations used by current Arab governments to communicate with their publics. In doing so, the paper will also lay the foundation for providing comprehensive understanding of PPR in this region. It looks how PPR has shifted from the appreciation of respecting individuals to the use of one way of communication, political poetry, orators to political propaganda approach in the Arab world. Little known in terms of research in this area, and therefore, our study attempts to help for more future research based on theoretical framework in this field.

Three periods are described which contributed to the development of public relations in general, and political public relations (PPR) specifically, in the Arab World. For example, Islam (610-662) applied the principle of respect individual(s) by following the method of argument and persuasion, not coercion and intimidation (Rashwan Hussein Abdel Hamid Ahmed, 1993). However, after the political system changed from Shura to kingdom during Umayyad (662-750) and Abbasid (750-1258) ages, PPR relied on political poetry, rhetorical techniques and charisma (Lewis, 1991), and using unquestioning arguments to hide historical and political reality (Ayubi, 2003). Continued rule was based on respect and veneration (Sriramesh & Vercic, 2003) and coercion and intimidation.

In the period from soon after the demise of Arab Islamic civilization through the Ottoman Empire and Persian occupation until the shaping of the current Arab governments, PPR has relied on a propaganda model in communicating with the public (Brynen, Korany & Noble 1995). In contemporary time, the common understanding of PR in the Arab World is as public information and publicity, with the objective mostly to build positive image of leaders and pay attention to hospitality ceremonies (Kirat 2005).

This study uses as evidence both secondary research about the political history of the Arab World as well as new analysis of political communication collateral such as speeches. Following the traces of history of political system in Arab region will depend on secondary data including historical and Islamic books and documents can reach the significant changes in political PR across history. The study also scrutinizes some Arab government and Islamic leaders' speeches, letters and benefits from government policy documents.

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PR EDUCATION IN IRAN: A 50 YEARS OF HISTORY

Hossein Afkhami

Allameh Tabayaba'I University

Hafkhami48@yahoo.co.uk

Education of public relations started with the foundation of institute of Press and PR in 1966. It was renamed later to College of mass communication where housed the department of public relations beside journalism, marketing and advertising. Prof. Hamid Notqi (1906-1978) a retired PR employee from NIOC was the first of head of the department who run it for over a decade. Its foundation welcomed by the modern phase of social change, modernization and support of new established industries. The college has provided a four year course which has been accredited by the Iranian Ministry of Higher Education. At present, more than twenty institutions are in charge of PR teaching and the number of graduates well over 10,000.

This paper is an assessment of half a century education and training in Iran in the context of political, social, technological and cultural developments. Through historical method of event analysis, the study will focus on graduates, publications, teachers and curriculum programmes. Teaching PR history will be another part of the analysis too. The study will also evaluate how important was the role of education in shaping of modern institutions at state or private sectors.

HOW TO KEEP ROSIE THE RIVETER FROM CONTRACTING VD: A CASE STUDY OF HOW U.S. SOCIAL REFORMERS USED PUBLIC RELATIONS DURING WORLD WAR II

William Anderson
Elon University
banderson11@elon.edu

Purpose of this study

This case study will show how American Social Hygiene Association (ASHA) officials used public relations strategies and techniques in the attempt to leverage wartime patriotism for the fight against venereal diseases (VD). Specifically, this study covers the persuasion communication efforts of ASHA members to enlist the aid of business, labor, and local community leaders in the control of VD.

Background

ASHA officials wanted to curtail VD rates because the number of those infected had tended to rise during wartime. In the U.S. Civil War more than 200 out of every 1,000 soldiers were infected with VD, and during the Mexican War 168 out of every 1,000 American soldiers had VD (ASHA, 1941, p. 2). When World War I arrived those numbers had risen to 240 infections per 1,000 American soldiers (Snow, n.d., p. 38).

U.S. government officials worried a similar increase in VD rates would hurt military force readiness during World War II, so they worked with ASHA officials to stem the number of infections. Research had shown government and ASHA officials that most cases of VD among the troops were contracted in areas outside of military encampments. Therefore, ASHA members developed a series of public relations campaigns to persuade community, business, and labor leaders to develop anti-VD programs in their respective areas of influence.

Method

Data for the ASHA campaigns was obtained from the online Social Welfare Archives at the University of Minnesota Libraries, which included pamphlets, posters, and other communication materials, as well as correspondence to and from ASHA officials.

Findings

A textual analysis of these materials showed that ASHA officials used two main messages to achieve their desired outcome: 1) The prevalence of VD hurts the war effort; and 2) VD control requires a local community approach because the sources of infection are found in the civilian population.

ASHA officials disseminated these messages through specific literature for each audience. ASHA sent a training manual titled *Industry vs. VD* to select American business firms, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce distributed 1,800 of these manuals to its membership ("Industry vs. venereal diseases," 1945, p. 98). To reach workers with their messages ASHA members sent 1,500 copies of the training manual titled *The Trade Unions vs. VD* to American Federation of Labor (AFL) central trade and labor bodies throughout the country and to Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) union councils, to other national and international unions, as well as to 450 editors of trade union publications ("Industry vs. venereal diseases," 1945, p. 98). ASHA sent a manual titled *Procedure Manuals for Industrial Health Committees*, which explained how to start a partnership between businesses and the nearby area to control VD, to the leaders of almost 200 communities ("Industry vs. venereal diseases," 1945, p. 98).

To broaden the scope of participants in the battle against VD, ASHA leaders also leveraged their

existing annual outreach event: Social Hygiene Day. Started in 1937 and held the first week in every February, Social Hygiene Day included public events, media relations efforts, and community projects designed to promote ASHA's programs and agenda. ASHA officials sent instructional kits to local community leaders to explain how to implement a wide range of activities such as arranging speakers for radio broadcasts and for interviews with the print media, coordinating a special social hygiene bookshelf at public libraries, distributing literature, encouraging mayors to proclaim a designated day as Social Hygiene Day, hosting local meetings, organizing educational exhibits, placing posters in public places, and persuading church leaders to sponsor a "Social Hygiene Sunday."

This study details how ASHA officials engaged in a systematic effort to sway the beliefs, attitudes, and actions of select audiences by deliberately presenting selected facts, arguments, and symbols to shape American business, community, and labor leaders' perceptions of their responsibilities to keep communities free from VD. This study warrants scholarly review because it helps the field's current movement beyond the perspective of beginning as the corporate response to social reformers (see, e.g., Lamme & Russell, 2010; Watson, 2014). The way social hygienists used persuasive communication provided another means to understand how public relations was used to achieve organizational goals, specifically during World War II. Much of the public relations history during this war has focused on the use of the function by governments, such as promoting the planting of victory gardens; encouraging the rationing of clothing, food, gasoline, and metal; recruiting military personnel; and stimulating the purchase of war bonds. This case shows how public relations practitioners in non-government bodies also tapped into the current socio-cultural-political environment to achieve their desired ends.

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“I PAID MY INCOME TAX TODAY”: HOW THE U.S. GOVERNMENT USED PUBLIC RELATIONS TO ENSURE PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF A PERSONAL INCOME TAX

William Anderson
Elon University
banderson11@elon.edu

Purpose of this study

This case study will show how U.S. Treasury Department (Treasury) and U.S. Office of War Information (OWI) officials used public relations strategies and techniques to ensure public acceptance of the installation of a personal income tax on most Americans, not just the wealthy.

Background

During the 1930s only wealthy Americans – which represented less than five percent of the U.S. population – paid income taxes (Seltzer, 1968, p. 62). By 1945 the income tax rolls had swelled to more than 42 million Americans – about 64 percent of the population (Bureau of the Census, 1975, p. 1110). World War II changed much about the United States, including American perceptions of and participation in federal income taxes. This shift in public sentiment occurred in part because of the persuasive communications efforts of Treasury and OWI officials.

To promote the more inclusive tax system these U.S. government representatives had to overcome the publicity of the 1930s that was designed to make taxes seem a necessary imposition on the wealthy. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) said he would protect American citizens from the tyranny of the “economic royalists” by taxing the rich (Roosevelt, 1936). Americans had been resistant to taxes throughout the nation’s history ranging from the America Revolution cry of “No taxation without representation” to citizens from the states of Mississippi and Kentucky trying to force their way into their respective governor’s mansions to protest sales taxes in 1932 (Leff, 1984, 11-17).

By 1939 FDR’s Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, Jr., worried that war in Europe would necessitate changes in the income tax system, proposed, an excess profits tax to prevent war profiteering and an increase in taxes on those citizens in middle- and lower-income brackets. Public relations practitioners on behalf of the U.S. government leveraged wartime patriotism to sell the new tax system to the American public, but they also constructed messages that made the tax appear to be a simple and normal facet of everyday life to help the system last beyond the war. Also, because FDR had positioned the war as a fight for democracy’s survival they had to present the income tax to the American public as a choice rather than an order from the government.

Method

Most of the primary data for this study will come from the FDR Library in Hyde Park, NY, and the Records of the Office of War Information (OWI) at the Washington National Records Center in Suitland, MD. The FDR Library includes Morgenthau’s daily record of his official activities, including transcripts of his meetings and telephone conversations, and copies of correspondence and memoranda, including his communication with FDR. The records of the OWI included correspondence, minutes of meetings, reports, and other records, as well as communication materials developed by this government agency.

Findings

U.S. government officials facilitated the change in the tax system from a punitive action against the wealthy to a routine American duty through advertisements, animated films, newspaper and

magazine articles, radio shows, and songs such as “I Paid My Income Tax Today.” To prevent this change from appearing as coercion, U.S. government officials used choice as an overriding message to help persuade Americans to join the taxpayer ranks. Patriotic Americans, the government told the public, would choose to do their part in the war effort by buying victory with their tax dollars. And, it was not just Uncle Sam saying this but popular entertainment figures ranging from radio personality George Burns to animated character Donald Duck as well.

At the same time, government officials made moves to make taxpaying habitual so that individual choice was not essential to revenue collection. The withholding system, which took a portion of income taxes out of each wage earner’s paycheck, removed the onus of the tax-paying process from individual taxpayers and placed it on employers. Communication about this new system, as well as reminders about deadlines and the promotion of the simplicity of the income tax declaration form, helped develop the desired patterns of public behavior.

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HISTORY OF PR EDUCATION IN GERMANY 1950 - 2017

Guenter Bentele
Universität Leipzig
bentele@uni-leipzig.de

Academic PR education in Germany (and throughout the German-speaking countries) is still a relatively young phenomenon, whose beginning in the narrower sense can be set only with the eighties of the last century. Until the end of the 1980s, there was no systematic, university-based PR education in the German-speaking countries. However, there were precursors in the occupational field of public relations and there were individual courses from well-known practitioners, occasionally also scientists at universities.

In this article, the history of PR education ranging from the beginning of the 1950s until today is to be described and interpreted. PR education is theoretically classified as part of the occupational and professional field and at the same time as part of the educational system of the society. Two aspects are important in the development of education: a) the institutionalization of educational structures and b) the professionalisation efforts in the professional field of Public Relations. This is seen and analyzed as part of field of communication professions (including journalism, public relations / communication management and advertising / marketing). The occupational fields of public communication are becoming more important in a media society, are clearly expanding and becoming more professional. The development of PR education is analyzed in four phases.

- *First phase* (1950-1970): Development of initial approaches to PR education and professional association activities
- *Second phase* (1971-1990): Institutionalization and development of organizational structures in the non-academic area
- *Third phase* (1991-2000): Boom phase since the early nineties; Development and institutionalization of academic education programs (Magister programs, bachelor and master programs); Link to university research
- *Fourth phase*: (2000 to today): Further institutionalization and differentiation of an academic education landscape; at the universities linked to research programs

In the fifties and sixties there were already some courses offered by famous practitioners like Carl Hundhausen and Albert Oeckl. Hundhausen received his habilitation at the RWTH Aachen in 1953, he received the title as a professor in 1955 and he got, in 1961, an honorary professorship position in business administration. He offered courses in business administration from the mid 50ties on. From the mid sixties on, Hundhausen systematically offered PR courses. Since winter semester 1960/61, Albert Oeckl has been offering courses at the Mannheim University of Economics and Business and at the University of Heidelberg. However, since both are based in communication practice, there were no complete university study programs.

Systematically some courses were initiated by the professional association DPRG (German Public Relations Society) and offered in the free market. The DPRG was founded in 1958; one of their goals of the association was, to offer develop education and training programs in Public Relations. The second phase begins in 1970, in this year, the "German Institute for Public Relations (DIPR)" was founded, based on an initiative of the DPRG. For a period of 10 years, one-week seminars was offered here, which included some basics of public relations. The DIPR (managing director: leader: Günther Schulze-Fürstenow) became the most important provider of training modules during this time. With

the AFK, Academy for leadership and communication (managing director: Klaus Dörrbecker), in 1980 a second institute was founded, which offered similar courses, but broadened the educational field. Important for the academization of educational models at this time was the "pilot project Öffentlichkeitarbeit" at the Free University of Berlin, the very first academic (university based study program, a three-semester program, which was offered and tested twice very successfully. But it couldn't be implemented.

At the beginning of the nineties (third phase) the PR education landscape "exploded". Firstly, a great number of non-academic training initiatives (compact models, state-subsidized training models for unemployed academics had been offered. New Bachelor-, (German) Magister- and later Master programs were developed and set up at different universities (Berlin, Bamberg, Leipzig, Münster, München) and Fachhochschulen (kind of polytechnics) (Hannover, Osnabrück, etc.) from 1992 on. A first academic conference on PR education at the University of Bamberg took place in 1992, the results, an overview about all existing models were published in 1995 (Bentele/Szyszka 1995). At the University of Leipzig, where the first chair of public relations / PR was established in 1994, during this year the specialization in Public Relations (education and research) began with three academic positions.

After the year 2000, the academic programs became broader, more specialized and professionalized; academic research, as well as research cooperations with professional practice were deepened and differentiated. At present, at least twenty Master's courses are offered in Germany, additionally more than 20 Bachelor programs are existing. There are much more programs in PR / communication management, than in Journalism now. The professional field has benefited from this development, with qualified new entrants already accounting for nearly 40 percent of the occupational field, and the percentage of newcomers to the page decreasing.

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POLITICAL PUBLIC RELATIONS IN THE GERMAN EMPIRE FROM 1894 - 1918: THE "HAMMANN SYSTEM"

Guenter Bentele
Universität Leipzig
bentele@uni-leipzig.de

The activities of political public relations under the last German Emperor, Wilhelm II, are closely linked with the name Otto Hammann. His PR activities coincided with the reign of Kaiser Wilhelm II, the German head of state from 1888 to 1918. The form of government was a "constitutional monarchy"; the democratically elected parliament had certain rights and the emperor had to abide by a constitution.

Biography of Otto Hammann

Otto Hamman was born in Thuringia in 1852, the son of a landowner and his wife Luise. He studied law in Leipzig, Heidelberg and Jena, then worked from 1874 to 1875 as a trainee lawyer in the Saxon judicial service and then completed a one-year military service. He then worked as a journalist and correspondent, among others, for the "Sächsische Zeitung" (Saxonian newspaper), the Hamburg correspondence, the "Münchner Zeitung" (Munich newspaper) and other papers. For almost 10 years, Hammann was the editor of an official correspondence "Neueste Mitteilungen" (Latest News) of the Literary Office of the Prussian Ministry of Interior. Chancellor Leon von Caprivi became aware of Hammann in 1893 through a newspaper article and initially hired him as a relief editor; a year later (1894) he gave him the management of the Press Affairs of Department IA (Politics) of the Foreign Office. In 1915, during the First World War, he became Director of the independent, newly founded Division IV (News), due to organizational restructurings. For nearly 22 years, Hammann directed the political public relations work of the Foreign Office and, as a personal advisor and adviser to four Chancellors of the German Reich, was able to decisively shape their communication. In 1916 he retired, the reasons for his departure are not completely clear.

The Hammann system

Early on (Groth 1929, Kunczik 1997, Wilke 2000) Hammann's work was referred to by the term "Hammann system", which expresses the great influence that Hammann had on the press at the time. For Hammann, a "mutual relationship of trust with the honest and solid forces of the German press" was an important prerequisite for his work. Hammann did not (yet) hold any press conferences, such was only introduced in the First World War. He worked closely with the respective chancellors, e.g. during the regency of Bülow's every day from 11 to 12 o'clock together. During this time, the main political issues were discussed, which he then informed his select circle of journalists. He invited journalists from different political directions, foreign journalists and parliamentarians from various parties to inform and give political advice. This kind of not "official", but "officious" press activities was, so to speak, the invention of Hammann.

The main task of Hammann was to maintain contact with journalists, to pass on information to the domestic and foreign press, to "inspire" articles in order to make the official position of the government heard. Hamann also wrote parliamentary speeches for the Chancellors and therefore had a good position with them, based on personal trust with the chancellors.

The political evaluation of this system, which led to a mutual trust relationship between Hammann and a few leading German journalists, vary. On the one hand, a great political influence is already attributed to him during his active time. He had achieved that his information to few journalists,

strengthened by a personal relationship of trust, were taken very seriously and had great influence. He also put an end to the old system of bribing journalists (through information, but also money) and treated the journalists, with whom he could build a bond of trust, equal.

Thus, in a transitional period of the expiring German Kaiserreich, the Hammann system takes on an intermediate position between a style of authoritarian, political information from government to the people (like Bismarck did it) on the one hand and a style of political information in a truly democratic style of communication in which journalists and the media possess a high degree of independence and autonomy.

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U.S. STEEL GOES TO THE MOVIES: A NEW TOOL FOR TRYING TIMES

Thomas Bivins
University of Oregon
tbivins@uoregon.edu

The Morgan Park neighborhood of Duluth, Minnesota was originally a planned community built by U.S. Steel to serve its Duluth Works steel plant in the early 1900s. Named in honor of U.S. Steel's founder J. P. Morgan, the community thrived with recreational facilities, community clubs, America's first indoor mall, a K-12 school, and its own police and fire departments. Movies were very popular in Morgan Park and Duluth during the Great Depression of the 1930s, and were routinely shown in the Good Fellowship Clubhouse and in Duluth's four theaters. One film that received much attention in September 1938 was the documentary *Steel—Man's Servant*, which accompanied the feature-length movie, *Ladies in Distress*, playing at the Granada Theater. Produced by United States Steel, the film presents a lavish Technicolor look at the steel industry prior to WWII. During its one-week-long run in Duluth, the documentary's awe-inspiring spectacle was advertised as a "treat for young and old" (Alanen, 2007). Documentary producer and director, Pare Lorentz, reviewing the film for *McCall's*, declared it the most beautiful color film ever made.

The Corporation, as U.S. Steel was known on Wall Street, always distinguished itself to investors by virtue of its size, rather than for its efficiency or creativeness during its heyday. In 1901, it controlled two-thirds of steel production. However, competitors often innovated faster, especially Bethlehem Steel, run by U.S. Steel's former first president, Charles M. Schwab. U.S. Steel's share of the expanding market slipped to 50 percent by 1911. Around the same time, organizations began to form their own in-house publicity and public relations departments, due largely to the growing public pressure for greater corporate accountability.

The Great Depression of the 1930s marked a profound change in industrial relations for the steel industry. For decades, steel companies had successfully kept unions out of mills using directly coercive and repressive means, which were often supported by local governments. Their anti-union stance weakened in the 1930s as local support shifted and the federal government intervened in support of the steel unions. Moreover, public sympathy shifted to support the regulation of industry by labor and the government, which challenged the control of owners and managers. It was becoming increasingly clear that public confidence in big business, including U.S. Steel, was being worn down. Enter, a new approach.

Motion pictures occupied a unique place in the hearts of advertising and public relations specialists who believed that presenting business's story through an entertainment format could reestablish the proper climate for the expansion of corporate enterprise without government intervention (Bird, 1999). Still, early attempts, including many ambitious and expensive films, exposed the top-down attitude of their sponsors situated within a frame of didactic preaching. The result was films filled with often compelling special-effects that nonetheless presented their messages in "mechanical and wooden ways" (p.122).

During this period of time, U.S. Steel was a client of Batton, Barton, Durstine & Osborn (BBDO). Seeing a need for a more creative approach, BBDO encouraged a shift in public relations from direct rhetoric to "showmanship" and a more "intimate stagecraft," which also involved speaking the "idiom of average citizens," or, to put it another way, the "studied style of folksy discourse." Fictional frameworks, especially "friendly stories [with] familiar settings drawn from everyday life," played a

major role in BBDO campaigns—what Smithsonian curator William L. Bird (1999) refers to as the “new vocabulary” of public relations (p.6). U.S. Steel, the largest steel producer, quickly became also the industry’s largest producer of public relations. Even Edward Bernays was surprised, noting that “a large part of U.S. Steel’s chairman’s job in 1940 was supervision of a movie about the making of steel” (Bernays, p.551).

Although released before the 1939 World’s Fair, *Steel–Man’s Servant* was shown prominently at the fair as part of U.S. Steel’s exhibit, which also included “dioramas that forecast how steel might serve in the future” as well as “a radio-controlled hydroponic tomato farm, a working model of traffic control in the City of the Future, and a futuristic 250-seat theater for showing U.S. Steel’s Technicolor documentary...” (Bird, p.137). The first issue of *Business Screen* (1938) included an article on the film calling it a “major event” with “real advances” for how the steel industry represented itself. The film and U.S. Steel’s presence at the 1939 New York World’s Fair, was part of a massive public relations undertaking to portray business and industry as the true leaders of America’s entrance into the “World of Tomorrow.” This film, U.S. Steel’s innovative public relations efforts, and the sea change taking place in American industry on the cusp of the Great Depression and the Second World War, is the focus of this paper.

Film is historically located, and as such may be studied like any other historical document for its relationship to the time, social and political landscape, and its purpose within those contexts—in this case, publicity and public relations, with a hint of old-fashioned propaganda. This not an unexplored area; however, I hope to contribute something more to the use of graphic communication in public relations and its historical relevance to the current era, which often privileges the visual over almost anything else. There has been as steady increase in its use since the beginning of the 20th century, and I would like to understand what it is providing to its audience, what it is extracting in return.

I will do so through readings of current research in this specific area, as well as seminal work on imagery as it relates directly to this topic, such as that of Roland Marchand. In addition, I will use primary sources from such locations as the Hofstra University Library special digital collections, the Museum of the City of New York archival collections, the Minnesota Digital Library, and the Library of Congress.

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FROM PUBLIC RELATIONS TOOL TO ACCIDENTAL DIPLOMACY TOOL: THE CASE OF THE ROYAL BANK OF CANADA MONTHLY LETTER, 1943-1978

Sandra L. Braun
Mount Royal University
slbraun@mtroyal.ca

There has been some scholarly discussion about the intersection of public relations and public diplomacy, with the suggestion that each domain could benefit from the other to advance understanding, theory-building, and practice in each other's fields (Gilboa, 2008; Fitzpatrick, 2007; Vanc & Fitzpatrick, 2016).

This is an historical case study of the *Royal Bank Monthly Letter*, a publication by the Royal Bank of Canada from 1920 -1978, which began as a typical newsletter written as a public relations tool advising customers of business trends, but, uncharacteristic of other bank letters of the day, evolved in such a way as to become a tool of public diplomacy when it moved away from the authorship of economists and bankers, and came under the pen of Canadian public relations advisor John Heron (RBC Letter, 2017).

Under Heron's authorship, the publication turned into a general interest newsletter that went on to worldwide distribution and great circulation success. Instead of following its original mission "to review business conditions for the benefit of commercial clients", Heron turned it into a veritable Reader's Digest of information written in stylistic flair about Canadian life and human interest topics (RBC Letter, 2017, para 9). He wrote about such topics as how Canada's government was structured, its housing, system of agriculture, Canada's North, family life, youth, and education; general interest topics included mental health, critical thinking, how to work successfully with people, and even about public relations. The effect was to provide a newsletter targeted to businessmen around the world, but which caught the interest of other audiences who were fed with detailed social and cultural information about this hitherto unknown hinterland called Canada. It was so educational, and so self-serving as a piece of propaganda, that it found itself in the briefcases of diplomats, a ready tool to be offered to foreigners while on "Her Majesty's service" (RBC Letter, 2017, para. 20). The newsletter, therefore, became an accidental diplomatic tool as it wove its way around the world and enveloped readers into the evolving myth of Canada, becoming a happenstance nation branding tool.

Archives of the publication were studied (available editions were from 1943 – 1978) for the *Letter's* topics and themes (RBC Letter, 2017). The history and evolution of the newsletter is traced and its impacts around the world discussed (Welch, 2008; RBC Letter, 2017; Marsden, 1994). Links are made to the scholarship and function of diplomacy, exploring concepts such as "soft power", "attraction", and "nation branding" (Nye, 2004; Potter, 2009; Xuereb, 2017).

This case is meant to serve as an historical example of a public relations tool that became a source of soft power for diplomatic purposes, illustrating the blurred lines that exist between international public relations and public diplomacy, making a case for greater reference between the two sets of literature, and confirming the ability of public relations and public diplomacy scholarship to inform one another. It also illustrates the usefulness of corporate communications for public diplomacy and how corporate communications can play a role.

This is but one case and is meant to serve as an historical example. The originality of this study is that it provides a specific example of a corporate public relations tool that resulted in positive public diplomacy.

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FINANCIAL COMMUNICATION – FROM PUSHING SHARES TO PUSHING IDEOLOGY

Keith Butterick

University of Huddersfield

k.butterick@hud.ac.uk

From shady beginnings where the boundaries of legal and illegal activity were blurred and often crossed, the modern financial PR consultancy has emerged as a sophisticated power-broker crossing political and financial boundaries.

Many companies now combine financial communication activities with political lobbying and public affairs while some are now part of large global management consultancies. Such developments reflect the way that many clients have emerged into global players.

Yet for all its glamour, high salaries and influence, financial PR remains one of the unstudied areas of public relations. The invitation to submit papers to the 2018 International History of PR Conference highlights this mentioning a number of areas and sectors of professional practice but no mention of financial PR.

My proposed paper to the International History of PR conference will focus on the historical development of financial PR. The paper will explore the historical context of financial PR from its early days to its emergence as a clearly defined modern practice and its current ideological function.

Ever since companies have traded their shares communication has taken place between buyer and seller. The characteristics of the early days of financial communication reflect the nature of the times. Incidents such as the South Sea Bubble and Railway Mania for example, illustrate the role of the share promoter as a pusher of shares. In such incidents there was widespread corruption of the newspapers with journalists, editors, newspapers and magazines happily complicit in the activity.

When from the eighteenth Century financial regulation began to tighten company activities the need for an intermediary began to emerge one that would position themselves between the company and the purchaser. Up until the mid-20th Century, the role was predominantly taken by the share promoter or stock jobber.

The emergence of a professional intermediary between the newspapers and journalists in the 1970s John Addey is regarded as being the founding father of Financial PR was a man perfect for the times his role reflecting the City of the time, clubbable, old boys network, a world based around personal contact.

The modern version of financial PR emerges from the privatisation of the nationalised industries such as BT and the huge IPOs of former building societies such as the Halifax. Their public share sales completely changed the nature of the industry, a booming stock market and the use by public companies of their shares to fund aggressive and contested take-overs. Big Bang 1987 changed the nature of the City. While the purpose of financial PR/communication was a purely practical one – to maximise the sale of shares, there was nevertheless an ideological dimension, assisting the government in its stated aim of transforming the UK into a share-owning democracy from public sector employed, large-scale union involvement.

The ideological function of financial PR has not been investigated and is now one of its most important functions.

PUBLIC RELATIONS IN POST-COMMUNIST ROMANIA: A HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY APPROACH

Alina Dolea

Bournemouth University
edolea@bournemouth.ac.uk

Public relations was officially recognized as a profession in Romania in 1997 when the title public relations specialist was included in the national classification of occupations. As a practice, public relations is considered to have emerged soon after 1990, although publicity and political propaganda preceded it (Rogojinaru, 2009). Similar to other countries in the former communist bloc, in Romania public relations has undergone a gradual process of development, institutionalization and professionalization in these 27 years (Dolea, 2012, 2017). Despite the debate on the nature of these changes considered either transitional (Lawniczak, 2001), transformational (Grunig, Grunig & Verčič, 2004), or a continuum (Bentele & Wehmeier, 2003; Bentele, 2010), according to the frame of reference used, public relations had a consistent impact on public communication in Romania and on Romanian society, in general.

This paper explores the evolution of public relations in Romania after the fall of Communist in December 1989, and its reconfiguration in the age of social media, while considering these in relation with the social, political and economic changes occurred within Romanian society. Building on social construction theory (Berger & Luckmann, 1966) and, methodologically, on the historical sociology approach (L'Etang, 2004, 2014), this study focuses on the intertwined relations between different actors, practices and structures of public relations and aims to historically reconstruct this field of professional practice in Romania. As illustrated by Dolea (2017), combining a social constructivist and a historical sociology approach it is possible to trace not only the gradual development and institutionalization of public relations, but also to show how different contexts influence this process of change: "it incorporates socio-cultural and political contexts and transformations occurred at society level into a study on the reconstruction of PR history to allow an analysis that goes beyond causality and making links between different events and reveals a structural and processual dynamics. This ultimately contributes to a shift from a descriptive type of analysis to a reflexive type of analysis focused on the re-evaluation of public relations in society." (p.179).

Consequently, this longitudinal analysis is structured around the following research questions adapted from the extensive study of L'Etang (2004): How and why did public relations develop in Romania after 1989? What was the relationship between the development of this occupation and social, economic, and technological advancements in Romania? What transformations in Romanian society facilitated the growth of the field? What role was and is public relations performing in society? How did the occupation relate to concepts of professionalism and processes of professionalisation? What are the current challenges and tendencies?

Operationalizing the historical sociology approach, this longitudinal study builds on a mix corpus including: (a) in-depth interviews with public relations practitioners, (b) a media corpus on the evolution of the public relations industry and (c) secondary data (from books containing interviews with practitioners). The media corpus aims to gather the annual retrospective of the industry published by specialized media outlets, including facts and figures about the overall industry, key moments, and statements of various practitioners. Ideally, the media corpus would cover the period 1990-2017, but this is to be adjusted according to the actual access to sources (which is more probably to be possible for 2000-2017).

This mix corpus brings valuable data that are analyzed using the following dimensions of research: the actors (the public relations practitioners), the practices of public relations and the communication products (e.g. campaigns) and the structures (agencies and departments of public relations within organizations). Discourse analysis is carried out to identify the significations attributed by the different actors to certain practices and the emergence of structures considered within a historical periodization – the three phases identified by Rogojinaru (2009) in the development of public relations, in general, in Romania: (1) the pioneer phase of the early 1990s (1991–1995) based on an amalgam practices of media, publicity and promotional events; (2) the exploratory phase in the second half of 1990s (1995–2000/2001) introductory for public relations studies and transient in practice; (3) the consolidation phase from 2001 and ongoing (p. 553). At the end of this study it is expected that the periodization proposed by Rogojinaru is further developed to include a fourth phase in the development of public relations: the social media phase.

This research reproduces in Romania the extensive research carried out by L'Etang (2004) in Britain. Its novelty consists in adding to its methodology a consistent media corpus and data from other sources (e.g. books) in order to better reflect the evolutions of public relations in Romania, by taking into account the networks of interactions and interdependencies with different social, political and economic post-communist contexts.

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EVOLVING PUBLIC RELATIONS: THE ROLE OF SOCIAL GOOD AND TACTICAL CHANGES IN HISTORIC AND MODERN U.S. CAMPAIGNS

Abigail Cook

Northern Michigan University

abcook@nmu.edu

Jami Hogeboom

Northern Michigan University

Tom Isaacson

Northern Michigan University

“Knowledge of the past is basic to an understanding of the present and the future” (Bernays, 1952, p. 11). A look back at definitions of public relations reveals a debate that continues to exist today. While some academics (e.g., Childs, 1940) and practitioners (e.g., Bernays, 1952) advocated definitions that emphasized the social good that could emerge from personal and corporate behavior, others simply advocated a one-sided persuasive effort intended to produce acceptance of a corporate point of view (Childs, 1940). In modern times, interestingly enough, the social element is left out of many definitions found in academic textbooks in the U.S. Instead, the most closely related inclusions focus on ‘mutually beneficial relationships’ or ‘mutual benefit’ between an organization and its stakeholders (e.g., Cutlip, Center, & Broom, 2006; Wilcox, Cameron, Reber, & Shim, 2013). While such phrases could include social or public benefits from a relational perspective, it’s not a necessary inclusion. It could also simply mean a quality product or service is exchanged appropriately for something of value, most likely money or time. During a time period when corporate behavior is increasingly scrutinized and corporate social responsibility is highly valued and rewarded, at least in Western countries, an effort to find a true modern, social good is worthwhile.

Extending beyond definitions to actual tactical work, public relations has traditionally been evaluated by the ability to produce earned media coverage. The coverage was generated through familiar tactics, including news releases, news conferences and media kits. In modern times, recent digital and social advancements have transformed the PR field. Companies and individuals strive to gain attention through captivating online content, which, to be effective must be based on authenticity, transparency and trust (Arthur W. Page Society, 2007).

This case research focuses on PR efforts that pursue a social good while comparing historic and modern promotional efforts, along with the strategic commonalities (e.g., storytelling, newsworthy story development) and tactical differences (e.g., traditional earned media to earned, shareable social media) that exist.

These PR efforts date back as far as the 1920s when Edward Bernays used opinion leadership and ties to the women’s suffrage movement to stage a media event that became known as Torches of Freedom. The event helped quickly change long-standing social norms; six weeks after a group of women and men marched in the Easter Parade in New York City smoking cigarettes as symbols of man’s oppression of women, New York City theater rooms opened their smoking rooms to women. Within a year, it was socially acceptable for women to smoke in public (Lee, 2008).

Modern public relations efforts rely on storytelling and audience interaction on social media platforms. A pioneer of producing highly shareable and captivating content on social media is Brandon

Stanton, the founder and developer of Humans of New York. In 2010, he set a goal of taking 10,000 photographs of New York City residents. With little fanfare and limited attention, the photos were posted to his blog and social media accounts. Stanton soon realized that tactical changes were necessary to attract and grow a social media audience (Facebook, 2017). Some of these include adding written narratives to the photographs, taking a stance of social and political issues and, most recently, adding video stories.

The use of social platforms helped amplify Stanton's original content and expand its impact. Humans of New York has gone on to become one of the most popular social platforms in history with over 18 million fans on Facebook (Keyhole, 2017). Stanton has demonstrated how properly developed, controlled content can garner significant attention on its own, while also earning extensive traditional media coverage.

The results of this case study along with others throughout history, identify Stanton's success and recognize the evolving social media implementations that can be utilized by businesses and organizations for years to come.

While evaluating historical campaigns such as Edward Bernays' Torches of Freedom and modern efforts such as Humans of New York, there are elements in both that open a dialogue about social good. In addition, significant tactical changes between the time periods raise questions about earned vs. social media and the role of gatekeepers in shared content.

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PR HISTORIOGRAPHY AND MODERNITY – HOW IS IT DONE AND HOW COULD IT BE DONE?

Øystein Pedersen Dahlen
Kristiania University College
OysteinPedersen.Dahlen@kristiania.no

Many research articles link PR history to *modernity* and *modernisation*. Even more articles use the term *modern* PR, and it is claimed that PR is a product of modernity (Raaz and Weheimer 2011). However, most of these articles do not give a definition of the concepts of modern, modernity and modernisation; the same articles only to a small extent discuss these concepts – it seems as if they assume some taken-for-granted understanding.

When we use the concept modernity, it is usually understood as something that has developed from the medieval period to something fundamentally different. There are a huge number of descriptions of this transformation; most scholars seem to agree that the modern and medieval periods are two different historical epochs each with their own specific social characteristics. The modern period is usually considered to have the following features: increased rationalisation, secularisation, division of labour, and the development of national states, commercialisation, and capitalism (Cominel 2003; Browne 2017).

The main purpose in this article is to outline how PR history research articles are linked to theories of modernity; how the concepts are defined and how the theories are discussed in relation to PR history in these articles. The main research question is:
How is PR history research related to modernity?

The analyses are based on articles on PR history written during the last ten years (2008-2017) in the following journals:

- *Public Relation Review*
- *Journal of Public Relation Research*
- *Journal of Communication Management*

This article also contains a discussion of four other topics:

1. The general connection between theories of modernity and PR
2. PR as a product of modernity
3. The term *modern PR*
4. How PR history research *could be* connected to modernity

I suggest that PR practices first and foremost are linked to 1) formal organisations, 2) public debate, and 3) the struggle for governance (rule) and control in society. The link between PR historiography and modernity should therefore be centred around these three issues.

Formal organisations in modern societies are divided into official (the state), commercial (business) and civil organisations. PR has played an important role in all these types of organisations. I will argue that PR has been important for the establishment of various organisations and in their struggle to perform their tasks and their continued existence.

The link between the development of the public sphere and PR could be regarded as obvious. However, the challenge is to sort out PR practices from other public debates. I will suggest that public communication must be linked to a formal organisation to be defined as PR, and the communication should have some kind of purpose.

The most important political aspect within modernisation is the *statalisation* of rule (governance). Rule becomes *institutionalised* by *depersonalisation*, *formalisation*, and *integration*. The latter concept points to the fact that rule recognises other aspects of society and makes contributions to their continued existence. Symbolic resources are employed to address these distinctive concerns. This activity is exercised by a plurality of subjects and organised as a single unit (Poggi 2003). This leads obviously to a need for official communication strategies.

These three issues are then linked together, as 1) formal organisations participate in 2) the public sphere in 3) a fight for power, control, influence and visibility in modern society.

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**FROM “PRESS SECRETARY” TO “COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR” (AND BEYOND): The Evolution,
Over the Last Half Century, of a Title with Gravitas Describing Capitol Hill’s Public Relations
Specialists**

Edward J. Downes
Boston University
edownes@bu.edu

Few in the United States and abroad realize virtually every Member of the United States Congress employs his or her own communications specialist dedicated to meticulously crafting and delivering that politician’s image. This paper describes the evolution of these specialists’ two titles from “press secretary” to “communications director.” Doing so it describes why the position, concurrent with the metamorphosis of its title, has consistently grown in importance.

The paper begins acknowledging the foundation on which it was built—namely the author’s 2017 IHPRC paper titled, “The United States Congress and Its Evolution through Cyberspace: the History of a Communication Management Revolution Led by Capitol Hill’s Press Secretaries.” This paper suggested:

Those responsible for (the) cybertechnology dispersion (across Capitol Hill) have been the institution’s public relations professionals—that is, its press secretaries who today continue to serve each of the institution’s 435 representatives and 100 senators....thus shaping the perceptions of the Silent Generation, the Baby Boomers, Generation X, Generation Y, and Generation Z across United States and abroad.

Next the paper points out that in the early 1970’s—when a position as a communication specialist serving an individual Member of Congress started to become a designated post on Capitol Hill—the position was universally referred to as a “press secretary.” Tracing the evolution of the title, the paper points out that in the late 1990s “communications director” began to replace “press secretary.” It also notes the title “communications director” (not “press secretary”) is, according 2017 Congressional staff directories, used today in over 65% Member offices in the U.S. House of Representatives.

After this the paper describes the important distinctions—from a public relations perspective—between being a “press secretary” and a “communications director.” Doing so it notes Congressional offices’ communication specialists’ roles, particularly in the last 25 years and synchronized with the adoption and diffusion of social media, have become more pronounced. More complicated. More demanding. Increasingly these specialists are not simply managing relationships with traditional journalists—as a traditional “press secretary” would. Instead, in addition to managing such relationships, they must increasingly *direct* a Congressional office’s voice in cyber-space, *direct* demands for two-way communications, and *direct* dialogue with many audiences (not just reporters) throughout cyberspace—as a “communications director” would.

The paper next illustrates a pattern emerging in recent years through which an individual Congressional office’s public relations specialists increasingly are *directing* the dissemination of communication from the Congressional office across multiple channels ... *directing* communication choices of the Members of Congress based on data-driven, computer-based analytical tools (such as Google Analytics)... *directing* communication choices via participation in virtual communities ... and *directing* communication responses—for the first time in history—to dozens of tweets, sometimes

sent more than once daily, from a United States president (i.e., President Trump).

Following this, the paper discusses why a new title—that of “digital manager”—has begun to spread across Capitol Hill. This title commonly describes a young professional hired to manage new/alternative/digital/emerging/social media for communication directors and others who play those roles in Congressional offices. It argues that the birth and emergence of such a title indicates the increased role of/respect for public relations specialists on Capitol Hill—and the assistance (from digital managers) they must have to do their jobs effectively

The paper concludes pointing out that with the emergence of “fake news,” amid an unruly world of cyberspace, and a new president with a communication style unlike any before, the metamorphosis of the title from “press secretary” to “communications director” will continue emerge as increased demands on a Congressional office’s public relations point-person are recognized. In its final paragraph the paper notes the emergence of an increasingly relevant, increasingly important, increasingly complicated, role Capitol Hill’s public relations specialists will play beyond today.

Finally, the paper draws its claims from three sources: first, from 14 semi-structured phone interviews, conducted in September 2017, with practicing Congressional communication specialists (over half of whom used the title “communication director”); second, from 12 semi-structured in-person interviews, conducted in November 2017 (on Capitol Hill), with practicing Congressional communication specialists (over 70% of whom used the title “communications director”); and third from the literature which has come out primarily over the last year, both academic and non-academic, illustrating why a title with significant gravitas, such as “communications director,” better describes Congressional offices’ public relations professionals roles today than a title with less gravitas such as “press secretary.”

PUBLIC RELATIONS EDUCATION IN LIBYA: EVALUATION OF A QUARTER-CENTURY OF PR ACADEMIC TEACHING AND PRACTICES

Mokhtar Elareshi

University of Tripoli (and researcher, University of Leicester, UK)

arishimok@yahoo.com

Mohamed. S. Ali

University of Omar Al-Mukhtar

Nasrin. K. Ibrahim

University of Omar Al-Mukhtar

Mohammad Ibraheem Abdullah

Baghdad University (and PhD candidate, RMIT University, Australia)

PR is arguably a specialised career which requires experience as well as specialised education and personal skills. The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the practices and teaching of PR in Libya to better understand the issues and obstacles facing the development of realistic practices of PR in different Libyan organisations, although somehow there are PR practices growing in tandem with some large local companies (Elareshi, 2005). Research into such matters is rare and there is almost no research into the disciplinary area of educational PR in Libya.

Based on the assumption that PR continues to play a vital role in communities and businesses, once we regularly reconsider and evaluate PR practices and the PR curriculum in HE (Al-Bady, 1991; Brunner & Fitch-Hauser, 2009). This study aims to fill the gaps in the research by exploring the professionalisation of the educational PR curriculum and the PR courses in Libyan universities and by focusing on the perceptions of Libyan PR's academic professionals and students regarding the quality of the PR curriculum/courses and practices that they deliver or receive at the University (Freberg, Remund, & Keltner-Previs, 2013; René Benecke & Bezuidenhout, 2011) over roughly a quarter-century of teaching at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. It examines how academics teach PR courses in reality, what strategies and modules are applied and how professionals and students evaluate these courses and their practical advantages. It also looks at whether there is any need to improve the quality and skills provided by the university so as to develop a more comprehensive critical-thinking component for students and academics in HE.

The methodological approach of this study uses a qualitative approach, supported by quantitative research techniques, to determine the perceptions and the implementation of teaching PR in HE, as a service providing qualifications for PR professionals. In doing so, in-depth interviews will be conducted with academic professionals who have taught PR modules/courses at undergraduate and postgraduate levels at various Libyan universities, and who have had opportunities to spend some of their working lives in Arab and non-Arab universities to gain/achieve a high level of PR qualification. These academics have witnessed the development of PR in Libya theoretically and practically and they will be asked how the PR curriculum (modules/syllabus) was designed and developed over time and whether the study of PR in Libya should adopt a more practical approach, as in the UK. A quantitative survey questionnaire will also be administered to senior university students in most PR departments and sections.

The initial findings in this study reveal that the PR curriculum (modules/syllabus) has not been updated since it started. It is considered that PR should be recognised as a practical, not a theoretical, subject and that it should have its own union helping to provide more training in an updated setting. The paper, therefore, contributes towards the phenomenon of PR in Libya, especially in HE, which is an unexplored area of research, and as such it offers potential for encouraging further debates and research.

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THE EVOLUTION OF PROACTIVE PUBLIC RELATIONS: RESPONDING TO SHARED VALUES WITH PUBLICS IN A COLLABORATIVE ENVIRONMENT

Dan Eller

California Polytechnic State University

deller@calpoly.edu

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to explore and describe the history and evolution of the growth of proactive public relations, and its impact on collaboration to create shared values between clients and their publics. The early use of public relations in public and private sectors used publicity, promotion, and reactive strategy in a negative and threatening environment to allow for client victory over the public, while ignoring the public input to facilitate balanced communications between both parties (Lattimore, Baskin, Heinman, & Toth, 2012). Research is showing how moving from the use of public relations simply for publicity, promotion, and reaction to negative issues allows for the growth of public relations that incorporates shared values between the client and their constituencies. Presently, private companies and public agencies are using two-way symmetrical communications with their constituencies to negotiate during times of crisis, acquire public input, and inform the public while providing products and services that meet the needs of the client and their publics.

This study examines the use of early public relations efforts public and private sectors that merely used one-way or two-way asymmetrical communications to inform, and ultimately advancing to a values-based public relations environment designed to provide symmetrical benefits to both the client and the public. Additionally, the grow of collaborative public relations has had a positive societal impact by allowing for client transparency, validation of public input, and ethical growth in the field of public relations in both corporate and public sectors.

Collaborative leadership builds bridges and provides for alliance between the client and their publics (Rubin, 2002). This ethical leadership in public relations goes beyond simply increasing knowledge, but allows for changing behaviors of the client and public in a values-based environment focused on collaborative societal growth through the use of proactive public relations.

Methodology: The methodology for this study uses a literature review to describe how the evolution of public relations using two-way symmetrical communications model allows a foundation of shared values between the public and the client to foster collaborative public relations.

Findings: The findings of this study provide a path for government agencies and private corporations to take theory to best practices and enable their communications efforts to proactively engage their publics in a collaborative values-based relationship.

Implications/Limitations: The limitations of this study are the limited time that private and public sectors have been actively using two-way symmetrical communications (Dozier, Grunig, & Grunig, 1995) and focusing on proactive relationship management instead of relying only on a traditional model of dissemination of information.

Originality of the study: This study looks at the use of two-way symmetrical communications by both public and private sector clients to move beyond information dissemination to a collaborative public relations model that fosters shared values for balanced public relations efforts.

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MINORITY PIONEERS IN PUBLIC RELATIONS TEXTBOOKS

Melody T. Fisher

Mississippi State University

mfisher@comm.msstate.edu

This research explored whether introductory public relations textbooks include minority pioneers and if so, how they are discussed within the text. Using quantitative content analysis of 20 textbooks published from 1995 to 2018, results indicated that, as compared to previous studies, there has been improvement in textbooks' inclusion of ethnic minority groups over the past 20+ years. The research also indicated that coverage of women also increased; however, much was saturated with feminization of the field and struggles to break the glass ceiling. More discussion of these groups was located in chapters on publics and target audiences. The research concluded that while the increase in inclusion is encouraging, more information on how these groups contributed to the field is necessary.

PROBLEMATISING HISTORY IN THE PR CURRICULUM

Kate Fitch

Monash University

Kate.fitch@monash.edu

Jacque L'Etang

University of Stirling

This paper analyses from a critical perspective the role of history within the curriculum. It argues that public relations has tended to be a relatively ahistorical discipline not only in the sense that it has been a minority interest, but also that historical questions and thinking could be usefully employed in other areas, such as corporate social responsibility and issues management, both in education and indeed, in practice. We argue for an historical turn in public relations education that ceases to construct historical knowledge as seamless and linear and to relegate history to introductory courses and background information, but which revolutionises the curriculum by enhancing critical thinking in relation to a wide range of topics.

Only a few scholars since the 1970s (Tedlow 1979; Hiebert 1966; Cutlip 1994; Pearson, L'Etang 2004; Miller, 1999) invested themselves in public relations history until the advent of IHPRC essentially established a recognizable specialist community within public relations. Nevertheless, it is still relatively few scholars for whom history can be said to be their major focus, and for most it remains an adjunct interest. This is one of a number of factors that affects the place and handling of history within the public relations curriculum. Other factors that influence the inclusion and teaching of a particular kind of public relations history include the dominance of industry and practitioner perspectives and, related to this, the growing emphasis in higher education on graduate employability. We highlight the fact that many historical PR sources emphasise business, industry, and corporate perspectives, some positioning individuals within that environment as heroes in the history of PR's emergence, others suggesting that it was business, corporate and industrial interests that were the reason for PR's emergence in the first place. This emphasis means that perhaps less is known or said about stakeholder voices in PR histories which means that we may be too often missing the complexity of debates and issues.

The public relations field was long dominated by an American-centred progressivism linked to a functional model, and the celebration of a few key figures (nearly all men) largely presented as heroes in an emergent mythology that often privileged the views of the longest-living. Nevertheless, critical, revisionist histories have emerged alongside diverse cultural and national histories, some inflected with power and gender perspectives. Consequently, there has been considerable diversification and enrichment of historical work related to public relations, even though much is still de-coupled from propaganda and activism. How much these debates and international perspectives enter the undergraduate or postgraduate disciplines is open to question in a crowded curriculum that privileges practical knowledge and skills, managerial thinking, and respect for 'professional' practice. We argue that historical understanding of nations (including stateless nations), cultures, organizations and issues is central to the analysis of emerging relationships and issues. We also argue that history of semantics and terminology is central to understanding ideological underpinnings which may be hidden in PR histories.

As historical researchers and teachers who have co-taught historical material we comment on our experiences of the placement and handling of historical material in the curriculum. Our approach is

strongly inflected with philosophical, historiographical and methodological questions with which we believe all PR students should engage. We used our humanities backgrounds to challenge students as to their preconceptions and understanding of history and historical methods and facilitated their engagement with the past using original sources. Thus our teaching practice offered an alternative to many traditional historical approaches in PR which tend to a unified story that is unquestionable - and which we believe stops students from engaging with historical thought and questions.

In the final part of our paper we pull together the key strands to offer an alternative approach to historical teaching on PR courses at all levels, identifying the specific intellectual skills that can be developed through its inclusion as a living discipline rather than an arbitrary collection of dead 'facts'.

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CONTEXTUALIZING FDR'S CAMPAIGN TO RECOGNIZE THE USSR, 1932-1933: PUBLIC RELATIONS, PROPAGANDA, AND THE FAMINE

Ray Gamache

gamalit52@gmail.com

Purpose and Methods. The purpose of this paper is to analyze the public relations campaign conducted by the administration of Franklin Delano Roosevelt to recognize the USSR. Drawing on a close reading of primary source materials including newspaper articles, U. S. State Department documents, and FDR's press conferences and personal correspondence, this paper articulates and contextualizes the decision to recognize and the discourse used to manufacture public acceptance. More specifically, in July 1932 FDR formulated his campaign for recognition by consulting with Walter Duranty, the *New York Times* correspondent stationed in Moscow. That FDR constructed strategies for recognition based on the information provided by Duranty takes on significance given the veteran journalist's status. Duranty won a Pulitzer Prize for reporting in 1932, but he was also known as distinctly pro-Soviet. Duranty had explicitly stated to a State Department official in Berlin that "'in agreement with the NEW YORK TIMES and the Soviet authorities', his official dispatches always reflect the official opinion of the Soviet regime and not his own."¹ That duplicity exploded in the public consciousness in March 1933 when Duranty falsely accused Gareth Jones, a Welsh journalist who had returned from the USSR and reported that millions were dying of starvation, of creating "a big scare story."²

Findings. Critical discourse analysis reveals that famine denial became a necessary thematic trope of the public relations campaign for recognition of the USSR. To overcome the widespread distrust of the Bolshevik Communists the public had to believe that recognition of the USSR would enhance US economic interests and secure peace, especially in the Far East. Despite an international array of newspaper reports, personal pleas, and State Department reports that famine was indeed killing millions, FDR neither acknowledged the famine nor criticized the measures employed by the Soviet Union against its own people. Media representations were focused around agrarian recovery enhanced by the wheat conference agreement between the US and USSR. By the time of the London Monetary and Economic Conference in June 1933, the idea that formal recognition was the linchpin to trade agreements and greater economic prosperity had taken root. As the first Western journalist allowed to travel in Ukraine, Duranty offered the official verdict to the effect that any "report of a famine in Russia is today an exaggeration or malignant propaganda."³ Recognition was accomplished in November 1933, at the very same time that the Ukrainian National Women's League (UNWLA) unanimously adopted a memorandum to the Red Cross at its national congress seeking international relief for the Ukraine SSR and its inhabitants.

Implications and Limitations. Historiography of US recognition of the Soviet Union is completely devoid of any mention of the famine; even the State Department's official version by the Office of the Historian fails to mention the famine. While this paper does not argue that FDR could have directly alleviated the needless suffering of those who starved to death, the president pursued recognition by aligning himself with Duranty and denials, disregarding pleas for international relief efforts, and ultimately purging State Department personnel who were against recognition. Contextualizing the public relations campaign for recognition of the USSR around the famine directly establishes FDR's pattern of conducting foreign policy. Ultimately, we must judge policy makers "less by the purity of their motives than by the consequences of their actions."⁴ By granting formal recognition at a time when millions of people were forcibly being starved to death, FDR willfully legitimated murderous Soviet terror as a weapon of control to be employed without repercussions from the international

community. Recognition emboldened Stalin to defy Western criticism of its policies regarding forced labor to bolster timber production. Show trials of Soviet citizens and foreign workers mocked due process, one of the conditions for recognition. The Soviets, of course, had no intentions of respecting conditions stipulated by the US. Lastly, the campaign to recognize in the midst of human suffering on a mass scale reveals how public relations was used to deceive and obfuscate, offering parallels to today's toxic ecology of fake news, degradation of Ukrainian sovereignty, and a US president's fascination with Russia. What remains is only the moral imperative not to deceive ourselves about the magnitude of this event. The US may have won the Cold War, but FDR's campaign to recognize the USSR not only legitimated famine denial and Soviet terror, but also brought into sharp focus the degraded political morality of the 1930s. As one academic told a French newspaper in 1932, "The longer this help will last the more disintegration it will bring to modern civilization and the deeper its traces will remain in the future relations between Russia and the West."⁵

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FORGETTING THAT SOCIAL MEDIA IS COMMUNICATION: GOVERNMENT 2.0 AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH PUBLIC RELATIONS

Leanne Glenny

University of South Australia

Leanne.Glenny@unisa.edu.au

The rise of Government 2.0 represents an important phase in the continuing evolution of public relations. As new technologies are introduced, creating greater opportunities for openness, transparency and citizen engagement, governments have had to establish new communication practices and revise others. The resulting policies and guidelines for using social media have the potential to impact governments' strategic communication direction and the role of professional communicators. These documents provide insights into the relationship Government 2.0 has with the broader public relations discipline. After a decade or more of developments in Government 2.0, it is timely to look at the origins of those policies and guidelines to see how they have set the pathway for current and future practices and to identify their impact on understandings of public relations.

This paper reports on an analysis of some of the earliest social media policy documents from the Australian federal government and six state governments to highlight the original thinking behind the adoption of the new technologies of the time. It explores three areas: the governance arrangements, the functions expected to be fulfilled, and the integration of social media guidance with other media policies. A content analysis was conducted on nine documents produced and issued by federal and state government agencies in 2010-2011. The corpus was selected on the basis that they provided either official policy or guidance on the implementation of social media from a whole-of-government approach, rather than that of an individual department.

Findings demonstrated a lack of integration between new and traditional media policies. In particular, an increased focus on engaging citizens in policy development and the provision of greater access to government information was centred on policy makers and information technology specialists. As such, there was potential for strategic communication efforts and staff to be left behind as governments rapidly moved towards social media use, relegating public relations to a traditional, media relations role.

This paper argues that early efforts in Government 2.0 in Australia failed to view social media as a communicative function. In these early developmental stages, this created the opportunity for a new and separate stream to evolve, rather than providing an extension to the already established communication and public relations specialisation. The main risk in this situation was to governments' ability to provide consistent, efficient and robust communication with all of their stakeholders. From a discipline perspective however, this raises a number of outcomes and issues, such as the impact on the profession's reputation, the rise of distributed public relations (Kelleher 2009; Smith 2010) and the need to reflect on post-disciplinarity (Dühring 2017). What Dühring (2017) and others (for example, Cropp & Pincus 2001; Toth 2010) described as public relations' problematic identity and positioning as an academic discipline over history, was clearly mirrored in this early practice of Government 2.0. Almost two decades ago, before social media was even a part of what Cropp and Pincus (2001, p.190) say was the 'ongoing proliferation of public relations specialties', their desire 'to bring clarity to the field/discipline' remains unfulfilled.

This paper is limited to multiple governments within a single nation at a single point in time, however it supports the idea that the adoption of social media has been a turning point in the field of public

relations practice. Its growth as a relatively independent discipline itself rather than as a sub-discipline of communication and public relations is evident in increasing debates about who 'owns the space'. Additional investigation of how social media was introduced into other areas of practice and how it has developed since would further enlighten this topic.

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RELATING THE NATION: THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNICATIONS PROFESSIONS AT THE SWEDEN PAVILIONS IN PARIS AND NEW YORK, 1937–1939

Nikolas Glover

Uppsala University

nikolas.glover@ekhist.uu.se

Andreas Mørkved Hellenes

Oslo University

Background

In Sweden the concept and professionalized use of public relations was a post-Second World War phenomenon. However, as elsewhere in Europe, PR practices were in effect commonplace earlier (e.g. Anthony; Maartens). One arena where the professional capacity to engage publics and communicate with them was particularly sought after was in the context of international fairs and exhibitions. They demanded a fine balancing act of selling and informing, of mediating a well-defined national identity while also making it attractive, relevant and comprehensible to foreign publics. In short it demanded that the nation be *relatable* (Glover).

Purpose and research questions

This paper examines the organisation behind the Sweden pavilions in Paris 1937 and New York 1939. Because the two exhibitions were so close, it is possible to approach them as a learning process for the actors involved. For this reason, we seek to determine which groups were attributed the professional competence of professionally relating the nation, and study if this shifted from one exhibition to the next. There were after all several potential candidates: the diplomats used to the respective national contexts, the academics specialized on what “in fact” characterised Sweden, and the advertisers who were experts at capturing the public’s attention and visualizing messages. Our preliminary research shows that the latter group was held at an arm’s length in the planning and execution of the Paris pavilion, but integrated from the start in the organisation of the New York equivalent. We posit that this case study therefore allows us to explore an important turning point in the pre-history of Swedish public relations, when professional ad men were brought in to professionalize the projection of Sweden. Our research questions are therefore:

What role were various professional groups assigned in the project of relating the nation?

How did they construct and communicate with publics in France and the USA?

In an era preceding the establishment of public relations, how did the historical actors talk about what they were doing?

Material and method

The sources are drawn from the archives of the Pavilion committees, the Export Association and the Swedish Arts and Crafts Association. Newspapers and advertising trade journals are also analysed. The study utilises both a method of process tracing as well as a content analysis of the discourses employed by the actors in their attempts to establish authority in relation to each other.

Contribution

In relation to the existing body of work on world expos in the interwar period (cf. Kargon et al), we contribute a slightly different focus: away from ideology and architecture towards public relations and advertising as visual culture. These pavilions have previously not been the objects of study (for a fleeting exception, cf Werner), while research on others Swedish pavilions has tended to deal with the

political content of presenting Sweden (mostly to domestic audiences), rather than on the professional competences and techniques of the individuals involved in designing them (e.g. Habel; Marklund & Stadius). More generally, the history of public relations in Sweden has only cursively been studied (see above all Larsson). This paper contributes to filling in one of the many gaps, namely how advertising, diplomacy and public relations intersected in the interwar period, at a time when Sweden was becoming renown, particularly in France and the USA, as “the Middle Way”, a democratic and sociopolitical experience of domestic political interest.

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EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC RELATIONS: THEORY LAGS PRACTICE, LEARNING FROM OTHER DISCIPLINES AND SHARING BEST PRACTICE BETWEEN PRACTITIONERS AND ACADEMICS

Roger Hayes

APCO Worldwide

roger_p_hayes@yahoo.co.uk

Based on the author's 40 year experience in public relations(PR) consultancy and in senior corporate roles, in UK and other countries, combined with late career research for a doctorate comparing PR and Public Diplomacy and a recent book, plus latterly teaching assignments in UK, Singapore and elsewhere, it is clear that there is much work to be done, not simply documenting the history and development of the discipline, important as that is, but building a body of knowledge based on several much needed initiatives that need to be pulled together.

Not only can PR theorists no longer rely on limited PR theory, especially, but not only with the advent of digital media, a new eco-system of stakeholders and the global development of the field, albeit developing at different speeds, but they need to learn from other disciplines. Public relations practice is increasingly involved, not just with a wider array of media, but integrating public affairs, corporate social responsibility as well as strategic communications, often involving collaboration between the private sector, government and civil society, especially in emerging countries, where public relations experience, cultural sensitivities and skills are relatively limited.

This requires an understanding of concepts such as strategy, leadership, societal and corporate cultures as well as sustainability, as well as the usual knowledge about the particular business or public policy. Yet a reading of such literature in for example the business and management field rarely mentions public relations, except in a perjorative sense. At the current moment public relations and these other disciplines are largely operating in a parallel universe. Even links between public relations and public diplomacy, which this author researched in eight countries are more apparent in practice than in theory.

One of the issues is that topics such as business diplomacy, which attempts to describe the broader role that international corporations need to play in foreign policy and community involvement do not integrate PR into their thinking for the reason described, which is a pity, given the need to deepen and broaden the body of knowledge in all its different aspects.

Increasingly, given the multi-disciplinary nature of PR and its related disciplines with others researched and taught outside the social sciences, for example in business/management and international relations/public policy, it will be important for academics and practitioners to meet more frequently than they do. Even within the PR field both sides rarely have an opportunity to meet. The European BLED conference for example, while being primarily academic in focus and welcomes practitioners, precious few participate. While some PR practice conferences invite academics, the purpose is mainly designed to improve practice rather than share best practice AND evolve theory.

It is quite clear to this author from research, consulting and teaching in several, especially emerging countries in the past decade, when the growth of the discipline has been at its greatest, that in particular public relations taught and practiced in the 'West' must increasingly embrace new theories, models, case histories and experience from fast emerging regions such as South Asia, Latin America, S.E.Asia, Central and Eastern Europe and Africa, not just about narrowly defined PR, but joining the practical and intellectual dots with other disciplines.

If PR truly wants to play a more strategic role, whether for governments, private sector business or NGOs, playing a leadership role inside the organization, integrating different communications specialties and managing increasingly sophisticated external engagement in a complex and disruptive world, it will need to up its game by pulling together all these different elements.

This will require much more dialogue, reaching beyond disciplines and countries, acquiring new skills and above all a multi-disciplinary mindset.

PARADIGM LOST (AND FOUND): A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW OF THE APPLICATION OF SYSTEMS THEORY TO PUBLIC RELATIONS SINCE 1975

Robert Hiscock

Mount Saint Vincent University

Mount Allison University

william.hiscock@msvu.ca

Overview

This inquiry explores the ongoing applicability of systems theory to the study of public relations. Specific questions were used to guide the inquiry: How have different researchers applied systems theory to this field? What types of systems theory have been considered throughout the history of public relations scholarship? What trends are evident in how researchers have theorized public relations through a 'systems' lens? How has scholarship in this area evolved over time? Historiographic analysis is undertaken as a means of critically revisiting an important stream of public relations theory development.

Context

The search for a unifying theory for public relations was a consistent theme in scholarship of the late twentieth century. Many researchers believed that such a theory would serve as a 'paradigm' for the field, establishing a framework for ongoing theory development and giving credibility to a young academic discipline (Botan & Hazelton, 1989). Systems theory was considered to be an early paradigm theory (Pearson, 1990). J. E. Grunig was among the first to apply a systems model to public relations, and the influence of von Bertalanffy's general systems theory is seen in Grunig's symmetrical models of communication (1984) and excellence theory (1992): ideas that ultimately dominated much of the research agenda in public relations for many years. Ironically, the early promise of the systems paradigm had been exiled, not just to the margins of public relations research, but to the shadows.

Key findings

Three broad but distinct historical-critical phases are delineated. The first phase is referred to as 'organization-centric' for its focus on process and function, placing organizations at the centre of a system that includes organizationally-defined publics and an external, often loosely-defined, environment. Phase two represents a period of 'critical reflection', wherein the symmetry/excellence paradigm is critiqued and organization-centric perspectives are challenged. Ron Pearson's (1990) work is judged to be a significant, critical juncture in theoretical development. Pearson observed that in the application of system theory to public relations there exists a tension between strategic and ethical values. A focus on strategic values results in a preoccupation with a functionalist interpretation that privileges organizational goals, while a focus on ethical values results in analyses focusing on system interdependencies. The third phase represents a 'sociological turn', wherein the quest for a dominant theoretical paradigm yields to a multiplicity of theoretical viewpoints focused on the re-imagining of public relations as a social phenomenon, and the interpretation of public relations through a wide array of social theory.

Several insights evolve from this analysis. First, 'system thinking', interpreted as a general concept inclusive of all system theory, is tendered as an enduring paradigm for public relations. Second, it is argued that the concept of systems thinking is found in diverse theoretical approaches. Even in cases where a specific system theory is not invoked, system thinking is still evident in analyses that consider the impact of public relations on the social world. In this sense, system thinking is observed to have influenced theory development as a 'non-corporeal actant', a term introduced by Christopher Hartt

(2013) to characterize a specific sub category of non-human actant (as introduced in actor-network theory). A non-corporeal actant is a reified concept or idea that interacts with human actors within network of associations (p. 19). Applied to this analysis, tracing the evidence of system thinking (as non-corporeal agent) unlocks an alternative approach to making sense of a history of ideas; specifically, the application of system theory to public relations by a network of researchers. Third, the *individual*—the fundamental unit of all social structures—is assessed to have been undertheorized as a system actor; as a result, the importance of the individual in organizational decision-making with respect to public relations activities has been undervalued. Accordingly, a new visual model of the public relations system is presented that places the individual, not the organization, at the centre of the public relations system. It is proposed that these findings add a new dimension to a collective understanding of public relations history.

Research method

The principles of grounded theory are applied to a systematic identification, analysis, comparison and critical interpretation of a broad sample of academic literature. While classic grounded theory methodology is most often used in research involving the collection of primary data from human subjects, this study is informed by Kathy Charmaz (2009), who observes that grounded theory principles can be applied to a diverse range of studies, and that secondary sources may be treated as data. Wolfswinkel, Furtmueller, and Wilderom's (2011) five-step method of applying the principles of grounded theory to a literature review is applied to a data set of 40 texts—collectively, reflective of international scholarship—published between 1975-2016. Jennifer Attride-Stirling's (2001) approach to thematic analysis was employed to deconstruct each text. Basic, organizing and global themes emerged from text segments, resulting in a thematic network for each text. These in turn were analyzed for underlying meaning and patterns.

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SITUATED HISTORIES: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF CANADIAN WOMEN'S PR CAREERS IN A WEST COAST GOVERNMENT TOWN

Julia Jahansoozi

Royal Roads University

Julia.Jahansoozi@RoyalRoads.ca

Virginia McKendry

Royal Roads University

For the past year, we have been in the first phase of a long-term research agenda focused on Canadian public relations, and in particular, our interest in how, where and why gender matters in public relations practice in this country. We have produced initial findings from professional life stories gathered from women who have contributed to the formation of the public relations sector in Canada. Our phenomenological research on the narratives of these pioneering "PR women" has been very insightful and we see it as being significant for three reasons: 1) it is contributing to the public relations body of knowledge by providing much-needed historical knowledge in regard to what is a nearly absent Canadian context; 2) it is allowing us to paint a more nuanced picture of how historical, regional, and cultural contexts form public relations professional identities differently; and, 3) it is allowing us to learn what it is that allowed women to thrive in their careers so that those lessons can be intentionally integrated into professional development and formal education contexts.

We are interested in conducting research aligned with Thurlow's (2017) critical approach, which has outlined the distinctive Canadian public relations history as being notably different from the dominant American PR narrative, showing "how Canada's focus on public policy and immigration together formed the pillars of Canadian public relations" (p. 39). Yet the American public relations approach still dominates the textbook market for public relations education and practice, which could be viewed as a form of colonization. It is curious there has been very little coverage and work done on the history of Canadian public relations other than Thurlow's (2017) and Likely's (2009) work in this regard. The distinctiveness of the Canadian history of public relations with its focus on nation building, public sector, and immigration, is important and very much links to Canadian culture and values.

From our pilot study exploring narratives of six pioneering women, we have found how important it is to look at the people who created much of the Canadian public relations discipline and how the fact of their living/working in a government town contoured their experiences. These are unique individuals who used the resources of their regional and temporal context to professionalizing the practice as they went. It was they who decided to collaborate, to create education and training, and to develop best practices and strengthen accreditation processes.

Our women participants all worked in what is a provincial capital and a government town with most recent 2016 stats showing a population of 367,700 people living within greater Victoria. Some our participants have worked previously in other parts of Canada (still within provincial government as well as federal government) as well most having worked/or are working for provincial governments in communication roles. Working in a government town this small means the government is one of the main employers along with the universities, which are highly regulated by the Ministry of Advanced Education. It also means there is a focus on issues management.

Our participants worked at a time when very few women were hired in to the provincial government, and often being the only woman in their particular unit within a very male-dominated and parochial

environment. These same women worked to rejuvenate a defunct chapter of CPRS VI (Canadian Public Relations Society, Vancouver Island), created the operating by-laws, and developing national CPRS accreditation pathways. In turn, CPRS VI is now lauded for how many of its members have contributed to the vitality of the organization nationally (serving in executive roles and as Fellows) and to the raising of the profile of public relations practice as a management function.

In addition, our women participants developed and taught the first public relations courses to help entry-level communication professionals (many of whom were working in government) learn both the practice and academic side via a continuing studies program that was offered by the University of Victoria, which is still running. In addition, these women also developed curriculum and taught courses at Royal Roads University and Camosun College.

Situated as they were within this government town, our participants often worked together and formed relationships that were critically important to their personal success and to the elevation of PR as a professional role in the region. Together, they formed a community of practice that in turn supported them in developing and teaching much needed public relations curriculum, championing CPRS VI, working in government ministries/and/or for government, starting their own consultancies, and working as freelancers. As a result of their efforts, Victoria now boasts a health PR culture that punches well above its weight nationally-speaking.

RACE, REBUILDING, AND RENEWAL: DISCOURSE OF RENEWAL AND THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI FOOTBALL BOYCOTT OF 2015

Zoe Keller
Yale University
zoekeller77@gmail.com

As the American public becomes more aware of the causes and consequences of structural racism, crises related to race will continue to attract widespread attention. This is particularly true on university campuses, as the site of trailblazing thought, conflicts between populations of young adults intersecting for the first time, and newsworthy activism. This scholar-practitioner study examined the race-related PR crisis at the University of Missouri (Mizzou) in the fall of 2015, instigated by on-campus incidents of racism and race-related activism related to #BlackLivesMatter.

This qualitative study is centered around the textual analysis of in-depth interviews conducted with two higher education employees affiliated with the rebuilding efforts at Mizzou. One is a communications professional at Mizzou. The other is an African-American academic who is an alumna of Mizzou and former student activist there. The textual analysis also included news stories, interviews, official statements, internal memos, speeches, and video footage.

The Discourse of Renewal is the dominant paradigm in post-crisis communications and the most relevant for the study of evolving organizational expectations. The study compared Mizzou leadership's crisis response to the tenets described in the Discourse of Renewal (e.g., Seeger & Sellnow, 2016), in order to develop an understanding of the best practices for such crises. Further, the study articulated how the practical outcomes, which are severe and on-going, compared with the consequences predicted by the theory.

Many studies have examined post-crisis communication through the lens of renewal (e.g., Nelson & Reiersen, 2012), and a small number of studies have asked questions related to race and the practice of public relations (e.g., Pompper, 2004). However, the literature lacks analyses of PR crises which are borne out of racial conflict, and is therefore deficient in comparisons to the recommendations made by the discourse of renewal for crises resulting from race-related activism.

The results of the study contain specific implications for the industry of higher education, specifically, and more broadly for nonprofit organizations.

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DRIVING DISCOURSE & CHANGE IN A CRISIS: STRATEGIES AND OUTCOMES OF PR/SOCIAL MEDIA

Rachel Kovacs

College of Staten Island
rachel.kovacs@csi.cuny.edu

Chris Rosica

President and CEO, Rosica Communications

This analysis of four case studies demonstrates how social media can be effectively used to raise awareness of, focus attention on, and generate public discourse around crisis-level health issues. This discourse can energize diverse publics and facilitate their engagement with public relations professionals, who strategically build consensus and help drive changes in public policy. Social media can showcase compelling issues in the eyes of those empowered to make change, and mobilize support for those changes.

The study of public relations responses to a data breach and other crises affirms how being proactive, forthright, and transparent can preserve favorable public opinion and shape pro-social, humane, and practical policies. Strategic campaigns are vital for publics facing life-and-death issues, such as organ donation, access to experimental drugs, and high costs associated with end-of-life care. These cases require great sensitivity and the input of multiple stakeholders in creating campaign parameters. Such responses demonstrate how the timely delivery and reinforcement of mainstream media messages can avert a deterioration of public trust during a health-related crisis, proactively build strategic coalitions, and increase multi-faceted support for health initiatives.

These four unique public-interest case studies differed greatly in their specifics, yet nonetheless, there were common, underlying principles of effective crisis communication and healthcare public relations that unified them. From the outset, in two of the cases, the affected publics numbered in the thousands or hundreds of thousands. In the others, the focus was on negatively-affected individuals, yet the aggregate of these individuals, over time, constituted a "mass." Negative consequences for even one individual could have easily snowballed and had devastating impact on public opinion and policy. Yet in each case, innovative media (including social media) resulted in positive, pro-social outcomes or potential outcomes.

In one situation, strategic media relations thwarted an attempt to undermine the interests of home care providers and more than 2,000,000 Medicare patients. In another, a data breach at a major hospital compromised the medical records of over 2,000 patients, putting a hospital's reputation at risk. In two other life-or-death cases, social media figured prominently. A mother pleaded on Facebook and national TV for an experimental drug to save her dying child. Outraged publics demanded that its manufacturers release it; ultimately it saved him. Finally, a class used Facebook's shared research to increase exposure and call attention to the opioid abuse epidemic. Such cases strengthen the media's role in crisis communicators as disseminator of credible information, catalyst for public discourse and debate, and mobilizer of human capital and resources to change policy and a move forward a public interest agenda.

**PUBLIC RELATIONS DURING FINANCIAL CRISES:
HOW LESSONS FROM THE GREAT DEPRESSION INFORMED RESPONSES TO THE GREAT RECESSION?**

Eaddy LaShoda

Southern Methodist University

leaddy@smu.edu

Shelley Spector

Spector & Associates

Lucinda Austin

University of North Carolina

Yan Jin

University of Georgia

Bryan Reber

University of Georgia

Camila Espina

University of Georgia

Miquel Morales

Finn Partners

Rosanna Plasencia

In the Lights PR

The decade-long Great Depression was catastrophic for the U.S. society on every imaginable level. While the events surrounding it have been studied widely, primarily for economic impact, few researchers have examined the public relations strategies used during that time by business and government. This study examines the impact of various public relations strategies employed in that era compared to campaigns conducted during the country's next economic crisis—the Great Recession of 2008.

First, archival data is examined through the lens of organizational learning and historical analogy. Grounded in the Cultural Economic Model, the cultural processes in business, public relations, and government during the Great Depression are explored in archival data retrieved from the Museum of Public Relations, the Museum of the City of New York, and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library.

Second, a total of 38 in-depth interviews were conducted with chief communication officers (CCOs) and their counsels who led public relations activities during the Great Recession. The result is an unprecedented analysis of how public relations conducted during one crisis could inform the practices of another, some 70 years later.

According to the reflections shared by CCOs and their counsels, organizational learning via historical analogy provides valuable lessons that can shape ethical and effective crisis communication practice and equip public relations practitioners with resources for crisis preparedness in the future.

Furthermore, the study provides insights on the evolution of the practice from the Great Depression to the Great Recession.

TEACHING THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC OPINION AND PR PRACTICE

Alton Miller

Columbia College Chicago

amiller@colum.edu

As we are mindful that there are many career fields under the umbrella of “public relations,” the teaching of PR history presents definitional challenges.

For example, for the first half of my career I was recognized as a “PR man” *par excellence* in my native Washington, D.C., where I was, in the nomenclature of that day, the Director of Press and Public Relations for a major professional theater company. As such, I was a fully vested leader in the world of theater and, later, ballet – locally and, by way of major conferences, nationally. But in certain of my social circles I was a “PR man” among PR men, and while my occupational residence was in a theater, I was one among the lobbyists, health care communicators, and other exemplars of the PR professions.

In the second half of my career I switched to politics, serving as press secretary to the mayor of a major American city, and after his death, to a series of name-brand, nationally significant elected officials. Again, my job title was tied to politics, and put me squarely into the world of politicians, but I was equally a PR practitioner seated among other PR practitioners when the sorting was done.

Today as a tenured associate professor I teach a course in PR History for entry-level undergraduates. I also teach PR and Strategic Writing to students from many other departments (disciplines), who as often as not are not even PR Minors much less PR Majors. They respond to the advice that whatever their career field, good PR writers are in demand. My course in Government and Political PR is taught as a history course. I am developing a course in Semiology. And each fall I teach 100 freshmen in an auditorium the history of the Civil Rights struggle in the U.S. – with an emphasis on the role of public relations in a historic conflict where the truth lives or dies by public opinion.

What do we mean when we characterize a person, or a job, as “PR”? Those of us who study such things waste more than a fair share of our time playing with definitions. The truth is, there are over half a million elective offices in American politics – usually calling for PR strategies on both sides of each candidacy. There are PR professionals who manage one-person consultancies and boutique agencies, others who are employed by a commercial firm, still others who are in harness with the executive director of a non-profit company, sharing PR chores because the NGO can’t afford a PR professional who does nothing else. And there are even working professionals in major PR agencies. And teachers, some of whom teach their students that being a PR professional often means you can have the cake of your life, and eat it too.

When we speak of teaching PR history, it’s valuable to clarify the *characteristics* of practitioners, rather than traffic in *definitions*. For one thing, in the real world, a course in PR history is most likely to be developed in the context of a curriculum intended to produce entry-level college graduates for the PR professions with an emphasis on the jobs offered by PR agencies. That clarification is sure to be more useful than the elusive notion of a precise definition – even though, truth be told, there are countless more PR careerists at work than those employed in a PR agency.

The key factor is the concept of management of public opinion – a novel idea in its day, but older by a hundred years or so than Walter Lippmann’s 1922 thesis. It is more closely tied to the moribund state of civics studies than to the adventures of Ivy Lee or Edward Bernays, both of whom made their career

out of a skillful reaction to the publicists who were there first. outperforming the “PR men” and related apologists for the societal divisions of their day.

The teaching of PR history, in my experience, is best grounded not in Aristotle, nor narrative masters like Julius Caesar, nor Gregory XV, nor Urban VIII, nor Napoleon, nor Lee and Bernays – all worth touching upon but not hanging around with.

The history of public relations is the story of the cultivation of public opinion over the past 200 years – since the invention of “the public.” No public, no PR. The free speech traditions of British and American elites, matured over a century, came together shortly before and after the pivotal year 1776 – the year of Adam Smith – when the U.S. became the first polity pronounced a republic by a press release, followed by actual adherence to the promised commencement of government by popular opinion – of, by, for “the people.” They were shortly followed by a cascade of free speech, with a few highlights worth revisiting – on both sides of the water.

My presentation stresses the kinship of PR to journalism, media literacy, rhetoric, semiotics, the social sciences – and above all to politics – and anticlimactically, “civics” – by benefit of a common denominator in the pursuit of public opinion In our democratic system, which privileges and protects free discourse as not just a right but a method, the rules of the road are written (or left unwritten) in favor of strategies to move public opinion.

In fact there is a straight line from the propagandists of 1776 – epitomized by Tom Paine – to the political writings of James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851), better known for his Leatherstocking Tales, but at his best in his political ruminations over the dilemmas of American democracy – a line that connects and continues the political theory of Marx’s correspondent, Abraham Lincoln (and his publisher Horace Greeley) – along with the explicit program for developing “publicists” at the University of Wisconsin, sponsored by Governor, then Senator Robert “Fighting Bob” La Follette (1855–1925). These actors and their ripples and echoes, performed the functions implied by the authors of the U.S. Constitution.

Except for PR writing, my classes in PR are attended more by students pursuing other majors. They have come to recognize that the narrative of PR history brings to life the narrative of the modern history of democracy, especially important at a time when public opinion, itself, is subject for scorn. My presentation will develop and seek to “prove” the usefulness of an approach that explores the primacy of public opinion in understanding and practicing public relations, with a sharp focus on PR in the curriculum.

BETWEEN PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PROPAGANDA WHEN SWEDEN TURNED TO RIGHT-HAND TRAFFIC IN 1967

Fredrik Norén
Umeå University
fredrik.noren@umu.se

“No one living or staying in this country will get a chance to escape the fact that Sweden goes right—not even a prison escape on the run, I should think.” These were Lars Skiöld words, executive member of the government-appointed Commission on Right-Hand Traffic (1963–1967). He spoke to a reporter from the American magazine *Syracuse Herald Journal*, one of over 200 foreign journalist reporters and technicians that visited Sweden to observe the changeover from left to right-hand traffic in 1967 (the last country on the European mainland to do so). The traffic reform had prompted the government to mobilize a massive media and information apparatus—one of the biggest in the country’s history—in order to inform and teach *all* citizens to do the same thing at a particular time.

The right-hand traffic reform was something of logistic nightmare. The problem was pedagogically easy to explain. However, the consequences of a failure would cause a national traffic disaster. The government also needed to change the public opinion on the matter. In 1955, an advisory public referendum resulted in a triumph for status quo as 83 % voted to keep on driving on the left side. Still, in 1963, a large majority of the Swedish parliament voted to pass a bill to implement right-hand traffic. The same year, the Commission on Right-Hand Traffic was appointed. A year later, a survey showed that only half of respondents knew about the reform, and a majority of those who did were either not interested or negative towards it. The Commission thus faced a problem of public relations *and* of propaganda, as it had to deal with challenges of mobilizing mass information and persuasion. This presentation addresses the following question: How did the state act upon this need for total mobilization of information in practice, given the underlying tension between PR and propaganda, and what consequences did it have for the shape and dissemination of the information?

The purpose of this presentation is to show and discuss how public relations and propaganda activities were intertwined and used simultaneously. Jacquie L’Etang states that the history of government PR is often sidelined as propaganda. She argues, however, that there is a need for a much broader view and to include such activities as advertising and marketing campaigns (St. John, Lamme, & L’Etang, 2014). This study draws on works developed in field of PR history that take a distance from the idea that twentieth century PR developed as ethic progression. The importance of studying PR as an activity rather than a function is emphasized as well (e.g. Lamme & Russell, 2010; Russell & Lamme, 2016; Brown, 2006). Moreover, this presentation uses recent works in the field of propaganda studies, which emphasizes a flexible and open perspective on how to study and detect persuasive techniques (e.g. Auerbach & Castronovo, n.d., 2013). The Commission used both the term “information” and “propaganda” to describe its means and goals, internally and externally. Hence, it makes sense to empirically and critically study how a state agency dealt with such a massive persuasive challenge.

Methodologically, different sources have been utilized to reconstruct how the Commission on Right-Hand Traffic built and conducted its information apparatus. For example, the study uses protocols, press material, and interviews with staff that worked for the Commission. The analysis consists of three dimensions of how the Commission combined public relations and propaganda techniques. Firstly, how the Commission modeled the information by involving PR and advertising bureaus, as well as scholars from the social sciences (psychology, pedagogy and media studies). Secondly, how the Commission initiated collaboration with various organizations and companies, and persuaded them

to engage in the information activities. Information activities were thus outsourced to external parties, which voluntarily helped to spread the message to its members and customers. It enhanced a stronger legitimacy for the traffic reform. Thirdly, how the Commission, together with its collaborating parties, mobilized a complex system of interlinked media. This effort was characterized by a high degree of creativity concerning what could be used as a medium. Besides traditional mass media such as television, radio, and the press, various objects and activities were turned into mediated practices. For example, a hat for school children, a song and a dance, ties, underwear, chocolate, balloons, a lottery, and a pastry.

The preliminary findings show, first, that the Commission involved different sectors in society to enhance the quality and impact of the traffic information, and to maximize its dissemination. Second, the collaborative nature of the information apparatus, orchestrated by the Commission, helped to neutralize the public relations and propaganda activities and, furthermore, to turn September third 1967 into a day of national festivity. Despite the obvious limitation of a single case study, the results implicate a potential way to critically compare governmental campaigns of today.

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“BOUNDARY-SPANNING” IN THE COURSE OF TIME DEVELOPMENT OF AN INTEGRATIVE APPROACH OF PR AND ORGANIZATIONAL COMMUNICATION

Rosanna Planer
Universität Leipzig
Rosannaplaner@web.de

Introduction

Since their beginning, success-oriented organizations depend on communicating with their environments. The intensity and the professionalism of this special form of public relations has changed drastically within the last years. Whereas 50 years ago, many organizations started their business without any communication departments, nowadays those departments are even fragmented into several ones in order to cover the wide spectrum of functions. Instead of a classical press officer as contact person, specialized communication managers with diverse functions embody the present of the communication practice (Zerfaß, 2014). Whereas the “Boundary-Spanner” was formerly seen as a focal, external cut surface and representative of the organization, who imported relevant information from the environment into the organization (Grunig & Hunt, 1984), there exist multiple interfaces between an organization and its environment nowadays. “Boundary-Spanning” developed into an integrative approach, that increasingly combines and discusses internal organization communication, public relations and market communication as potential fields of “Boundary-Spanning” (Zerfaß, 2014).

Purpose

Based on this transformation, the article examines how the meaning of “Boundary-Spanning” changed over time and which characteristics are representative for this development. Subject-specific English and German journal literature delivers different insights into the vocational field of the “Boundary-Spanner”. It developed from an informational and representative function (Aldrich & Herker, 1977) to a management of high complexity and insecurity of organizations and their environments (Booz & Lewis, 1997; Nothhaft & Wehmeier, 2007). Until now, such and further findings have not been put together into a chronological relation. Thus, the present systematization follows two purposes: Firstly, it shall create a consciousness for the developments in the field of organizational “Boundary-Spanning”, and secondly, it emphasizes the challenges of this form of public relations in the 21st century. The completion of those aims fills a gap in the hitherto existing scientific research on the history of communication at the boundaries and edges of organizations. Thereby, it symbolizes a specific contribution to the analysis of the history of organization communication and functions as a piece of puzzle, which completes the understanding of the present PR with regard to the “Boundary-Spanner”.

Methodology

On the basis of the illustrated problem, the paper answers the question of how the classical approach to “Boundary-Spanning” developed from its early beginnings until today and which implications thus derive for the current communication practice. Emanating from theoretical approaches of organization communication (i), a systematical, qualitative content analysis of 50 subject-specific journal articles in English and German language is conducted (ii). Thereby, the different steps of the development of the “Boundary-Spanner” from 1975 until 2015 are examined and inductively systematized with the help of the four categories *definition*, *function*, *characteristics* and *aspects of the organization environment* (iii). Not least, a possible renaissance of “Boundary-Spanning” is discussed, and the phenomenon is located within the current organization communication (iv).

Findings

Findings show that the definition of a “Boundary-Spanner”, as a person who operates at the edge of organizations and develops connections to the surrounding environment, did not change significantly from 1975 until 2015 (Aldrich & Herker, 1977; Marrone, 2010), whereas the specific functions are subject to a fundamental change: Nowadays, the “Boundary-Spanner” has to embody a broader variety of functions (Williams, 2002), which also results in more specific and qualifying characteristics. “Boundary-Spanners” have to master relations, be flexible and adaptable and able to work under time pressure (Ashill, 2001), which makes them become more and more important elements of an organization. Certain aspects of the organization environment, such as the increasing importance of collaborations (Finet, 1993) furthermore explain the development of the “Boundary-Spanner” from an employee who contributes to the organizational success with his work, to an employee on whom the overall organizational success heavily depends. The categories and findings deliver links for further analyses in both science and practice. The research accomplishes a first review in the field of the development of “Boundary-Spanners”; thus, it can be used as a basis for further analyses and contributes to the professionalization within a practical segment of organization communication.

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THE INFLUENCE OF MARKETING THEORY AND PRACTICE ON DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS EDUCATION IN LATVIA

Inga Pūre

Liepaja University

inga.pure@liepu.lv

Marketing as well as public relations is relatively new branch which is founded in the 20th century and developed parallelly with public relations. According to the senior lecturer Julia Jahansoozi from University of Central Lancashire in England the branches of public relations and marketing have been developing parallelly, in blind and isolation from each other and as the result public relations has suffered, because marketing without understanding of public relations field has expanded its bounds and included public relations theory and practice into marketing intellectual field (Jahansoozi, 2006, 69). The USA marketing and communication professor James G. Hutton also writes that marketing literature and the research have aggressively occupied the territory which is traditionally considered as public relations field, changing itself into public relations (Hutton, 2001, 205).

The idea is about simultaneous turn of both branches to relations management. While in 1984 the USA professor M. A. Ferguson fights for relations prospects in public relations expressing the opinion that the grounds of public relations research and practice should be the relations of organizations with their publics (Ferguson, 1984), the USA marketing professor Leonard L. Berry has created the concept *relationship marketing* (Berry, 1983).

Advertising industry gradually started also to take over public relations in 80th and 90th making the decision to include public relations into its wide offer. The concept of *integrated marketing communication* has appeared (Jahansoozi, 2006, 69). The 'movement' purpose of integrated marketing communication or integrated communication is to unite marketing, advertising and public relations with the aim to provide consistency of message and unite divided responsibility over the clients (L'Etang, 2010, 164). However, it is considered that taking into consideration wide functions of marketing, advertising and public relations they cannot be united and named by one concept. Integrated communication can unite all possible ways of communication with the society (advertising, sale promotion, personal selling, direct marketing, marketing public relations). The basic essence of branches can be lost if they are united, and then it is practically worked only with providing the information. In order to implement the successful communication and maintain good relations with all publics of the organization the highest rank managers of public relations and marketing should develop the united strategy of integrated communication.

It should be considered that organizations which would like to reach their targets must implement functions of public relations and marketing as well. Each of them has its own mutually additional aims, essential role in existence and development of organization, creation of relations and maintenance with publics. Neglecting one of the functions the organization cannot effectively implement the second one. In ideal variant the organizations should equally show the important role for public relations and marketing as well

The researchers of public relations and marketing, the lecturers of higher educational institutions and the practitioners should expand their horizons and go deep also into the essence of the second field as well. It will solve the mutual conflicts and give the possibility for closer cooperation what is vitally necessary for development of theory and practice of both branches.

The essential importance in creation of public relations understanding is given to higher education institutions, their offered study programmes, that is why the article researches how marketing has influenced public relations education in higher educational institutions in Latvia and how they implement study programmes of public relations from 1996 till nowadays, what approach is used to public relations – marketing approach to public relations, management approach to public relations or other approach.

The article offers analysis of the facts gained from detailed interviews with 10 universities teaching staff as well as the analysis of the theoretical literature, documents and other sources.

MANY LIVES IN ONE. THE UNTOLD STORY OF ROBERT SYDNEY GUGGENHEIMER: SOLDIER, BULLFIGHTER, JOURNALIST AND PUBLIC RELATIONS PRACTITIONER

Natalia Rodríguez Salcedo

Universidad de Navarra

nrodriguez@unav.es

Robert Sydney Guggenheimer has really lived his life... not only once, but twice, the same number of times he could have died and against all the odds, he survived. In 1960 he was rescued from the Spanish River Ebro after losing control of his airplane. Some years later, while he was working for the American Chamber of Commerce, he was attacked and stabbed in the eve of the New Year's eve of 1967.

This multifaceted and extraordinary character was born in November 1925. Over his long lifetime he has been a soldier in Japan in the IWW; a taxi driver in New Orleans (USA); a Medicine student at the Sorbonne in Paris in the late 1940's; an English teacher, journalist and bullfighter in Madrid; and finally a public relations practitioner in USA, UK and Spain between the 1950's and the 1980's.

The purpose of this paper will be to reveal the unknown life story of Bob Guggenheimer, the founder of Hill and Knowlton in Spain. This alternative and unheard story will try to focus on his experience as a public relations practitioner, particularly in Spain, where he worked for the American Chamber of Commerce until 1968, when Hill and Knowlton asked him to open his office in Madrid, becoming the first international PR consultancy to arrive in the country.

Since this paper is to conduct a life history and biographical research, several methodologies will be and have been combined so far. First of all, it has to be said that no personal or professional archives are available. Mr. Guggenheimer had kept some personal files and papers for himself, but his wife threw them away some years ago. Therefore we searched periodicals databases from the 50's, 60's and 70's and tried to set a first and tentative timeline. At the same time, there was also a thorough literature review on the history of public relations in Spain. Secondly, with that information in hand, we waited for one year to get a first in-depth interview. This first timeline oral interview (Adriansen, 2012) was conducted in June in Madrid. Some other written questionnaires will follow to double check some of the information. To avoid as much bias as possible, some of the important people in his story –still alive- will be interviewed following a snowballing technique.

His biographical account will be placed within the context of one very specific period of Spanish history: the last two decades of Franco's dictatorship, when recent literature is unveiling interesting PR practices (Rodríguez-Salcedo, 2015). The first Spanish PR consultancy was founded in 1960 and the first professional associations were born in that same decade (Arceo, A., 2004; Arceo, J.L., 2006; Checa, 2007; Gutiérrez and Rodríguez, 2009; Matilla, 2015; Montero et al., 2010; Moreno, 2004; Noguero i Grau, 2004; Xifra, 2012). Little attention has been given so far to the arrival of PR international consultancies in the country (Rodríguez and Gomez, 2017).

Oral history and life histories do have indeed some limitations. But biographical research is always worth it. We will follow Lamme's (2015) argument for more attention to biography as a way of understanding who (unknown) pioneers were and what influenced them as a way to inform "our critical appraisals of their historical significance and that of their contributions" (Lamme, 2015: 49). The results will not only "record the interplays of people and their effects on their place and time" (Lamme, 2015: 53), but also open the possibility (in this case) of discussing international influences on the arrival of public relations in a country and maybe unveiling relationships between governments and the practice of PR at that time.

No matter the limitations, we think the findings could contribute to the field of the history of public relations and particularly to the history of the evolution and first steps of the practice of PR in Spain. In the first place, it is always necessary to unveil new events and personalities that shaped the formation of PR as a discipline in other countries. Secondly, the study of Robert Sidney Guggenheimer could also be a challenge to the “Great Man approach” and concentrate on new perspectives (Watson, 2014).

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FAKE NEWS IS OLD NEWS. A HISTORICAL TYPOLOGY OF FAKE NEWS AND ITS IMPACT ON THE HISTORY OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

Dustin W. Supa

Boston University

supa@bu.edu

Cara Mcateer

Boston University

Heidi Auvenshine

Schneider & Associates

Yekaterina Veskina

Boston University

Purpose: The concept of “fake news” has become ubiquitous in popular culture; however, for as long as mass media have existed, there have been instances of stories that are embellished, exaggerated, or even false. Even before mass media became a prevalent force in the daily lives of billions of people, it was clear that information held incredible power, and those in a position to take advantage of that information have often been able to harness that power. From antiquity to modern times, the goal of this study is to determine if patterns of fake news emerge throughout history, and to establish a typology not only to understand the past applications of fake news, but also to understand how and why fake news continues to remain relevant today.

Methodology: In order to determine what similarities exist across multiple time frames and to determine if themes for fake news show consistencies, fake news stories were gathered and a content analysis was conducted. A total of 262 news articles across five time frames were gathered and analyzed. The time frames were predetermined based on time frames used in previous historical research in public relations (CITATION BLINDED). Open coding was initially used to help establish categories, and after two rounds of coder training, the final codebook was established. The unit of analysis was the news story.

In addition to the content analysis, a historical case study approach was used to review several fake news stories from antiquity to see if the types of fake news found in more modern settings were also found in antiquity. The original intent of the study was to examine news articles from antiquity, but the researchers found it difficult to collect entire examples of stories, and determined a case study approach was most appropriate.

Findings: Overall, similar themes were found across all of the time frames. In particular, fake news was found to be primarily driven by politics, entertainment and in cases of supporting a social-political perspective. Cross tabulations reveal that the theme of fake news is often significantly correlated with the ascribed purpose of the fake news article.

Implications: While the distribution of “fake news” is by no means an ethically sound practice for public relations practitioners, the analysis shows that it has been often used as a tactic to effect change in audiences, often behavioral change. Ultimately, the researchers hope that a better understanding of the historical use of fake news, and the impact it has (and has had) on audiences, will allow public relations practitioners to better combat the perceptions that the fake news creates. It is also hoped

that a better understanding of fake news, and its historical typology, will lead to a better understanding of its impact on consumers who view it, and ultimately, their psychology in either accepting or rejecting the information.

ATROCITY PROPAGANDA IN THE FIRST YEAR OF WORLD WAR I: THE REMEMBER SCARBOROUGH POSTERS.

Gareth Thompson

University of the Arts London

g.a.thompson@arts.ac.uk

Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to undertake a historical investigation into the British Government's atrocity propaganda published as a result of the 1914 bombardments by the German Navy on the North East Coast of England. The raids on Scarborough, Whitby and Hartlepool led to the first civilian casualties of the war on English soil with 137 deaths and 592 injured.

Originality

The paper attempts a holistic and comparative history of the 1914 bombardment from a communicative perspective, drawing on British and German sources, official statements and press reaction, in an attempt to establish a social and political context for the production of the resulting Remember Scarborough recruiting posters.

The paper extends this comparative dimension by placing the posters within the broader historical frame of atrocity propaganda in general and the Remember Belgium series of recruitment posters in particular, that were based on the 1914 invasion of Belgium by the German Army.

Literature Review

The 100 year anniversary of the outbreak of The Great War led to many commemorative publications and exhibitions, yet apart from local interest in the town itself, the 1914 bombardment of Scarborough has been largely ignored in British and German literature on propaganda. Within 20 minutes of the outbreak of war, the news had been distributed worldwide via telegraph and David Welch (2013, p. 15) regards The Great War as the beginning of the "propaganda century". For Rogerson (1938, p. 1) the 1914-1918 war was "historically speaking the first in which the value of propaganda as a powerful weapon was definitely recognized." Creation of a favourable "atmosphere" is the first object of propaganda, according to Ivy Lee (Hiebert 1966, p. 266), one of the pioneers of American public relations and for the British Government in the first years of World War I, this meant creating an image of Germans as blood-thirsty, uncivilized barbarians.

Methodology and Findings

This historical essay is based on an examination of primary and secondary historical sources in Britain and Germany. Although the main focus is on atrocity propaganda and recruitment posters, the authors also sought to establish the media, military and political context to the posters and so the project included a review of from the following sources and archives:

1. British Navy statements, government statements and press coverage from UK archives and publications, including the Imperial War Museum in London.
2. German Navy statements and justifications for the raid and press coverage and archives and museums in Germany.
3. Souvenir booklets commemorating the raid and promotional material for tourism from files held in the collections of Scarborough Museums or in North Yorkshire County Council's Scarborough Archives Special Collections section.

4. The “Remember Scarborough” series of posters and other atrocity-based propaganda were also examined via the copies held in Scarborough Museums Collections or the Imperial War Museum in London.

An important source is a letter from Winston Churchill, who was First Lord of the Admiralty at the time, to the Mayor of Scarborough. Along with sorrow and sympathies on the town’s losses, perhaps with an eye to the propaganda value of the raid, Churchill records “joy” and excitement at the disgrace Germany had put itself into in the eyes of the world. “Whatever feats of arms the German Navy may hereafter perform the stigma of the baby-killers of Scarborough will brand its officers and men while sailors sail the sea.”

Discussion/Conclusions

The Remember Scarborough posters are significant as the first atrocity propaganda based on an incident in the UK. The series of posters is interesting for the different creative approaches and visual language. One style, in the poster with serial number, Parliamentary Recruiting Committee (PRC) 41, could be described as poetic or epic and featured a classical, idealistic and imperial style based on a fine oil painting. A second poster in the series, PRC serial number 51, used a much more prosaic contemporary graphical treatment and a fact-based textual approach including casualty figures from the raid in an evidence-based poster.

Beyond posters, the discourse of public diplomacy or state level public relations by Germany and Britain was interesting for the way the atrocity was amplified by the British Government (led by Churchill’s inflammatory language) and played down by the German Government in its statements as the result of legitimate targeting of military assets using legalistic language and citing the relevant portions of the Hague Convention and explaining why they do not apply in the case of the bombardment of Scarborough, Whitby and Hartlepool.

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THE PUBLIC RELATIONS TECHNIQUE OF LADY NANCY ASTOR

Martina Topic

Leeds Beckett University

M.Topic@leedsbeckett.ac.uk

American-born Lady Nancy Astor was the first woman to take a seat in the British parliament on 1st December 1919 representing Sutton Division of Plymouth¹. She held her seat for more than 25 years (1919-1945) and is known for her strong feminist stance and fearless attitude in the Parliament. She was fighting for a ban on selling alcohol to anyone younger than 18, which was passed in 1923, women and children's rights (e.g. widow's rights, employment rights, maternal mortality rates, nursery school provision and raising the age of consent), and the prison reform. In other words, while women and children's rights could be seen as of interest to women and she was openly calling on her experience as women in her maiden speech in the Parliament (UK Parliament, n.d.), prison and alcohol were predominantly masculine topics and it took courage to get involved with these policies and attract dislike of English working class men and some of her peers in the Parliament.

The fighting attitude was however in line with her campaign speech where she said, "If you want an M.P. who will be a repetition of the 600 other M.P.s don't vote for me. If you want a lawyer or if you want a pacifist don't elect me. If you can't get a fighting man, take a fighting woman. If you want a Bolshevik or a follower of Mr Asquith, don't elect me. If you want a party hack don't elect me. Surely we have outgrown party ties, I have. The war has taught us that there is a greater thing than parties and that is the State" (Astor, 1919a).

What is relevant about her work for public relations (PR) field is her PR technique of promoting her work in the national press such as *The Daily Mail* and *The Times* by writing letters to editors asking for support of the readership for her policies, e.g. she wrote to *The Daily Mail* asking readers to join the campaign to help disabled (Astor, 1919), promoting nursery schools in England and Wales (Astor, 1932), and saving children (Astor, 1933). She was even more active in *The Times* where she wrote a whole series of letters and articles promoting her policies. Thus, already in 1919, Lady Nancy Astor knew the value of public support and that she cannot reach out to everyone through her constituency. Therefore, she created an effective and continuous media relations activity, which could be seen as PR activity. This PR work started approximately at the same time as PR practice started in the US, e.g. the first press release being published following a rail accident in 1906 or Bernays' campaigns on cigarettes in 1920.

This paper will therefore firstly analyse historical materials, namely Lady Nancy Astor's political documents such as policies she supported to establish exact focus of her work using the original archival material at the University of Reading². In addition, the paper will also analyse archival campaign material (leaflets and speeches). These analyses will provide a solid ground of understanding all of her policies and which policies were particularly emphasised in her promotional work. After that, her letters to editors in *The Daily Mail* and *The Times* will be analysed to establish how Lady Nancy Astor communicated her policies. The ultimate goal of the paper is to establish whether

¹ The first woman to actually win a seat was Constance Markievicz in 1918, however, she was from Irish Sinn Fein that does not recognise the Westminster and the British rule, and thus she did not take the seat in the Parliament.

² I have been granted funding for a visit to Reading in January and I will have the paper ready (and more information on Lady Nancy Astor's work) by the time the conference commences.

- a) women's issue dominated her campaign work. This issue is relevant because data shows that when she was firstly elected it was mainly by female electorate in Plymouth however, she has never been a member of the Suffragettes;
- b) whether she was using persuasive communication similar to the style of early PR practitioners in the US appealing to subconscious and emotional in her media work when she was publishing articles in the British national press.

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THE RELEVANCY OF HIGHER EDUCATION PR DEGREES IN A SKILLED MIGRATION GLOBAL WORLD

Mike Watson

Swinburne University of Technology

mawatson@swin.edu.au

One attribute of modern public relations has been its willingness to employ experts from other operating environments; for example, former journalists and advertising people. In more recent decades PR has hired financial analysts, dieticians, digital designers, sociologists, coders, programmers, eventers, lobbyists, marketeers, to name a few.

Based on observed employment practices, it would appear that the pool of PR talent in Australia is shallow. Over the past decade there has been a marked increase in recruiting middle-to-senior level public relations specialists, from outside Australia, via controversial 457 government issued visas. Interestingly, there has been pushback to this trend following federal government reappraisal. Professional association board meeting minutes, for example, highlight disenfranchisement over 457 visas from membership comprised of PRIA (Public Relations Institute of Australia) accredited (paid for by) higher education institutions, when compared with the industry's consultancy and corporate sectors, which rely on discreetly sponsoring 457 visa holders, mostly from the UK, Ireland, South Africa, India, and USA.

A generation ago, pre globalisation, pre-digital era, pre-specialisation, these mid-level positions were filled by those who had themselves been entry level practitioners who in turn had largely come from a pool of annual higher-ed graduates, mostly from PR, media and communication disciplines.

Industry leaders have been outspoken in their criticisms of higher education relevancy and for not providing work-ready graduates. Quasi private PR training business organisations have grown over the past decade by attracting nascent PR people with vocationally aligned course offerings.

Social media posts have shown strong criticisms of PRIA for its determined lobbying of the Australian federal government into further relaxing the criteria to qualify for a 457 working visa.

Why do we care? How this situation manifested is unclear and unpublished. Are we witnessing a century of cyclical PR professional development, converging with a hybridised online derivative, and a maturing globalisation of PR talent?

The historic research and analysis of a formal connection between academia and professional industry associations is well documented. However, not much has been written about PR and education in Australia since 2000, especially the past ten years.

This paper, presents a preliminary analysis of quant / qual secondary data sets made available by the federal government and educational providers, plus in-depth interviews with key professionals situated within Australian public relations, immigration, and education sectors. This study presents a hypothesis on how the Australian public relations industry got into its current situation.

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A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE INSTITUTE FOR PUBLIC RELATIONS (IPR) AND THE PUBLIC RELATIONS SOCIETY OF AMERICA (PRSA)

Donald K Wright
Boston University
DonaldKWright@aol.com

The Institute for Public Relations (IPR), based on the campus of the University of Florida in Gainesville, was created as the Foundation for Public Relations Research & Education (FPRRE) in 1955 and is well known throughout the world today as an independent nonprofit foundation that focuses on research that matters to public relations practice.

The Public Relations Society of America (PRSA), based and headquartered in New York, is a nonprofit trade association for the public relations industry that was formed in 1947 with the merger of the American Council on Public Relations and the National Association of Public Relations Councils.

PRSA and IPR have had a unique relationship during the past six decades. In 1955, eight years after its formation, PRSA created FPRRE. The latter functioned as PRSA's foundation until 1989 when major philosophical differences surfaced between the Boards of Directors of PRSA and FPRRE. These differences resulted in FPRRE breaking away from PRSA and becoming known as the Institute for Public Relations (IPRRE). PRSA would establish its own foundation (known as the PRSA Foundation) and this group became somewhat of a competitor for IPRRE. Over the years, IPRRE (or "The Institute" and/or IPR as it is more popularly known) would develop an impressive reputation supporting research projects that explored "the science beneath the art of public relations."

The 1989 "breaking point" in the relationship between PRSA and IPRRE surrounded the insistence of the PRSA Board of Directors that all members of the FPRRE Board of Directors be "accredited" by PRSA. At that time, PRSA was promoting the PRSA accreditation program. All members of the PRSA board were accredited by PRSA and they insisted anyone serving on the FPRRE board also hold PRSA accreditation.

This paper reports on a historical examination of PRSA, FPRRE and today's IPRRE (better known simply as IPR). The examination includes interviews with some of the principle players in the 1989 disagreement that led to "The Institute" deciding to break away from PRSA and go its own way. It also examines the contributions of IPR since the 1989 breakup with PRSA.

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THE BRITISH BERNAYS? BASIL CLARKE AND THE FORMATION OF THE UK PUBLIC RELATIONS STATE

Dominic Wring

Loughborough University Centre for Research in Communication and Culture

D.J.Wring@lboro.ac.uk

Basil Clarke was initially a journalist and war correspondent with the *Mail* and *Guardian* before working in the British government's early 'public relations state' (Evans, 2013). During the closing stages of the Great War he was initially based in the embryonic Ministry of Health working for Christopher Addison. In his capacity as a civil servant Clarke pioneered innovations in strategic communication, initially relating to various initiatives designed to improve public welfare at a time of significant upheaval and obvious distress. His period within the Ministry was, not however, not sufficiently satisfying to prevent him from returning to newspaper work, this time as an editor of the *Sheffield Independent*. But this proved a short lived posting and Clarke soon resumed his career in government, this time in a more challenging environment that once again placed him in the midst of major theatre of conflict. This paper explores Clarke's career trajectory and the role he undertook in what would arguably prove to be a career defining posting managing propaganda in Ireland (Murphy, 2006).

There are obvious parallels between Clarke's career and the pioneering work of American counterpart Edward Bernays. Bernays would similarly use his experience working with the US Committee for Public Information during the Great War and subsequently forge a career in an industry he helped shape (Ewen, 1996). But there is major difference between the two men. Unlike his contemporary Bernays, Clarke was not such a dedicated self-publicist and therefore his promotional work focused on aiding the client rather than his own portfolio. His work and contribution to public relations history are therefore not as well known as they might be and this paper will use archival material covering his time in London and Dublin to further explore aspects of his career that have not hitherto received copious attention. Within the files is a comprehensive account of how Clarke developed and refined his methods. Another consideration here is the impact of the campaigns in generating favourable coverage and there will be an assessment of this via content analysis of relevant opinion forming newspapers from the period.

Having been assigned to work within Dublin Castle in 1920, Basil Clarke stayed a year to direct official publicity from there until the Treaty ending hostilities was signed between the UK and Sinn Fein. In this role Clarke had played a pivotal role coordinating what was by then a rearguard publicity action during the latter stages of the War of Independence. Prior to then Republican forces had had some considerable success in terms of both their military and media campaigns. So during his posting to Ireland, Clarke was largely engaged in a major propaganda effort that belatedly attempted to regain the initiative in an attempt to reassert the British narrative. Some historians have argued this made little difference to the outcome of the conflict (Hopkinson, 2004). Whilst this may be a reasonable reflection on the short-term impact of Clarke's efforts to influence the Irish press the campaign was also preoccupied with influencing the news media further afield including outside Europe (Walsh, 2011). Moreover this paper will explore how these efforts have had a more significant impact in that they helped shape the formative professional career of a leading figure in the development of the field (Clarke, 1969).

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CIPR DIPLOMA 1998-2017: EVALUATING THE STUDY OF A PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION AS A CAREER DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY

Heather Yaxley

Bournemouth University

hyaxley@bournemouth.ac.uk

In 1998, the Institute of Public Relations launched “a new educational development” (L’Etang 2004, p.217) as “an important step towards chartered status” (PREF 1998, p.16). This paper examines the consequent twenty-year history of the Institute’s diploma qualification in order to evaluate its study as a career development strategy.

UK-based empirical research into the career implications of gaining a qualification in public relations is limited. Moloney et al. (1999) report positive indications of career progression among the first six cohorts of Bournemouth University’s pioneering undergraduate degree course. However, this work concerns attainment of an academic qualification in respect of career preparation rather than study of a professional qualification as a career development strategy.

Vocational qualifications are not mandated for public relations practitioners in the UK. Indeed, Wright and Flynn (2017, p.60) note that the field’s philosophy of professionalization “places the responsibility of being a ‘professional’ upon the individual, including seeking educational opportunities suitable for career advancement”. This “individualistic model of careers” (Rosenbaum 1989, p.33) fails to consider the role of employers in recognising the value of attaining professional qualifications and supporting a culture of lifelong learning. This is surprising given emphasis in academic literature and practice on a technician-manager hierarchy (Dozier and Broom 2006) of employment and career development within the field.

Attaining a professional qualification may indicate practitioners’ personal ambitions to pursue the linear career progression evident in a bureaucratic career form (Kanter 1989). However, this perspective of career mobility ignores inequity of career opportunity within organisations and has been criticised for representing a normative twentieth century experience of “the white western able bodied middle class male” (Patton and McMahon 2014, p.135).

It is notable that female representation within the Institute’s membership increased to 47.8% in the year the diploma was introduced (IPR 1999). This followed changes to the criteria for associate membership and allowance of full membership based on an approved qualification and “four years’ comprehensive experience” rather than ten years’ experience alone (Black 1995, p.177). Consequently the diploma offered a route to gain the professional status of IPR/CIPR membership that may have been particularly appealing to younger practitioners, especially women.

This paper involves a mixed-method research design to examine the history of the Institute’s public relations diploma from 1998 to 2017 and evaluate its study as a career development strategy over time.

1. Literature review and archive analysis: to examine the career implications of original and revised diploma syllabi, reading lists and other materials.
2. A Delphi technique: to explore the knowledge and opinions of a purposeful sample of experts involved with the development and delivery of the diploma qualification between 1998 and 2017.

3. A survey: to obtain data concerning the lived experiences of practitioners (male and female) who have studied the CIPR diploma.

Findings are reviewed against a body of academic work that has examined a changing career context over the past two decades (Blustein 2013; Patton and McMahon 2014; Lawrence et al, 2015). This offers the opportunity to assess the historic and contemporary value of the study of a professional qualification in respect of strategic career development within the occupational field.

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