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ABSTRACTS

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Where does public health become public relations?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Architectural critic Rowan Moore writes:

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

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

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Purpose of study

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

Background

Following the 1917 Soviet revolution, labor leaders in Central and Western Europe expected a revolutionary wave, later coined the "Domino theory" to hit their shores: a regional, if not a global wave of communist revolution that would eventually submit to a centralized Soviet leadership, under which Marxist doctrines would be discussed, interpreted, forming a global constitution for a confederacy of peoples and nations.

The Communist International, popularly named *Comintern* embraced labor parties in most European nations, including Sweden and Norway. Submitting to an emerging totalitarian system sparked controversy within the labor movement: It also fed external criticism, not only from the political right, but from potential or would-be sympathizers: Peasants and coastal fishermen, who owned their means of production, were generally not willing to hand over ownership of their land, tools or fishing vessels, to a local *commune*.

The popular notion of "working class", as well as in the labor parties' headquarters, was that of a laborer in the heavy industries, often depicted as a heroic, muscular man in his thirties. There seems to have been little room for women, and for members of the Marxist notion of *Lumpenproleratiat*, the class unconscious to *Klassenkampf* and to useful production, in the first decade following the Soviet revolution. To top that, "working class", narrowly defined, encompassed only about 27.5 per cent of the social stratum that defined the Norwegian labor movement's primary target. (www.ssb.no, Seen 30 November 2014).

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

Literature review

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

Helge Granat problematizes “crowds” in a social-democratic context. Party meetings, although open to anyone within the political realm of the working class public, were poorly attended (1934). Looking at Germany, where the NSDAP’s party rallies drew enormous crowds, he suggested that the Swedish labor party learn take lessons from Goebbels, whom he ranks as “intellectually superior to the other leadership” (1934, 188). Without crowd support, the Labor parties would be unable to win elections, since “meeting attendance is less than 10 % of the membership” (1934, 187). Nevertheless, all had the same voting rights.

Research questions

While the social-democratic party communication pre 1930s had emphasized the rational of Marxism and socialism, Goebbels’ communication methods focused on entertaining crowds. The research questions for this paper are therefore:

> RQ1: How does Scandinavian labor movement rhetorical literature draw on contemporary NSDAP methods in the 1930s?
>
> RQ2: How does the labor movement communicate to the crowd (the “masses”)?

Methodology

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

Findings

Findings to RQ 1: In accordance, and competition with, right-radical parties, the left applied a similar rhetorical methodology as the NSDAP methods, developed by Joseph Goebbels’ *Reichsministerium für Volkserklärung und Propaganda*. The similarities are especially evident in the appliance of pathos as the preferred mode of persuasion. Concretely, that meant that speeches and lectures that formerly had drawn on the perceived rational of a new social and economic order, now were replaced with one-liners and slogans. Party meetings in were replaced with mass rallies in town squares. Where party leaders once had been featured attractions in election campaign meetings, they now had to share the podium with vaudeville-entertainers.

Findings to RQ 2: The findings overlap with findings to RQ1. However, it is important that the communication actor realizes that he plays to the crowd, not an assembly of individuals. The “crowd” is a polyseme term, with wide statistical, cultural, sociological and psychological connotations. The crowd has dynamics of its own and responds simultaneously to external stimuli, like a herring shoal, or a flock of birds, seemingly ruled by one, communal mind and will. The “crowd” is therefore a primary target in the period political propaganda.

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ABSTRACT

Illustrating public relations dissent and activism in a changing South African society: The Rotary International case study

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Professional public relations practice in a complex and ever changing environment demands from practitioners to actively create opportunities to share ideas, debate differences and influence change. By speaking out, acting against the norm and challenging widely accepted practices, public relations practitioners are instrumental in introducing dissent, a critical review and postmodern thinking of traditional approaches to everyday practices (Holtzhausen, 2011). In a history as rich, complex and dramatic as South Africa, deconstructing public relations practices in the service of democracy requires a systematic analysis of agency, agent and practice. Selecting a suitable agency to investigate agents and their practices is made possible if we follow the argument of Lee Edwards in "imagining public relations and its infrastructure in terms of its interconnectivity" (Edwards, 2011 p. 39). Selecting a service organisation such as Rotary International (RI), operational in South Africa since 1924 with the motto of "*Service above Self*", provides some context against which to research activism.

Defining activism and framing it in a young democracy such as South Africa includes a review of historical practices, changing social contexts and ability of structures to adapt. The term 'activism' implies different meanings and resulted emotions in a society where change was the result of dissent and on-going efforts to change normative practices. To those actively enforcing the status quo, such as in the case of Apartheid activism, activism may have meant anarchy and activists may have been regarded as the enemy. To those actively promoting change, activism forms the core of their thinking, their decision making and their actions. Ganesh and Zoller (2012) argue that activist groups actively engage in dialogue, develop actions and analyse dialogue and contestation. The complexity of constant change, how it is enacted and the resulting effects will be analysed by looking at the proposed advancement stages of activism identified by Heath (1997 in Heath and Waymer, 2011). These stages include strain, mobilization, confrontation, negotiation and resolution (Heath and Waymer, 2011 p. 196).

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate public relations dissent and activism in South Africa's journey to democracy through the analysis of Rotary Southern Africa, its structures, policies and activities during Apartheid and post-Apartheid. RI and specifically Rotary Southern Africa has had a presence in South Africa for the past 90 years, has around 4000 active members serving the interest of communities in some 300 clubs. During these years Rotary has made a major contribution in a variety of fields in the eradication of poverty and

disease, malnutrition, education, health, in particular polio eradication and social welfare. Today, Rotary International's vision is to be:

> "The service organisation of choice with dynamic, action oriented clubs whose contributions improve lives in communities worldwide". And its mission "to provide services to others; promote integrity, and advance world understanding, goodwill and peace through our fellowship of business, professional and community leaders" (RI strategic documents, 2014/15).

With the history of Rotary South Africa being intrinsically linked to the history of South Africa, its practice of inviting new members, its membership profile as well as the type of projects makes it a suitable and representative structure and agency for this research.

The methodology which will be used in researching public relations dissent and activism will involve a case study approach involving Rotary Southern Africa. The organisation has a long history, is uniquely positioned as a service organisation, operated by volunteering, purposively selected members, addressing contemporary social issues (Archives of the official Rotary International magazine, Rotary Africa). This approach relates to an instrumental case study (Blake, 1995 p. 3) in that the aim is to understand how an agency such as RI influenced and was influenced by socio-political issues in pre-and post-democratic South Africa. Various official documents from the archives of Rotary Africa will be analysed together with the personal experiences of a long standing member and leader of a club, Chris Skinner (Mr Skinner has been a Rotarian in South Africa since 1975 and was a District Governor for Rotary International for KwaZulu, Natal, South Africa in 2003-4 as well as the body's public image coordinator for Africa for a number of years).

An original contribution of this paper is the historical account of a service organisation active in South Africa for at least 90 years, various nominated and designated members addressing socio-political issues as an organised structure representing an agency. This will be supported by the personal account and experiences of a formally recognised public relations practitioner and Rotary South Africa leader who will offer valuable insights into public relations dissent and activism.

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

1914, the Central Office for Foreign Service (Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst, ZfA) was founded. The most important reason for establishing this bureau was the centralization of the process. In a survey of Matthias Erzberger (1875-1921), after not less than 27 offices and departments have been identified, which all had the task of making propaganda abroad. Tasks of the Central Office were, about others, the observation of the Press of the enemy,

combating of propaganda lies of the enemy, the demonstration of "enemy atrocities", the development and distribution of information papers to neutral countries, the presentation of German newspapers in Swiss hotels, press trips for journalists from third countries, the use of pictures and films as well as the deployment of cultural workers abroad.

At 14 October 1914, the *war press office* was set up and subordinated to the General Headquarters (GHQ), head of the office was Erhard Deutelmoser. The war press office was divided into a coordination department, a foreign and a domestic department and an information department. At the same time one of its tasks was play the role of the highest censorship office.

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

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

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

Using narratives, discourses and paradigms to analyse the history of public relations

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Taking Norway as an example, this paper outlines a strategy for studying the history of public relations (PR) and strategic communications in any specific country.

Following the tradition of historical epistemology, and Bourdieu's writings on field studies (Hovden 2008), we should not consider PR to constitute a scientific research object. Rather, PR is a lay term, i.e., a popular term rooted in various extra-scientific practices that has been born of a general need to define and label. Accordingly, we must be careful not to use the term uncritically, and we must look beyond the first historical usages of the term in order to define the concept. To do so we should examine the historical contexts for strategic external communications by governments and other types of organisations, i.e., we should examine the development of liberal democracies and the increasing significance of public spheres.

We should aim to identify key actors and their strategies, goals, main statements and rhetorical actions by conducting a three-part analysis involving 1) a search for narratives, 2) an analysis of discourses, and 3) the positioning of each discourse on a timeline and the separation of the discourses – based on their primary characteristics – into different paradigms (Dahlen and Alghasi forthcoming).

The narratives should be identified within representations of the core topics in a country's communications history and within the institutional development of PR and communications in its national society.

The discourses should be defined by summing up 1) the nature of the reality that is constructed in the narratives by the actors, 2) who (i.e., which actors) is representing this reality, and c) what relationships people in this constructed reality have, with regard to their identities and relations with other participants (Fairclough 1995).

On the basis of the various discourses, paradigms should be defined in accordance with Thomas Kuhn's definitions of "science paradigms" (1996:10):

1. Who are the subjects that are observed and scrutinised?
2. What questions are asked in the discourses – or what are the questions underlying the answers in the discourses?
3. How are the main rhetorical actions structured?
4. How are the public expected to interpret the narratives and discourses?
5. Main examples and *proofs* (or documentation) as argument for the main interpretation of the fundamental statements and rhetorical actions in each discourse.

We can see that the original definition of science paradigms by Kuhn (1996:10) is well suited to this analysis of communications paradigms. The main difference is to be found in the last point (5), where *proofs* or documentation in communications paradigms are mainly to be found in single statements.

This paper argues that by analysing core narratives, discourses and paradigms, it is possible to identify the most important trends in strategic communications in any specific country; trends that determine how current communications strategies are embedded in that country's core narratives and discourses.

For example, the study of the history of Norwegian PR could be based on the idea that there have been two core discourses in Norwegian history where strategic communications have played an essential role: 1) the development of the Norwegian nation state, involving the processes of independence, the establishment of democracy and the growth of a national identity. This discourse runs from the adoption of the Norwegian Constitution in 1814 up until the EU referendums in 1972 and 1994; and 2) the development of labour relations. The core period for this discourse runs from the establishment of the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO) in 1899 until the advent of the Basic Agreement between the LO and the Norwegian Employers' Confederation in 1935. Although this discourse continues into the 21st century, with the modern focus on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), the most important developments took place in the early the 20th century.

When outlining the history of Norwegian PR and strategic communications, it is also necessary to include two other discourses: 1) the gradual institutionalisation of PR and strategic communications, with the core events being the establishment of the Norwegian PR Club in 1949, the establishment of formal academic programmes in public relations from 1989, and the exclusion of PR workers from the Norwegian Union of Journalists in 1997 (Lindholm 2014:268); and 2) the development of public information services which often bore the characteristics of "state propaganda", with the core events being the production of the first post-war Norwegian newsreels, the production of health and information campaigns from 1956 onwards (Lindholm 2014: 256), and the establishment of the Norwegian Central Government Information Service in 1965.

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ABSTRACT

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

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The book is a cultural consumption good whose adoption supposes performing a constant negotiation game between promotion industries and consumers. In Romania, book sector is highly competitive and unbalanced, as the publishing houses, the main actors, are complaining constantly of a constant and even dramatic decrease of sales. In the same time, Romania is being perceived internationally as having a 98% of adult literacy and being ranked 21st in the world with 15,000 items published every year.

Starting from these contradictory situations, this paper looks at the gradual process of institutionalization and professionalization of public relations within the Romanian book sector after 1989. The aim of this paper is to show the historical stages of PR development from the promotion of books through promotional practices (mainly ads and distribution of new titles to key cultural journalists and critiques), events (the traditional book fairs and book launches) to the current strategic use of public relations (integrated communication campaigns, new media strategies, start of CSR programs by publishing houses).

In addition, to investigate in depth the current stage of PR on Romanian book sector, we first realize a profile of the organizational communication in the case of three Romanian publishing houses chosen according to three key criteria (dimension, financial capacity, consumer perception of reputation). Using the case study method, we analyze the organizational communication of each publishing house, as it is conceived and implemented by the internal public relations specialists employed. Secondly, we conduct a comparative analysis in function of specific items: the relevance of PR for the management, the responsibilities of the PR specialist, the dominant model of communication. Considering the communication strategy as a comparative major item, we are also interested in analyzing the way that the three publishing houses address new audiences, how they relate with young publics and, most important, which is the role of research in communicating with young audiences. Our interest in young segment has become relevant as main Romanian publishing houses are complaining about the decrease of reading frequency on young readers segment (teenagers and university students). Having as basis these analyses (profile and comparison), we will draw the main characteristics of the current state of public relations in book sector.

Summing up, this paper is the first to review the 25 years PR in the Romanian book sector, establishing a typology of most used technics and instruments of book promotion and revealing the evolution in terms of understanding and practicing PR in this quarter of century on a market that is constantly growing and is key to the development of a society. Correlating

this with the general evolution of public relations as new profession and field of study in Romania, this paper allows a deeper discussion on the institutionalization and professionalization of public relations in the Romanian book sector.

ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

The History of Disaster Communication: The Untold Story

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Crisis communication is a popular topic in public relations research journals. However, historical research of crisis communication, especially prior to 1900, when public relations was first recognized as a profession in the U.S. (Lamme, 2010) is lacking from this field of research. In particular, research of disaster communication, a closely related ally of crisis communication, remains a largely unexplored topic in public relations history.

The absence of historical disaster communication research from the public relations literature has been evident in previous meta-analyses of the literature. In their review of crisis communication research published between 1991-2009, Avery et al (Avery 2010) analyzed 66 articles that employed image restoration theory or situational crisis communication theory; all of the studies examined events from contemporary times, and none discussed disaster communication. A study of 30 years of research published in top public relations journals found historical method was never used in the 57 articles on crisis communication (Seon, 2010). Lamme and Russell's (Lamme, 2010) monograph on the history of the development of public relations touched on disaster events in terms of advocacy, publicity, and fundraising efforts by the American Red Cross during the Civil War, Johnstown Floods, and structural fires. The tactics that the authors derived from public relations research did not, however, include disaster communication efforts including mitigating information, preparedness information, public information during the disaster response, or recovery information. Examination of these communication strategies prior to the 1900s would fill gaps in the disaster communication body of research.

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

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

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

ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

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

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This paper may be the first academic treatise to deal with the work of American journalist and communication consultant Sidney Rittenberg as a major influencer in the history of public relations between modern China and the West. Based on an extensive, two-year study of the existing literature, it would not be inaccurate to assert that Sidney Rittenberg's role in the history of public relations is as one of the founders of the modern international public relations China practice.

Born August 14, 1921, Charleston, S.C., Sidney Rittenberg went to China as a US soldier directly from US Army's foreign language training school at Stanford University. He initially working as an interpreter, Rittenberg quickly adapted to the Chinese language, culture and people. When the war ended, he stayed behind in the People's Republic of China as part of the United Nations famine relief program and trekked to Yan'an to find Mao Zedong.

Mao quickly recognized the advantage of having a Chinese-speaking westerner on board, and Rittenberg worked as a communication advisor in Yan'an (1945-49) and in Beijing during the Great People's Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). According to New York Times writer, Mark McDonald, the Communist Party leadership often sought Rittenberg's assistance in translating their messages into English, including the writings of Mao. McDonald said Rittenberg also worked for the Xinhua News Agency and Radio Peking.

Yet, despite his blind loyalty, Rittenberg was twice incarcerated in Chinese prisons where he spent a total of 17 years in solitary confinement for alleged political crimes.

This paper asserts that Rittenberg fits into a long tradition of "interpreters" of China for the West, like Matteo Ricci, who translated Confucius into Latin. In fact, he is the last living member of a small group of western journalists and intellectuals, including Edgar Snow, Israel Epstein, and Anna Louise Strong, who were drawn to China in the 1930s and 40s. Sidney Rittenberg remains the only living American to join the Communist Party of China.

The main limitation in this study is that most of Rittenberg's public relations activities in China come basically from Rittenberg's own oral history; no one is still alive to corroborate or disagree with it. Nonetheless, Rittenberg's exciting tale of intrigue, told and retold, tends to negatively overshadow his work as a journalist/public relations consultant. This paper, therefore, seeks to downplay Rittenberg's revolutionary history and focus on his documented contributions as to the history of East-West public relations.

This paper asserts that despite his controversial adventures as an American propagandist for Mao Zedong during the Cultural Revolution, Sidney Rittenberg has had a profound influence on Western public relations in modern China, and on Chinese public relations in the west since the 1980s, when Rittenberg and his family returned to the US, determined, as Rittenberg has written, to "build a bridge from the Chinese people to the American people."

This study found that Rittenberg's work with James Fallows, Evan Osnos, Mike Wallace, Charles Kuralt, and other journalists, as well as his meetings with Sir Martin Sorrell, CEO of the WWP Group, about international public relations, are well documented. At age 93, Sidney Rittenberg continues to influence US-China public relations as it evolves as a major area of specialized communication practice for both international and Chinese firms.

Methodology

In addition to the sources listed below, this paper is informed by correspondence with Sidney Rittenberg, 2011-present, as well as five hours of personal interviews with Sidney Rittenberg at his house on Fox Island, near Tacoma, Washington, in July 2011 and July 2014. In addition to the Rittenberg interviews, personal interviews were conducted with people who know Rittenberg, including Irv Drasnin, Lucy Ostrander, James Fallows, Evan Osnos, Amanda Bennett and other journalists who have worked with him over the years.

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ABSTRACT

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

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A. Aims of the paper:

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

B. Research methods:

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

C. Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

Lobbying Politicians – new tricks or an old trade?

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Lobbying (aka public affairs) is the PR activity around persuading decision makers and other key players. These are usually politicians and lobbying usually takes place around the perceived need to introduce, change or stop legislation or other regulations. Lobbying activity ranges from the very behind the scenes to the extremely open, with a range of PR techniques being deployed.

The lobbying industry today is big business. In 2009 David Cameron said that some MPs are lobbied 100 times a week. Business lobbying can be controversial, but much lobbying is carried on by not for profit groups such as Friends of the Earth and Oxfam.

There is a sense that lobbying is growing and that it is a particularly modern phenomenon. This paper however argues that there are clear examples of sophisticated lobbying techniques being used in Victorian and pre Victorian times. Lobbying campaigns of those eras map well, in terms of techniques, onto modern day Public Affairs Campaigns.

The paper will use two examples. These are the organised lobbies against the Test and Corporation Acts and the campaign in Victorian times for the abolition of capital punishment. This will then be compared with, and mapped onto, modern campaigns for legislative change.

The Test and Corporation Acts effectively banned people who were not Church of England members from certain key roles in the English State. These were aimed at Catholics but also excluded non conformists and dissenters. The minutes of the two committees working for the abolition of these Acts are available digitally and go into great detail about processes and success rates.

The campaign against capital punishment in Victorian times has been the subject of a book (Victorians against the Gallows by Gregory) but there is also considerable material in both Hansard and in the newspapers of the time.

The author of this paper is currently also researching modern day lobbying. She is someone who has worked on lobbying campaigns and been lobbied in her role as an active politician. She is collecting data particularly on the lobbying around election campaigns and will be in an excellent position to be up to date on this as a candidate in this year's UK General Election.

ABSTRACT

A lost root of public relations? Donor portraits as early means of visual PR

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Where lie the roots of public relations; when did the history of this form of communication actually begin? The debate on the origins of PR isn't exactly a new one; scholars from various fields of research have long been trying to trace the origins of public relations, often arriving at largely different determinations. We do not seek to give a verdict on these determinations, yet we would like to highlight what we deem a so far forgotten root of public relations.

In tracing the origins of public relations, some scholars go back to the ancient empires or the era of Alexander the Great (Kamps, 2007; Merten, 2000); others see the Investiture Controversy in the middle ages as the starting point of political public relations (Hill, 2004). And while some scholars have warned about tendencies to subsume all and everything in the history of public communication under the notion of public relations (Fröhlich, 1996), it is at least generally accepted that the discipline as such has a variety of distinct roots that can be traced back to various historical eras (Szyszka, 1996).

These roots are often traced to the founding fathers of political rhetoric; to concepts of mass persuasion and then to the beginnings of media relations in the 19th century. Szyszka (1996) also refers to the sponsoring of artistic activities in theatre and music in the Roman empire, naming Gaius Maecenas as the founding father of this form of public relations.

Actual paintings are, however, generally not named with regards to public relations history. At first sight, this only seems natural. Art is considered an end in itself – *ars gratia artis* – and not to be subsumed under a notion of mere public relations. And yet, this understanding might not be adequate. It might actually be possible to trace the roots of public relations even in some of the most important European artworks. Our study, conducted as an in-depth analysis of seven major European artworks from a perspective of PR history, now seeks to identify some of these lost roots.

Donor portraits – understood as religious paintings featuring the paintings sponsor and often also his family within a biblical scene (Zinserling, 1957) – became an emerging trend in European art in the 14th and 15th century, especially in the commercial centres of Flanders

and Tuscany. Some of the most central works of art history derive from this tradition: from Van Eyck's *Madonna of Chancellor Rolin* over the *Poltinari Tryptich* by Van der Goes up to Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi*. From a perspective of PR history, these artworks clearly qualify as early means of visual public relations.

While donor portraits were initially a domain of high ranking members of the cleric (and thereby more of an intra-religious matter), the early 15th century saw considerable changes. For example, wealthy merchants acted as donors commissioning paintings and altarpieces featuring them, their families and business partners as (initially peripheral) figures in a religious scene for important religious centres (cf. Rooch, 1988). Persons without any institutionalised connection to art and church began sponsoring both institutions with money they had made in very secular ways.

Within art history, there is a broad consensus that donor portraits fulfilled a variety of very specific functions (Kocks, 1963; Rooch, 1988; Schmid, 2007). They inter alia were to:

- ensure the salvation of the donor's soul
- keep the memory of the donor alive far beyond his death
- give public testimony of the donor's piety
- give public testimony of the donor's societal standing
- give public testimony of the donor's economic wealth

Donor portraits feature religious scenes and simultaneously offer the donor the possibility of sneaking himself into the picture. Churches are understood as a public space – a room where both influential societal actors as well as the general population come together – and this space is utilised for a form of self-staging, one that even goes beyond the original donor's death.

By sponsoring an artwork, a donor manages public communication with various groups that could – from a PR-perspective – be identified as important stakeholders. Demonstrating piety ensures the benevolence of the cleric, which at this time is to be considered an important societal force. From a transcendental viewpoint it also enhances the goodwill of divine instances, ensuring eternal salvation. Demonstrating an elevated societal standing and economic wealth is to be considered a means of image and reputation management; through this channel the donor creates favourable conditions for his business activities.

Art history is full of such examples. Gaspare di Zanobi del Lama, the donor of Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi* for example sought to overcome both overly humble ancestry and a criminal past by curating a major religious work of art. His sponsoring activities were to improve his reputation and to elevate his societal standing.

We argue that these facts and understandings qualify donor portraits as an early example of (visual) PR. Many contemporary conceptualisations of public relations emphasise the importance of reputation management, considering reputation a tremendously valuable resource for all kinds of actors (Watson, 2010). Donor portraits are not only artworks, they are clearly means of reputation management and should therefore be considered a so far forgotten root of public relations. We now seek to highlight this root by revisiting major European artworks from a perspective of PR history.

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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ABSTRACT

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

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

Research on the origins of corporate public relations in the U.S. has often focused on the crisis of corporate legitimacy, and it has also explored various configurations of organization-to-public relationships with the public framed as consumers, protestors, ill-informed masses and so on (Bernays, 1928; Lamme & Russell, 2010; Marchand, 1998; Olasky, 1987). While important insights were derived from this literature, what about the organizational publics of corporate public relations? What of public relations in business-to-business contexts? Are there useful theoretical and practical insights that can be gleaned from an investigation of this history? Because the answers to these questions are important, the present paper traverses a divergent trajectory along the course of corporate public relations history by focusing on an infrequently studied area of public relations historical research – business-to-business public relations.

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

To explore early business-to-business public relations practices in the U.S., the context in which they emerged, and their implications, this paper conducts a case study of the Norfolk & Western Railways Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905. This guidebook was selected because of the Norfolk & Western's leadership position in the transportation industry and because of the unique communicative challenges faced by Civil War era railroads, especially in the South. Unlike Northern, Western or Midwestern railroads, after the war, the Virginia-based Norfolk & Western Railway Co. had to persuade potential business customers that they still had a strong rail infrastructure in place to support the growth of a variety of businesses and industries. In order to survive, the Norfolk & Western

had to convince business audiences that establishing a relationship with their railroad would enable other businesses to thrive because of the unique combination of assets offered by the Norfolk & Western: an aggressive business strategy, convenient location of its lines, unprecedented access to the natural resources of an unexploited Appalachian Mountain region, access to cheap labor, and access to vibrant communities and markets. This paper identifies and explicates the messaging strategies employed by the railroad to publicize its virtues.

A rhetorical analysis (Heath, Toth & Waymer, 2009; Ihlen, 2010) frames the case study of the Norfolk & Western Railways Co. Industrial Shippers and Buyers Official Guide of 1905. This methodological approach facilitates an understanding the key rhetorical strategies the railroad employed to discursively build strategic business relationships with other organizations, position those relationships as beneficial to other businesses and to society as a whole, and ultimately to persuade organizations to do business with the Norfolk & Western Railways Co.

This paper contributes to public relations scholarship by addressing the under-theorized area of business-to-business public relations history. A limitation of this study is that it focuses primarily on one public relations artifact from one railway system. The results are therefore not generalizable. A rhetorical analysis of this rare public relations artifact however presents a unique opportunity to enhance our knowledge of corporate public relations history with an in depth exploration of an important historical text that reveals the persuasive messaging and meaning-making strategies constituting the early business-to-business public relations practices of a major U.S. railroad. In doing so, the paper offers insights that enable today's scholars and practitioners to learn useful lessons from a corporate public relations railroad pioneer.

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ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

The absence of a dedicated historical study of the public relations activities of the PRC is even more surprising when one considers the kind of work it carried out in the nine months that elapsed from September, 1914. Though it contained a Publications Sub-Department that produced posters and other forms of conventional ‘paid-for’ advertising, the

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

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

Notes

[1] Peter Simkins, *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2007): 49.
[2] 'Awaiting the Declaration: The Scene at the Foreign Office', *Times* (August 5th, 1914): pg. 2.
[3] Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000* (London: Reaktion, 2000): 111.
[4] Brian Bond, *War and Society in Europe, 1870-1970* (Guernsey: Sutton, 1998): 72.
[5] Cate Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 1977) and Peter Buitenhuis, *The Great War of Words: Literature as Propaganda 1914-18 and After* (London: BT Batsford, 1989).
[6] Apart from the PRC, the government set up the War Propaganda Bureau, the National War Aims Committee and the Department (and later Ministry) of Information.
[7] WO 106/367: *Parliamentary Recruiting Committee* (National Archives, 1915-16).
[8] Douglas, 'Voluntary Enlistment in the First World War and the Work of the Parliamentary Recruitment Committee', *Journal of Modern History* (vol. 42: no. 4, 1970); Hiley, '"Kitchener Wants You" and "Daddy, What Did You Do in the Great War?": The Myth of British Recruiting Posters', *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 11, 1997); Dutton, 'Moving Images? The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee's Poster Campaign, 1914-1916, *Imperial War Museum Review* (vol. 4, 1989) and Aulich, 'The First World War', *War Posters: Weapons of Mass Communication* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007).
[9] 'Propaganda and the Mobilisation of Consent', in Hew Strachan (ed.) *Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War* (Oxford: Oxford U. P., 1998): 216.
[10] See, for example, Nicoletta Gullace, *'The Blood of Our Sons': Men, Women and the Renegotiation of British Citizenship During the Great War* (New York: Palgrave, 2002).
[11] L'Etang, 'State Propaganda and Bureaucratic Intelligence: The Creation of Public Relations in 20th Century Britain', *Public Relations Review* (vol. 24: no. 4, 1998) and Anthony, *Public Relations and the Making of Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2012).

ABSTRACT

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

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This study endeavors to present for the first time a historiography of Israel's Government Press Office (GPO) over a period of approximately 65 years, since the establishment of the State of Israel. Officially, the GPO is: "responsible, on behalf of the Prime Minister's Office, for coordination between the Government of Israel and the community of journalists and media personnel working in Israel" (www.gpo.gov.il). According to the GPO's website, "the GPO serves as the central address for contact with the government and the Israel Defense Forces" (Ibid). This institution functions as the main coordinator between the government and the foreign journalists who cover Israel in crises.

Due to the complex ongoing geopolitical situation in Israel, national security discourse has dominated the agenda in Israel and abroad from the time of the state's inception. Israel has been involved in a protracted conflict with the Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank as well as with its other neighbors. Occasionally, the conflict has become violent and Israel has had to cope with terrorism, military operations, diplomatic entanglements and boycotts. The state has received a great deal of international media attention, mostly with regard to national security issues (Gutmann, 2005; Shai, 1998). Establishing and maintaining ongoing, stable and firm relationships with the foreign press in Israel as well as providing other media services were therefore essential keys in Israel's public diplomacy.

The centrality of national security in Israel is reflected in the academic research (Aran, 2012; Inbar & Shamir, 2014; Kober, 2008; Wolfsfled, 2004). Various dimensions and aspects of Israel's public diplomacy have received substantial attention in numerous studies (Avraham, 2009; Gilboa, 2006; Gilboa & Lapid, 2011; Shai, 2013). However, despite its important official role, the GPO has been neglected in research, receiving little attention. This has changed somewhat over the past five years, as several scholars have recognized the GPO as one of the actors in Israel's public diplomacy (Limor, Leshem & Mendelzis, 2013; Medzini, 2012; Schleifer, 2014; Toledano & McKie, 2013). The following study seeks to present for the first time an historical evolution of Israel's GPO, providing a broad review of this institution, which was one of the first governmental entities dealing with Israel's public diplomacy.

The main methodology was in-depth interviews with key figures related to the topic, including the majority of the former GPO directors living today, governmental and Israel

Defense Forces (IDF) spokespeople and foreign journalists, among others. Additionally, for the purpose of triangulation, information regarding the GPO was collected from several official and private archives, printed and online media content, both written and electronic. Using all these methods together created a large database and enabled a broad overview of the topic.

The study reveals how, throughout its existence, Israel's Governmental Press Office (GPO) confronted altering challenges and circumstances, which, to a large extent, shaped its functions and impact. These challenges include political considerations, personnel changes and circumstances of war versus peace. This study demonstrates the GPO's constant need to define itself according to historical changes in Israel's society, media, politics and technology. Throughout its existence, the GPO has struggled to remain relevant among its different stakeholders, a task which has grown more and more difficult over the years.

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ABSTRACT

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

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Princess Amelia, the youngest and favourite daughter of the British monarch George III, died of a wasting illness at the age of twenty-three, on the 2nd of November, 1810. The shock of her death drove George III into the silence and isolation of the mental illness that had threatened his health throughout his reign, and his removal from the public eye provoked a prolonged constitutional and public relations battles as his son, the Prince of Wales, took his place. In terms of political discourse, this private calamity also launched a new period in British politics. Between 1810 and 1819, the topic of democratic parliamentary reform that had been so marked in the political discourse of the first decade of the new century generally took a back seat to issues of the Napoleonic wars and diplomacy, royal prerogative, party ascendancy, the Corn Laws, the burden of the income tax, and the general economic distress brought on by post-war depression.

This paper focuses on the public battle waged over the royal prerogative of the king and his regent, George, Prince of Wales, whose regency (1811-1819) was characterized by the unprecedented publicity generated by his efforts to use the law to deny his wife access to their daughter Prince Charlotte. This period saw the development of a political language that used the trope of virtuous femininity as a weapon to be wielded against the Prince Regent's royal/paternal prerogative—all of which played out in a remarkable historical moment that anticipates the formalized public relations strategies that are now enshrined in the discipline. The political discourse of the Regency period was exceptional for its reliance on representation of Princess Charlotte and her mother Princess Caroline as injured innocents, and of the Prince Regent as a tyrannical father and husband. The re-absorption of the George III into private space, the unpopularity of the Prince Regent, and the sexual and generational politics of the royal household presented a new feminized (and thus less overtly treasonous) "patriotic" idiom for the expression of otherwise seditious opinions.

In this elongated media event, we see at least four factions—government (aligned with the king, and fearful of the regent's intentions), opposition (long-time supporters of the Prince of Wales), radical (critical of the very notion of royal prerogative), and monarchy (more muted and expressed obliquely) —seeking to garner public attention and support through their use of gendered and generational "frames" that allowed the Tory MPs to argue for limitations on regency powers, opposition Whig MPs eager to regain power to argue for full powers for the regent, enemies of the Crown to argue for an end to monarchy while avoiding censure and prosecution, and a royal daughter and mother to circumnavigate the prohibition on their public speech.

This study draws on historical memoirs, newspaper accounts, pamphlets and prints to sketch out the complex representational networks that together constituted the public sphere of Regency politics. It also accesses a more private genre of evidence that enlarges, or complicates, the contexts for the general argument put forth here. In the personal and official letters of the Princess Charlotte, we hear a voice that provides a viewpoint positioned in a

most material way between the kinship-defined poles of the maternity and paternity, which represent arguments about fealty deriving from both nature (mother rights) and law (father rights). The letters also allow a glimpse into the very real problems of self-representation faced by a crown princess acutely conscious of public opinion regarding the royal family and of her own female, royal body's potential to reshape the political future of the nation.

The purpose of this case study is to illustrate the complexity of proto-public relations, even in a period characterized by a relatively small political class, a still nascent middle class or reading public, and pre-electronic media ecology. It also provides a rich example of how pre-Victorian British politics were played out in both private and public conversations and interactions of the privileged classes, while shedding light on the creative publicity strategies employed by the more muted voices of the wider public that had a keen interest in curtailing the power of the Regent but faced serious sanctions if they spoke out directly against the king or the government.

ABSTRACT

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

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

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

We all know that Art is not truth. Art is a lie that makes us realize truth at least the truth that is given us to understand. The artist must know the manner whereby to convince others of the truthfulness of his lies. (http://www.gallerywalk.org/PM_Picasso.html).

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

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

Partly as a result of such outsider interventions into the professional historian stories of the past, debates about the distance, or the absence of distance between history and fiction in mainstream history are commonplace. Aligning with some of Holtzhausen's (2012) postmodernist challenges to conventional history, this paper revisits ideas of forging history and critiques taken-for-granted perceptions in representations of PR's pasts. It examines the theory and practice of fiction in history by leading historians (Southgate, 2009) and presents case studies (including some PR novels by practitioners and media representations). Some of these offer fictional insights into historical events in which they were involved and are compared with more factual accounts of public relations in the same period. This chapter also demonstrates how PR can add value to mainstream historical considerations of specific themes that include: constructing public perceptions over time; managing reputation; and imagining communities. These will be enlivened by analysis of other examples selected from such areas as films of Antiquity, the *Untold History of the US*, and 21st-century TV series.

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ABSTRACT

Reconsidering Early U.S. Public Relations Institutions: An Analysis of Publicity and Information Bureaus 1891-1918

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This paper examines the United States popular press' representation of publicity and information bureaus from 1891 to 1918. Specifically this study examines these bureaus' relationship with the press, their use by the United States and foreign governments, their role in U.S. political campaigns, and their function within non-profit organizations. Publicity and information bureaus are an important part of public relations history and identity because they represent the departmentalization of PR within organizations. They symbolize the professionalization of the field and link its practice to the legitimate, moneyed corporate world.

Although publicity bureaus are an important part of PR history little research has been done on their role in late nineteenth and early twentieth century PR practice. Public relations historians mention a firm called the Publicity Bureau as a harbinger of change for institutionalized PR practice. Scott Cutlip (1994) argued the Boston-based Publicity Bureau operated as the first PR firm in 1900. However, Cutlip did not explore publicity bureaus outside of the context of this large Boston firm. In his history of PR, Edward Bernays (1952) ignored publicity and information bureaus altogether and equated early PR development to George Creel's Committee for Public Information that operated during World War I (an organization where Bernays worked). James Grunig and Todd Hunt (1984) reiterate this narrative that the corporate publicity bureau led to the creation of a more professionalized PR practice. Grunig and Hunt (1984) argued other non-corporate organizations, such as the government, followed suit by investing in publicity, although on a much smaller scale. This narrative of the publicity bureau and the growth of corporate PR has significant theoretical influence for the field because by accepting this historical narrative public relations development is equated with corporate practice. It suggests corporations created PR departments and that modern public relations is a derivative of early corporate innovations in communications. Having a stand-alone bureau suggests that PR was moving forward to be a more serious, recognized, and professionalized practice.

Despite this perceived importance of publicity bureaus, relatively little is known about these bureaus or how they worked. As Meg Lamme and Karen Russell (2010) note in their survey of PR history, little is known about early U.S. public relations practice. This study seeks to fill this gap in the historical literature on U.S. publicity and information bureaus. In this study 601 articles were analyzed from the digital archives in Historical Newspapers Online and the American Periodical Series from 1770 to 1918. The year 1770 was chosen as a start date because it coincides with the Stamp Act Crisis, which is considered by historians as the genesis of American independence. The year 1918 was chosen as an end date because it coincides with Bernays' (1965) assertion that he created a new "counsel on public relations" after World War I (p. 287). The first appearance of either "publicity bureau" or

"information bureau" from these databases was 1891 and the last was 1918. The search terms "publicity bureau" and "information bureau" were used for each database. For the term "publicity bureau" every article from the American Periodical Series and every fifth article from Historical Newspaper Online was used. For the term "information bureau" every fifth article was analyzed from both American Periodical Series and Historical Newspapers Online.

This study of the publicity and information bureaus in the popular press shows that public relations was developing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in a variety of sectors. These sectors included the government, politics, business, and non-profit spheres. Unlike Grunig and Hunt's (1984) suggestion that corporate publicity bureaus influenced non-corporate spheres, these articles show publicity and information bureaus were used simultaneously in multiple areas, with government playing a dominant role in developing and implementing these bureaus. These articles also suggest that bureaus were linked closely with both press needs and public outreach. Concern over public opinion, media relations, and message strategy dominated the work of these bureaus in all organizations. From this analysis it is evident that publicity and information bureaus serve an even more important role in the development of PR practice than previously thought because they were used in multiple organizations and utilized communication practices that recognized the importance of publics, opinion leaders, and goodwill.

The theoretical implications of this study challenge the corporate narrative of PR development, the evolutionary narrative of PR history, the current periodization of PR history, and presents a more inclusive history of U.S. public relations. It is important for PR historiography to recognize that not only did publicity and information bureaus emerge in different contexts but emerged simultaneously in government, politics, business, and at the grassroots. This analysis shows that the so-called professionalization of public relations largely resulted from both a top-down and bottom-up development. This analysis of publicity and information bureaus also forces public relations scholars to acknowledge the non-corporate influence of the field. These governmental and political uses of publicity and information bureaus shows that government not only served as a PR precursor, but was an active part of early institutionalized PR practice. This use of publicity and information bureaus in government, politics, business, and civic organizations also shows that public relations development was not evolutionary. Rather, this analysis supports the idea that public relations as a practice emerged from many sources (corporate and non-corporate alike) in tandem. This simultaneous emergence of public relations practice highlights the inaccuracy in using PR typologies, such as the four models, as a historical timeline for U.S. public relations history (Grunig and Hunt, 1984). Perhaps the most significant conclusion from this analysis is the role the grassroots plays in PR formation. Information and publicity bureaus in civic organizations, specifically churches, show that modern public relations practice must have been influenced by these groups. Press coverage of grassroots information and publicity bureaus show they pre-date all other uses of bureaus. Their contribution to public relations development is perhaps the most significant, not only because they were the first to utilize these communication practices, but also because their communication ethics reflect modern PR professional standards.

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ABSTRACT

Building a “modern” and “western” image: Miss Turkey beauty contests from 1929 to 1950

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Since the first beauty contest which was launched by P. T. Barnum in 1854, they have been widely organised for various purposes. The first beauty contest in Turkey was organised in the early Republican period. One can regard this first contest in 1929, as a public relations attempt that aimed at presenting a modern, Western image of Turkish nation-state. According to Kunczik (1997, p. 12), public relations for the nation-state means the “planned and continuous distribution of interest-bound information by a state aimed (mostly) at improving the country’s image abroad.”

In this regard, the public relations of the early Republican period was characterised by a motivation which sought to communicate the image of a modern, Western Turkey in the minds of its target groups. In the liberal sphere promised to women by the Republic, beauty contests served as a public relations tool in creating this image. The winners of the 1929 contest represented Turkey abroad as the Western faces of the modern Turkish Republic.

This study will focus on Turkish beauty contests in the making of the modern Turkey’s image and the extent to which the contests were employed as a public relations tool. The analysis will encompass the period from the first beauty contest in 1929 to the end of the one party regime in 1950, with a particular attention to the election of Miss Turkey as Miss Universe in 1932. The study will draw on the personal narratives of the contest organisers, contestants, intellectuals and politicians of the period as well as depictions of the contest in the national and international press.

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ABSTRACT

British Empire Exhibition of 1924 and the public relations campaign for imperial identity

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For the organizers of the British Empire Exhibition of 1924, the purpose of their mission was patriotically unambiguous: "to stimulate trade, strengthen bonds that bind mother Country to her Sister States and Daughters, to bring into closer contact the one with each other, to enable all who owe allegiance to the British flag to meet on common ground and learn to know each other." This lofty intent does not mention a more systemic, underlying reason: the need for a massive public relations campaign that would reinterpret and reinforce the notions of imperial nationalism amid the emerging political, economic and cultural differences that were already reshaping the twentieth century.

Nowhere was this push for collective imperial identity more apparent than in the global network of publicity machinery and mass-produced souvenir culture that imbued the Exhibition. The British Empire Exhibition was one of the few early global marketing campaigns that required collaborators from around the world to satisfy two clients: a British public seeking reassurance of the vitality of the imperial project, and to the colonies desiring to promote their interests within the greater empire.

For all involved, the stakes were high. Persistent fears of decline continued to haunt British imperialists, who feared constricted trading blocs, massive industrial and agricultural strategic shifts to the United States and Germany, and an industrial economy being replaced by less visible financial capitalism. Colonies worried about fending for themselves in a diminished empire and nurtured fears for their own viability amid new trading rivals and partners, and the opportunities the future might hold.

At the vanguard of this public relations effort grew marketing, advertising, consumer merchandising and branding practices at a scale previously unseen and which would define the Twentieth Century. The Exhibition was responsible for countless objects that served as a symbolic memento of the experience, but ultimately as a psychological symbol of the imperial identity they represented. The art deco British Lion—the iconic logo that served as the symbol of both Empire and the Exhibition--was imprinted on everything from maps, postcards, porcelain kitsch, tea caddies, etc..

This paper accomplishes three tasks: 1) to partially catalogue the expansive multitude of ephemera that came to represent and define the British Empire Exhibition, 2) to examine how these souvenirs were born out of a constructed heritage and an ersatz contact with other cultures manufactured via the Exhibition, and 3) to explore how these public relations campaign sought to influence public attitudes of the future of the British Empire at a particular moment in the history of British imperialism.

ABSTRACT

Public Relations Education in Latvia: development and contemporary situation

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Public Relations emerged in Latvia along with the Latvia's Independence in the beginning of the 1990s. With public relations development in Latvia, education of public relations in Latvian higher schools has been developing rapidly, too.

The first study programme in public relations was offered by Vidzeme Higher School in 1996. Other Latvian higher schools followed its example.

In 2010/11 study year the first level of professional higher education has been offered by five higher schools, the second level of professional higher education - by seven higher schools, the second level of academic higher education - by two higher schools in Latvia. Graduates have the possibility to continue their studies in Master and Doctoral levels.

In 2005 School of Business Administration Turiba offered the first Master level of public relations study programme "Public Relations". In 2007 Master study programme "Integrated Public Relations Communications" started to be realized by Riga Higher School of Economy and Business Administration. These study programmes are remarkable because they have given possibility for professional public relations specialists and other people with higher education in another field and interested in public relations not only to obtain knowledge but get qualification and Master Degree exactly in public relations. Some public relations courses from the Academic Master programme are offered by University of Latvia ("Communication Science" study programme (2001)) and Riga Stradins University ("Communication" study programme (2007)). Within the following study programmes some Master theses in the field of public relations have been worked out.

In 2006 University of Latvia has created a doctoral study programme in "Communication Science", followed in 2007 by a "Communication Management" study programme at the School of Business Administration Turiba. Within these study programmes there has been some of the first scientific researches in public relations field. That will help public relations develop and become as new scientific field or division in Latvia. Till recently there were no Doctoral theses in public relations defended in Latvia. Science is not developed in the field.

Analyzing the content of higher schools study programmes, they are relatively different and this is the reason of public relations insight difference in Latvia. There are schools (School of Business Administration Turiba, Vidzeme Higher School, Liepaja University), which made their study programmes interdisciplinary – they offer many different study courses (courses in communication, management, economics, politics, sociology, psychology and others). In comparison with foreign countries it is similar to German and some USA higher schools study programmes. There are higher schools (Riga International Higher School of Economics and Business Administration, International Baltic Russian Academy, International Higher School of Practice Psychology) which put bigger emphasis to advertising and marketing study courses like higher schools in Great Britain and partly Russia. At the same moment study programmes of University of Latvia, Riga Stradins University and Latvian Christian Academy, which offer mainly different courses in communication, journalism and specialization courses in public relations, are based on Swedish, USA and partly Russian study programmes.

The aim of the article is, based on cognitions got during the scientific literature and empirical research, to characterize and analyze the development and diversity of public relations education in Latvia (1991–2010).

The article offers analysis of the facts gained from detailed interviews with 30 public relations practitioners and universities teaching staff as well as the analysis of the theoretical literature, documents and other sources.

ABSTRACT

Public relations in dictatorships – Southern and Eastern European perspectives from 1945 to 1975

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Generally it has been observed that public relations activity thrives in democratic and more open political situations (Watson, 2014). Nonetheless there are examples in Europe of forms of public relations that existed in Eastern Europe during the Soviet era (Kocks and Raupp, 2013; Hejlová, 2014; Szondi, 2014) and in Spain, where the Francoist regime was not lifted until 1975 (Rodriguez Salcedo, 2014) and Portugal in the Salazar regime.

Using archival research, the paper investigates the roles of the Spanish pioneer Joaquin Maestre and his connection with influential French PR leader Lucien Matrat and the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) in the 1960s and 1970s in navigating a path for the introduction of public relations practices in restricted and very conservative political and social environments.

There were antecedents to modern public relations before the Spanish Civil War (Rodríguez Salcedo, 2008) but after World War II, Spain was excluded from post-war reconstruction programmes (e.g. the 'Marshall Plan') through which the US models of agency public relations and publicity was introduced into many Western European markets (Rodríguez Salcedo and Xifra, 2015). Eastern Europe was also closed to Western influences at the end of World War II and developed some of its of own models of 'economic propaganda' and 'socialist public relations' in Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic and Hungary (Hejlová, 2014; Kocks and Raupp, 2013; Szondi, 2014).

Nonetheless, Maestre was influenced initially by regular travel abroad and contact with European practitioners (Rodriguez Salcedo, 2014) and practitioners such as Sir Fife Clark (UK), Lucien Matrat (France), and Roy Leffingwell (US), and in membership of IPRA. This led to IPRA holding a major meeting in Barcelona in 1966, which placed Spain on the international map of public relations. Therefore IPRA played a vital role in the development of Spanish public relations and opening it to democratic influences.

A comparison will be made with the experience of practitioners in Portugal, which laboured under the Salazar regime, Greece, which a military junta from 1967 to 1974, and Eastern Europe, where propagandist models were dominant. In this regard, these comparative

experiences can demonstrate the conditioning factors for the development of public relations in nondemocratic contexts.

The paper will contribute to the history and historiography of public relations through its exposition of the compromises that practitioners made in restricted environments and the role of public relations industry organisations in assisting the opening of political and social discourse.

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ABSTRACT

Theorizing Public Relations History: Strategic Intent as a Defining Characteristic

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If there is one thing that public relations historians cannot agree upon, it is when public relations began. Without a widely accepted definition of what public relations is (see Edwards, 2011), historians are unable to point to a moment when it began. The result is an overreliance on corporate public relations to convey the history of the field because big businesses have more easily identifiable starting points, outputs, and outcomes. Thus, we face a choice: either "everything" is public relations, a perspective that fails to recognize public relations as a particular form of communication management, or the history of the field is limited to a corporate perspective, which fails to recognize an entire body of scholarship that documents the development and use of the strategies and tactics of public relations prior to its use by corporations. Moreover, the lack of a starting point has created a double-edged sword that enables critics to equate all public relations with propaganda and enables public relations advocates to unequivocally dismiss propaganda as an aspect of the broader field of public relations.

Public relations scholars have attempted to theorize history based on function. Bentele's stratification model argues that public relations "evolved historically from interpersonal forms of human communication" (2013, p. 250), so, he said, it should be examined both as an integral part of the history of communication and functionally, in the context of other social systems, including politics, economics, culture, and science. That is, a larger communication system must underlie an "evolution" of public relations along with other forms of public communication. Meanwhile, Lamme and Russell (2010) debunked previous attempts to periodize public relations history by reviewing secondary literature, categorizing public relations efforts chronologically by sector of practice, and identifying the motivations people had for adopting public relations mindedness. They concluded that scholars have shown that people developed and used tactics now identified with professional public relations over centuries and around the world, and that public relations should not be viewed as evolutionary given that its history is not "progressive." Raaz and Wehmeier (2011, p. 270-71), reviewing both approaches, also suggested that scholars should start with the function itself but, they argued, we can study "certain PR-instruments in their historical evolution, knowing that these instruments can only be termed 'public relations' if they are found in the specific arrangement with other elements, which together, form the PR system." And, they note, it is important to "differentiate between PR as a social system consisting of a

specific set of aligned communication techniques and programs, on one hand, and the single PR techniques and attitudes within this set on the other" (2011, p. 270).

However, a focus on function cannot satisfactorily account for public relations history prior to professionalization of the practice. Furthermore, attempts to separate pre-PR from formal PR tend to imply that the former is not "real" PR. This perspective has taken hold in part because of the lack of a consistent label employed by historical actors to explain their work. However, Myers (2014) has demonstrated that at least in the United States, the term "public relations" was in use in the press as early as the 18th century; by the 1830s it was used in the same context as today's meaning, building reputation and relationships. These findings support Lamme and Russell's (2010) contention that public relations as did not emerge whole cloth in U.S. corporations around the turn of the 20th century, but that it existed across time in deliberate approaches to influencing public sentiment toward an intended result in non-corporate sectors, including religion, non-profit and education, and politics around the world. That is, scholarship has repeatedly shown that people who employed such efforts before the 20th century had not simply, as Bernays concluded, "unconsciously practiced the principles of public relations" (1927, p. 286).

We propose a different approach, then, one that focuses on strategy rather than tactics. Lamme and Russell (2010) and Russell and Lamme (2012) have identified six motivations for the adoption of public relations: profit, recruitment, legitimacy, advocacy, and agitation, and fear. These motivations drove people and organizations to develop the tactics now associated with public relations that, in turn, point to strategic intent as the primary factor in differentiating public relations from other kinds of communication. Based on previous research and theorization, our paper will argue that if a person or organization was motivated by one of these six reasons, chose to strategically employ the tools of their time to communicate with relevant audiences, and undertook their efforts with an anticipated outcome, then this activity can be included as part of public relations history, regardless of the level of institutionalization of the practice in a particular time or place.

Our paper will argue that strategic intent is a better approach than function for theorizing public relations for three reasons. First, focusing on tactics is counter-productive because they change in different times and places with the development of new communication tools, whereas the motivations and choice to use persuasion and relationship-building strategies appear to remain constant (a notion that requires further analysis). This may in turn allow for the development of a global history of public relations because although applied in specific national contexts for culturally meaningful outcomes (Salcedo, 2012), motivations and strategic intent are not specific to one country. Second, differentiating strategic from non-strategic communication efforts solves the "all communication is public relations" problem because only those efforts undertaken with motivation, strategy, and anticipated outcome qualify as public relations. Third, rather than examining the field from the heights of corporate, looking down, our approach allows scholars to learn from the grassroots social and religious movements, reform efforts, labor organizing, and other bottom-up communication campaigns where the tactics of public relations apparently first developed. With neither the means nor the influence to master an entire communication system, these groups created, adopted, or appropriated the strategies and tools most affordable and accessible to themselves and to their intended audiences. In sum, applying these parameters both denies that "everything is public relations" and includes more than just corporations in the history of the field, and it allows historians to include propaganda as a dimension, for better or worse, of the history of the field.

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ABSTRACT

Towards an institutional history of PR? Five years of IHPR scholarships: categorizations and mental models of PR History

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Purpose

The aim of the paper is to propose an institutional framework for the analysis of historical research in Public Relations. Using the accepted submissions of the last five International History of PR conferences as a sample we analyse the key topics and thereby propose a mental model of the emerging institutional history of PR.

Research Questions

How did the field of PR history research develop in the last five years? Are there overarching themes, categorization and a minimum of common ground for scholarship? Or are we seeing a more and more ragged terrain of diverging topics? How can an institutional framework contribute to the analysis of PR history?

Conceptual framework

Recently several works tried to flesh out a body of knowledge for PR (e.g. Meadows & Meadows, 2014; Ye & Ki, 2012; Pasadeos, Berger, & Renfro, 2010; Sallot, Lyon, Acosta-Alzuru, & Ogata Jones, 2003) by using content and/or citation analysis. For PR history an overarching historiography (McKie & Xifra, 2014) faces severe challenges. However, thinking about PR history helps us to become more reflective of the practice itself (L'Etang, 2014). In his recent overview of the field Watson (Watson, 2014) invites scholars to "get dangerous", i.e. to tackle research problems outside the comfort zone of descriptive analysis of PR and to engage in meaningful research.

One possibility to discover research fields is the use of historical institutionalism (Hall & Taylor, 1996) in communication history (Bannerman & Haggart, 2014). Historical institutionalism is a specific line of institutional theory, which originated in political sciences but is applicable to all social sciences. Institutions are typically a meso-level phenomenon to mediate between individuals or organizations and societal structures (p. 2).

Distinct from other kinds of institutional theory the historical branch stresses three main points: First, historical developments are path-dependent, i.e. past decisions affect present actions and future consequences. These constraints might explain the varieties of public relations, which developed worldwide. Second, institutions embody societal power relations. PR does not exist in an empty space but is constrained by societal setups like the economic system, laws or the political system. Third, institutions are carriers of ideas that in turn constitute preferences of the actors, e.g. the idea of free markets affects international trade negotiations.

The benefits of an institutional perspective are twofold: First, it helps us to better understand the evolution and spread of certain PR practices over time. PR consultancy as an example rose hand in hand with the neo-liberal corporative expansion and globalization in the late 20th century. PR consultancies did not build international networks out of their own will but because the globalization of the corporate elite required them to do so. This path dependency (globalization) affects directly international PR consultancy conglomerates. Secondly, PR can be understood as being part of the institutional framework by acting as a diffusion mechanism of certain ideas. For example state or government PR does not only promote a certain campaign but at the same time solidifies the ideological premises like neo-liberalism or social democratic values. It is important to keep this double-role of PR in focus when analysing PR history.

Methodology

We are using the proceedings of the last five International History of PR conferences as a sample. The accepted papers and/or abstracts are categorized by author(s), country of residence, topic and citations. The topical analysis includes time frame, country/region, person/organization, research methods, sources and theoretical foundation. For the analysis we are looking for topical clusters that help us to build a categorization system for PR history. The methods involved are content analysis, concept mapping and citation analysis.

Findings

Currently the paper is in its conceptual stage, this means we are preparing the guidelines for content analysis of the papers. However, anecdotal evidence hints towards a rather ragged landscape of PR History research. The full findings will be in the conference paper.

Implications and Limitations / Originality

The results are limited to the sample of the IHPRC proceedings and cannot be generalized. However, up to now only little efforts were undertaken propose an institutional framework for categorizing PR history research. By introducing historical institutionalism to PR history research we are hoping to contribute to a research framework for further advancing the field.

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ABSTRACT

Public Relation Activities During the Nation-Building Process in Turkey

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The establishment of public relations as a distinct discipline at Turkish universities and the publication of books of the same name occurred in late 1960s. There are some common points of the books on public relations written from 1970 to 2000 in Turkey with regard to the handling of the history of public relations. The first of these is to regard the history of public relations as the history of public relation activities peculiar to USA and (to a lesser degree) to Europe. The second common aspect is that the narration of the history of public relations in Turkey is limited with a number of facts-events occurred after 1960 which were handled in approximately 1-2 pages. Nevertheless, there has been a significant turn and transformation in this historical narration in the late 2000s. This transformation mainly resulted from the call to establish narrations of the history of public relations peculiar to each country, taking into account the social-political and economic aspects of that specific country.

With the studies on public relations conducted from the mid-2000s on, the history of public relations in the era of Ottoman Empire, the predecessor of the Republic of Turkey (Kazancı, 2005; Kazancı, 2006; Kazan, 2007) was analysed; the public relation activities peculiar to Turkey carried out before 1960's (Keloğlu İşler, 2007; Karaaslan Şanlı, 2013) began to be studied and in addition to these, for the first time in Turkey, a book bearing the title of public relations was published (Yamanoğlu, Gençtürk Hızal ve Özdemir, 2013).

The objective of this study is to make a contribution to the researches in the field of the history of public relations in Turkey by focusing on a fact which remained unanalysed so far. This study will concentrate on the public relation activities carried out in the nation-building process in The Republic of Turkey, which was established in 1923, at the beginning of the 20th Century.

The 20th Century is an important turning point for the history of Turkey. The Ottoman Empire was collapsed in this century, replaced by a new state born out of the ashes of the Empire. The name of this new state was The Republic of Turkey. The Republic of Turkey was founded as a nation-state and operated on the principles of modernization/Westernization, centralization and secularization (Zürcher, 1998). With the establishment of the modern nation-state, the process of secularization was initiated, Roman Letters were introduced, people were urged to wear Western clothing and the Western measurements of time began to be used.

The Republic of Turkey was governed by a single-party regime from 1923 to 1946. The single-party period had the aim of building a nation-state and a national identity and the transformations were not only limited to the economic and socio-political changes. The new state was established from above and the state made use of many instruments for the people to interiorize the changes or in other words for the integration of people with the regime by means of new values, new beliefs and new attitudes and for the political mobilization of the masses (Tunçay, 2005).

During the period following the establishment of the Republic, several public relation activities were used in the process of building a nation/community of citizens and a national identity. The public relation activities, which can be claimed to have been based upon a more systematic and programmatic approach in the 1930's, which coincides with the institutionalization and establishment of the Single-Party Rule, were carried out by means of many instruments including organizations like Halkevleri (1931) and Halk Odaları (1932) [i.e. Community Centres] as well as radio, printed press, theatre and cinema, exhibitions, conferences, meetings and ceremonies. These institutions and instruments have up to this date been the subject of studies conducted by historians, political scientists and sociologists to shed light upon the developments during the process of establishment of a new state. The communication scientists have not yet paid sufficient attention to this topic and no detailed research on the public relation activities were carried out so far.

This paper will analyse the public relation activities peculiar to the first years of the Republic of Turkey on the basis of the instruments designed to integrate the public with the state during the process of nation-building. For the purposes of this study, state documents on the period in question, specifications issued by agencies and institutions as well as newspaper archives will be used.

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ABSTRACT

Roots of Public Relations in Portugal: Changing an Old Paradigm

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The roots of Public Relations in Portugal, as a professional practice, have been consensually located in the late 1950s (Soares and Mendez, 2004; Fonseca, 2011). The main event usually cited in textbooks and scientific articles is the opening in 1959/1960 of the first public relations department at LNEC – National Civil Engineering Laboratory, whose management hired Domingos Avellar Soeiro (considered the dean of Portuguese PR practitioners).

This presentation aims to change this old paradigm, demonstrating for the first time that the roots of PR in Portugal must be located not in the 1950s but in the 1910s/1920s, having evolved from propaganda (1910s to early 1930s) to public relations (late 1930s to 1940s). The methodology used to study this phenomenon consisted of consulting a large sample of business reports and business accounts from 1900[1] to 1950, which are deposited in the National Library of Portugal. When propaganda or public relations activities/departments were identified on such reports, an extensive research was then performed on the private archives of each organization. This methodological approach was complemented by searching a set of keywords – «public relations», «relations with the public» and «propaganda» – in PORBASE (Portuguese National Bibliographic Database).

This research – which is limited by the fact that it placed more emphasis on companies than in government or public organizations – shows that the concepts of PR and both its public (government and public administration) and private (business) practices date back to the 1910's/1920's, in line with the PR roots in countries like Austria (Nessmann, 2004), Finland (Lehtonen, 2004), France (Carayol, 2004), Ireland (Carty, 2004), Italy (Falconi and Kodilja, 2004), the Netherlands (Ruler, 2004) and the UK (L'Etang, 2004; Koper, 2004). The concept of PR first emerged in Portugal in 1916, in an article authored by Mário d'Azevedo Gomes (1886-1965), entitled *The American University in its relations with the public. The work of university extension and agriculture progress* (Gomes, 1916), and acquired greater definition in the 1930's and 1940's. As an organizational practice, the first signs of PR appeared initially under the title of propaganda, through institutions and organisms such as the Touring Club of Portugal (founded in 1906), the Bureau of the British Press (developed during World War I), the Propaganda and Information Services of Portugal in Friend and Allied Countries (founded in 1918), the Press and Propaganda Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (created in 1919), the Secretariat of National Propaganda (founded in 1934) and the activity carried during the Second World War by the press and information services of foreign legations and embassies. The first known corporate department to bear the designation of Public Relations was established in 1935 in APT - The Anglo-Portuguese Telephone Company Limited (1887-1968) and directed by Armando Ferreira (1893-1968). The research also shows that other companies had active professionals and PR structures in the 1930s and 1940s – such as CTT (Postal Services of Portugal), the Portuguese Radio Marconi Company, the Eastern Telegraph Co. and CRGE (supplier of gas and electricity) – and that the first business manuals on PR were published in the late 1940's

[1] The research done by Santos (1995) revealed an important corporate media activity in the late 1890s but no PR concept or PR practitioners.

(APT, 1948) and in the 1950's (CTT, 1955). The type of activity of these first companies with documented practice of PR highlights the leading and pivotal role of the utilities sector (telecommunications and electricity) and the fact that some of the above mentioned companies (APT, CRGE and Eastern Telegraph) had foreign capital (English and Belgian), which allowed the transfer of international know-how in the area of PR and explains, in part, the pioneering role of these companies in creating PR departments. Externally, the emergence of PR in Portugal is closely linked to the changing political environment (there were three different political regimes: Republic, beginning in 1910, military dictatorship, in 1926, and Salazar's Estado Novo and dictatorship, in 1933), the social agitation (especially the successive strikes in the first years of the Republican regime), the mass media context (marked by a critical journalism towards companies and the development of new media), the progressive disclosure of communication skills through books and newspaper articles (advertising, propaganda and public relations), the emergence of service providers (namely advertising agencies, design studios and press clipping organizations), the affirmation of social responsibility and the negative social and cultural representation of entrepreneurs.

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary Public Relations Education in the Philippines:
Its Origins, Influences and Challenges

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The history of the Philippines is one of colonial struggle. It's no wonder that the indelible marks of three and a half centuries of Spanish colonization followed by five decades of American occupation are still intensely palpable in every aspect of Philippine society. The aftermath of centuries of domination is no more pronounced than in the education of its citizens. This paper ventures to locate Philippine public relations education within this historical context.

There are only a few published studies on Philippine public relations. Of the sparse scholarly literature, Philippine PR education is given no more than a brief, cursory attention (e.g. Jamias & Tuazon, 1996; Sarabia-Panol, 2000; Sison, *et al*, 2011). By focusing entirely on the topic, this study is an attempt to ameliorate the dearth of research on PR education in the islands. As a modest initial endeavor, this paper will trace the evolution of Philippine PR education, examine the influences and critically evaluate the content and status of the PR curriculum using a post-colonial lens.

Spanish Times

Historians have chronicled how Spain used the sword and the cross to gain imperial power and ensure the world dominance of the Spanish crown during its heydays. The colonial policy of the United States, on the other hand, centered on "benevolent assimilation" (Miller, 1982). For both colonial masters, however, education was a potent weapon in their vast arsenal, which they used to complete the subjugation of the conquered archipelago.

Since the establishment of the first Jesuit *colegio* in 1595 and the Dominican counterpart in 1619, the enormity of the influence of the Spanish religious orders in shaping education in the Philippines continues to this day. According to Simpson (1980) the Jesuits and Dominicans led the "Hispanization" of the islands. Even if they were outnumbered by the Franciscans and Augustinians they "totally monopolized the institutions of higher education until the end of Spanish times" (Simpson, 1980, p. 3). The Jesuit-run Ateneo de Manila

University and the Dominican University of Santo Tomas continue to be venerable institutions of higher learning today. It is noteworthy that Ateneo's Department of Communication offers advertising and public relations as one of four concentrations in their curriculum.

Under the Americans

The current American-style education system in the country, however, traces its beginnings to the Thomasites, who arrived in Philippine shores in 1901. Charles Burke Elliott wrote: "…The transport Thomas … sailed from San Francisco with 600 teachers – a second army of occupation --- surely the most remarkable cargo ever carried to an Oriental colony" (Constantino, 2000, p. 3). The arrival of the Americans signaled the change from a friar-dominated education where religion was bedrock to a more secular, universal one (Salamanca, 1968). It also ushered the ascendancy of the public university with the establishment of the University of the Philippines in 1908 (Boudreau, 2003).

Public relations is one of the Philippine imports from the U.S. after the Second World War. Using the systems approach, this study will interrogate how this Western transplant is addressing the dueling interests of its plethora of stakeholders and the competing priorities of a developing country steeped in the traditions of a colonial past.

Based on published materials and personal inquiries, this research will unravel how the legacies of the country's Spanish and American tutelage are made manifest in the nation's PR curricula. It also ponders the following questions: Are there differences in the way public and private universities approach curricular offerings in public relations? How is the public-private dichotomy carried over in the industry? What are the current trajectories of Philippine PR education? As the tensions and contradictions of Philippine society played out in various historical moments since PR was introduced in the country and as the forces of globalization march on, did PR education lead or follow?

This preliminary exploration of the PR education ecosystem in a small but growing industry in a Third World country hopes to contribute to a greater understanding of the challenges that face Philippine PR education through a more nuanced look at the past.

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ABSTRACT

Co-evolution of public relations and journalism: The beginnings of PR in the 19th century in German-speaking countries

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There are many research findings and some theoretical models in regard of the interrelation between journalism and public relations (PR) (Merkel et al. 2007), a research area that particularly "received attention and response" in German-speaking countries (Baerns 2007: 43). But so far from a historical perspective only limited research has been done on this relationship, also called the "co-evolution" (Löffelholz 2004: 472; Schönhagen 2008) of PR and journalism. This is all the more striking as there is, on the one hand, reasonable research on PR history in the last years (Raaz/Wehmeier 2011; Watson 2014), and, on the other hand, already in 1930 the German sociologist Carl Brinkmann indicated that the rise of PR could be a kind of counter-reaction to developments of the mass media (Brinkmann 1930; Schönhagen 2008). Liebert (1999: 409) mentions that municipal PR in the first decades of the 20th century saw itself as a "counterbalance" to an increasingly politicized society and press. But mostly scholars refer to the increasing social differentiation in the 19th century as a motive or reason for the rise of PR (Szyszka 2011; Liebert 2003). In this view, due to social changes, the pressure for social protagonists and organizations to legitimize their interests was growing (Hoffjann 2002: 184; Szyszka 2008: 383). But this leaves open the question about the interrelation of PR and their beginnings with mass media and journalism. As Opdycke Lamme & Miller Russell (2009: 356-357) stress, "more research […] is needed concerning the ways in which the rise of mass media in the last half of the 19th century […] might have influenced alone or in some combination the motivations and methods of the public relations function".

Accordingly, this paper sets out to deepen the view on a co-evolution of PR and journalism, with regard to the beginnings of PR in the 19th century. It is based on the analysis of literature about PR history in German-speaking countries, comprising to a large extent contributions that date to the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century and have scarcely been analyzed systematically (Schönhagen 2008; Bieler 2010). They include a reasonable number of interesting case studies.

The analysis underlines that the rise of PR in the second half of the 19th century was, besides the motives mentioned above (changing society, need for legitimization) to a large extent a reaction to the fact that journalism became increasingly biased. Thus, for many social protagonists and organizations the barriers to enter the public debate were increasing. At the same time, the printed press constituted increasingly the arena for the public debate. So, to maintain their opportunities to participate in the public debate, collective social actors initiated press relations activities and departments. Thus, Brinkmann's observation of a counter-reaction can be confirmed. This can be shown for different types of organizations like municipal administrations, companies, associations etc. The rise of PR departments had, in turn, a reciprocal effect on journalism: They allowed for an increasing amount of content and thereby contributed, besides other factors as technological and social changes, to the

emergence of the modern mass media and the differentiation of editorial structures. Thus, we really can talk of a co-evolution of PR and journalism or mass media. Moreover, the findings support the perspective that PR represent an important contribution to the public debate (Ronneberger 1977: 19) by ensuring the "input" of collective social actors to this debate that is mediated by journalism and mass media. This perspective can be discussed in the light of a theoretical approach that understands mass media and journalism as well as PR as results of rationalization processes of public communication (Wagner 1995; Schönhagen 2004).

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(Notification: P. Schönhagen published an article in German on this subject in 2008. Now we have begun to deepen this work, namely in the context of M. Meissner's doctoral thesis project on the history of Swiss public relations.)

ABSTRACT

Public Relations for Health Socialization: A Historical View of Health Campaigns in Turkey

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Public relations was exercised first in the public field in 1960s as a planned action and in the form of management function. Public relations activities of public organizations started with the formation of the press offices (Asna, 1969). The 1961 Constitution has an important role in the development of public relations. With this constitution, the codetermination of people, unionization as a way of demanding rights, and legal regulations for enhancing communication between people and government was put in execution. This situation nourished both public and private organizations in a serious way (Erdogan, 2006:113). Many activities practiced in this period were not mentioned in the public relations literature owing to the lack of field literature and research (Aktas, Yamanoglu at., 2013: 24).

Practicing health services in a western and contemporary way was one of the main missions of the government in the first years of the Republic during the modernization. There was no population growth in the 1920s and 1930s Turkey, due to high birth rates and low death rates caused by immigrations and effects of wars. In the 1940s and 1960s it was realized that birth rates were rising and death rates were falling. These years stand out heavily as having efficient public health services and struggle against epidemic thanks to the development in the medical technologies (Peker, 2009). After the acceptance of Health Services Socialization Law to raise public health, in 1961 in Alma Ata Conference under the leadership of WHO and UNICEF, the law was suggested to all world countries and accepted afterwards. Both planning-health relations was established and a public relations enterprise was staged by means of the health planning unit of State Planning Organization of Social Planning Department which is as a part of planned improvement concept in Turkey.

In this period, the first systematical public relations campaign was conducted with respect to the population planning. Such all developments had a significant role in the assessment of birth control issue at the first time in 1958 by government with Ministry of Health and Social Welfare (Üner and Fisek, 1961). In 1965, population planning law legislated and The Head Office of Population Planning was established. This head Office planned and conducted public relations practices concerning the population planning. Within the scope of campaign, the issue about the intrauterine device and oral medicines was informed in order to control the growth of population and contribute to economic development. During the campaign all the advantages of face to face communication were utilized. Besides, mobile health teams were formed and the information of all the

implementations was shared with people especially living in villages via media. In various cities the meetings were assembled and the training seminars were conducted by gynecologists (Asna, 1998:82-84).

In this study, it is explained that how public relations was used with the scope of health socialization. In this context it, the study aims to discuss the impact of public relations practices on health issues based on controlling the population growth and contributing economic development.

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ABSTRACT

1964 – 2014: 50 Years PR-Agencies in Austria. Analysing the Development of the Agency Scene and Diverging Relationships with Neighbouring Disciplines

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This contribution primarily aims at reconstructing the evolution of the public relations agency’s scene in Austria. The research on the history of the agencies shed light into the motives, activities, challenges and the diverging relationships with neighbouring disciplines during the past 50 years. According to the actual report by the author on public relations in Austria, it can be noted that the understandings of public relations and the activities by practitioners in agencies demonstrate a heterogeneous field, which is not demarcated by other communication disciplines. Furthermore, the report identifies 303 agencies in Austria, in which 28% exclusively focus public relations and two thirds offer public relations as additional service. At the end of the last millennium public relations agencies had an economic soaring in Austria. Sturmer (2014) notes the increasing of the turnover by the ten largest agencies between 1998 and 2000 by 10 million euros. By 2008 sales increased further by 30 million euros. From that point it went economically downhill. However, the economic decline and the 50th anniversary of the public relations agencies are an opportunity to reconstruct the history of the agencies in Austria.

This contribution gives answers to such questions as: Which motives led to agencies founding? What costumers’ orders? What were the challenges faced agencies? What measures and instruments were used in the different periods? Which relations to neighbouring disciplines could be noted?

The habitus approach by Bourdieu (2009) and Symbolic Interaction Approach by Cooley (1964) and Mead (1934; 1973) can give some conceptual background for the research in the direction of the behaviour dimension. Furthermore, starting from the definition of PR as “the management of communication” by Grunig/Hunt (1984) the findings highlights the various kinds of interpretations by practitioners in agencies during different periods. The analysis is based on both archival analysis and interviews with witnesses.

The research findings demonstrate that the agency scene has comprehensively developed late in the whole of Austria. The following examples mark milestones in the evolution of the PR-agencies in Austria.

According to Sturmer (2014) the first two PR-agencies were founded in Vienna 1964. Ernst-Haupt-Stummer (*1933) founded ‘Pubrel Public Relations’ and Herbert Mittag (1919-2001) the agency ‘Publico’. Haupt-Stummer (2013) noted that PR’s foundation in Austria emerged from the proposition to get organization information into the media without having to pay for advertising. In the 1970’s a small agency scene was visible in Vienna. The main activities during that time seemed as a kind of product public relations and not as the management of communication. According to Skoff (2013) practitioners went on behalf of their clients to journalists with products under their arms in order to convince them to write about these products. However, the agencies were not able to earn much money with public relations. The turnover they achieved with conventional advertising.

At the beginning of the 1980’s two indications for an upswing were recognizable. On the one hand, there was the battle for the profession. The trade union of journalists as well as

the PRVA (Public Relations Association Austria) and the chamber of commerce struggled about the assignment and the occupational profile and the sector affiliation for agencies. This led to public attention for PR. On the other hand, public relations became a topic at the University. This circumstance influenced the public relations practice in the west of Austria. According to the institution report (1984), the first kind of agency was founded in Salzburg in 1983 as club at the communication department at the University of Salzburg (research group media and communication) with the aim to link scientific methods with PR-practice. The first order was from the working chamber to catch a mood about the 8th of December (holiday in Austria and working in neighbouring Germany). The aim was to find a solution for argumentation to maintain the holiday despite the loss of purchasing power. In the 1980's the biggest challenge of the agencies was to gain recognition for public relations. Windischbauer (2013), who founded together with Hörschinger the first agency in Salzburg out of the club at the University called 'ikp', remembered that he went to companies in whole Austria in order to explain the possibilities of PR. Their first order was a staff and clients magazine for a beer-production company in Salzburg in 1988. The management function was not recognized by clients.

At the end of the 1980's and during the 1990's crises of companies fostered the development of the agency scene. With Skoff (2013) large industrial companies had problems due to pollution. According to that, the companies need help in the direction of public communication. Striving for crisis management they commissioned to agencies. However, with a few exceptions, many practitioners in agencies did not offer PR as the management of communication, but offered individual measures such as press conferences, events together with press releases. Haupt-Stummer (2013) notes the gradually increasing recognition of public relations by companies. Beside crises communication companies commissioned PR-agencies with the organisation of press conferences or company anniversaries. However, with Eiselt (2013) PR was seen as part of advertising, sales and marketing during that time. Due to this, the competition with advertising was still visible. Nevertheless, according to Eiselt (2013) there were only a handful of agencies at the end of the millennium in Austria.

Nowadays, PR is still connected with advertising and marketing. The actual report on PR highlights that practitioners from agencies indicate advertising to 40.1% as part of public relations and marketing to 38.9%. However, the direction has changed. Advertising and marketing are located under the umbrella of PR in this case. According to Haupt-Stummer (2013) nothing has changed regarding the intention and orders, but the orientation and practice became more professional. In summary, the findings on the history help to understand the practice today.

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ABSTRACT

One Woman – Two Sides of One Coin? – Journalism and Public Relations: the Case of Bertha von Suttner, Austria

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This contribution demonstrates the relationship between journalism and public relations on the case study of Bertha von Suttner (1843-1914) – Nobel Peace Prize Winner from Austria in 1905. Starting with the idea, Bertha von Suttner was not only a famous journalist and writer but also a propagandist for peace and woman's rights this paper notes that journalism and public relations are not just two sides of the same coin, but particularly in view of campaigns stand side by side for a cause. Furthermore, the results highlight some perspectives, which logically make clear that both journalism and public relations based on the same intentions regarding public campaigning. Due to this, journalism and public relations merge to one activism field.

Public relations can be defined as propaganda and public activism. However, with Ronneberger & Rühl (1992) we can hold public relations as system, which produces and deploys issues for public discourse. Against this background, public relations focuses with Signitzer (1992) on the functioning of society. Compared, Rühl (1992) defines journalism as system that produces and deploys issues for public discourse. Thus, journalism focuses also on the functioning of society. Following the definitions by Ronneberger & Rühl and Rühl for public relations and journalism no differences are recognizable. The differences can be hold with Baerns (1985) by defining PR as self-presentation of particular interests through information and journalism as third-party representation regarding society's interests. However, Bertha von Suttner had connected both orientations journalism and public relations in order to fight for peace and woman's rights.

This contribution gives answers to such questions as: Are there differences in the contemplation of campaigns with a view to journalism and public relations late 19th and early 20th century? What instruments Bertha von Suttner worked at for peace and women's rights to raise awareness and consciousness? The results show that Bertha von Suttner is an extraordinary example for producing and deployment of issues, which gave peace and women a voice. This kind of act is a specific element within public relations. However, Bertha von Suttner used not only public speaking and events, but rather it was the journalistic environment in which she moved all her life. The following excerpts from the results show that the intention to convince people of peace was carried out using both journalistic means and instruments of propaganda by one person.

According to Klaus & Wischermann (2013) Bertha von Suttner began to write together with her husband during their stay in Mingrelien (1876-1885) to escape from financial distress. She published mainly fictional texts mostly in illustrations and family magazines, initially, under a male pseudonym. In contrast, according to Strobl (2014), her husband worked as war correspondent of the Russian-Turkish wars. In view of the tragedy of war Bertha von Suttner began to change her way of thinking.

'Lay down your arms' was Bertha von Suttner's world successful novel under her own name. With Enichlmair (2005) this book can be hold as a stirring indictment of the war. Although she had difficulties to publish the book, the first edition of 1000 pieces was carried

out in 1889. The book aroused great public attention, praise and criticism. According to Strobl (2014) one public criticism was that a woman should not write such things. Intellectuals, however, were full of praise. The novel was translated into 20 languages and offered a realistic view of war and violence, which Bertha von Suttner showed in order to demonstrate for peace. With Götz (1996) this novel was based on elaborate research methods adopting both literature review and interviews with witnesses. Through Alfred Nobel, her former employer and friend, she came into contact with Hodgson Pratt, who founded the 'International Arbitration and Peace Association' in 1880. According to Götz (1996), Bertha von Suttner was enthusiastic and determined to support the peace movement, through initially only editorially. However, this attitude was quickly corrected by reality. According to Strobl (2014) Bertha von Suttner joined the 'Peace Conference in Den Haag' as the only woman. Moreover, she reported as correspondent in several newspapers about this conference. In 1891 Bertha von Suttner founded the 'Österreichische Gesellschaft der Friedensfreunde [The Austrian Society for Peace Friends]'. Likewise in 1891 she gave the first international speech of a woman at the Peace Conference in Rome. In addition, Bertha von Suttner suggested Nobel establishing the foundation of the Nobel Peace Prize.

In contrast to Bertha, Nobel was convinced that only the fear of a weapon is leading to peace. Bertha von Suttner also showed her persuasiveness in this case that led to a rethinking by Nobel. In 1904 she appeared in her first US tour. In 1905 she was awarded with the Nobel Price for Peace. At the same time in November and December 1905 she held 31 lecturers in Germany in order to promote for women's rights and peace. In 1912 she made her second US tour, which became a triumphal procession. She died 10 days before the outbreak of World War I, thus she was preserved to witness that her warnings before the war were ignored. Götz (1996) cited Bertha von Suttner, who summarized her actions in 1891: 'I stood in the mid of the young movement. I had to preside over a new association, to edit a journal, to lead a regular correspondence with colleagues acquired in Rome.'

In summary, Bertha von Suttner combined at that time journalistic activities with public relations. She reported not only about the peace movement and wrote novels, but also made speeches and lectures, organized the movement and was a pioneer in the field of networking. According to Hamann (1976) Bertha von Suttner pursued one main goal: 'Creating a sufficiently informed public opinion.' For this purpose, she used both journalism and propaganda instruments. The results show that in the intentions by journalism and PR no differences were recognizable regarding campaigning. In this case study journalism is closed to PR in order to activate publics.

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ABSTRACT

The Next of Kin: A historical case study on the use of feature film in World War II propaganda

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Introduction and Purpose

The 1942 feature film *The Next of Kin* has been described as "one of the most significant British films of the Second World War…noteworthy for its successful negotiation between propaganda and entertainment," (Gough-Yates, 2008). Directed by the Ealing Studios team of Thorold Dickinson as director and Michael Balcon as producer, the project began as a 20-minute training film for the Director of Military Training and was the first piece of World War II cinema to be developed from a training short into a full-length feature.

The result was put on general release, gained glowing reviews and generated £120,000 in profits for the Treasury – a 400% return on their investment. The film was based on a raid on a German submarine pen in Northern France, and was released just ahead of the St Nazaire raid by Royal Marine Commandos. This unforeseen anticipation of a real event led to UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill intervening to get the film withdrawn as it was too close to the detail of the forthcoming raid, although it was put back into distribution afterwards.

The aim of this paper is to describe the creation of *The Next of Kin* and place it within the context of an emerging approach to film propaganda. The article analyses the social, historical and military factors which led to the film's development, government policy for feature film propaganda and the resulting infrastructure which mixed civilian and military resources for delivering messages through cinema.

Research Method

This case study is based on historical investigation of original material on the making of *The Next of Kin* which is held in the British Film Institute National Archives and in the personal papers of the director Thorold Dickinson which are held in the archives of the University of the Arts London, as well as books and papers on the subject area.

The role and policies of the Ministry of Information (MOI) are investigated using material at the National Archives and the political and military dimensions in the papers of Winston Churchill and his staff, which are held at the Churchill Archives at University of Cambridge.

Findings

The Next of Kin was made at a time of military failure in the prosecution of the war and isolation of the UK ahead of the USA joining as an ally. This background led to emphasis by the MOI on the threat of "fifth columnists, attacking Britain although there are few recorded examples of such a column actually existing.

MOI papers describe how its leader, Jack Beddington - who had worked as director of publicity at Shell before the outbreak of war - favoured the use of high-quality, realistic feature films to convey propaganda messages in a convincing yet subtle format.

In 1940, his predecessor as director of the MOI, the National Gallery Head, Kenneth Clark, had presented a paper entitled Programme for Film Propaganda, which became an important first step in defining government policy in this area (Chapman, 1998). The MOI paper described a series of themes to be conveyed and Clark's deputy at the time was G. Forbes, who had previously managed the Post Office Public Relations Department, where he had been involved in the GPO Film Unit.

Implications/Limitations

L'Etang (2004) and Moloney (2006) have identified the use of documentary film as a tool in public relations, with reference to the GPO Film Unit. This paper describes a move away from documentary and the solely informational to a neo-realistic approach to feature film making. These films were commissioned by experienced public relations people (Beddington and Forbes) and created by the war-time film making infrastructure. The result is subtle messaging and a compelling film, as observed by the film director Martin Scorsese: "Dickinson succeeds in giving the film a life of its own, which is more than one can say for many propaganda films," (Horne, 2008).

A limitation of this paper is the focus on a single film. Findings from this initial analysis open up opportunities for further study on the use of neo-realistic film-making as a bridge between documentary and entertainment in propaganda campaigns in World War II.

Originality

The paper brings together a diverse set of archival sources to focus on one of the most enduring themes of World War II propaganda - the campaigns targeted at military personnel and civilians that have entered the lexicon with phrases such as "careless talk costs lives." The project shows how these messages were delivered using the medium of a full-length feature film and furthers knowledge of a propaganda campaign theme that has attracted "relatively little scholarly attention" (Fox, 2012).

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ABSTRACT

Public Relations – a maturing discipline? Results from a citation analysis (1998 to 2014)

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The history of public relations as a professional practice might be quite old, the history of public relations as an academic domain, however, is fairly young. If one agrees to the assumption that an academic domain is built around a specific academic journal at its core, then the year 1977 is the birth of the domain because the Journal "Public Relations Review" was published first time as the first journal solely devoted to public relations in that year. Undoubtedly, the field has grown significantly over the last 36 years. One of the most important developments in the field was and still is the rise of new journals. In the eighties the Journal of Public Relations Research was founded, in the nineties the Journal of Communication Management followed. Just recently Public Relations Inquiry followed. As the first two journals originated in the United States, the latter ones more or less are located in Great Britain.

This study presents citation data coming from four academic journals. It aims at measuring the interdisciplinarity of the academic domain public relations over the years 1998 to 2014. More than 25.000 citations were collected in order to reconstruct the input of literature into academic public relations research. The study collected material from Public Relations Review (PRR), Journal of Public Relations Research (JoPRR), Journal of Communication Management (JoCM), and Management Communication Quarterly (MCQ). The latter one was chosen in order to compare PR-Journals with a journal that focuses more on Organizational Communication research. Public Relations Inquiry was not chosen for the sample because the journal is too young. The data is gathered in steps of four years: 1998, 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2014.

The data show a growing rate of self-citation over the years. Especially PRR and JoPRR do have a high rate (more than 60 per cent) of disciplinary self-citation. However, JoCM is no exception even the rate is slightly lower. MCQ, more devoted to organizational communication research, has a significantly lower rate of self-citations and is, as such, more interdisciplinary.

As Pasadeos, Berger & Renfro (2010) stated, the domain matured over the years: Based on citations collected in the year 2005 and compared with previous studies (Pasadeos, 1989; Pasadeos & Renfro, 1992), the authors described maturation as a significantly growing rate of disciplinary self-citation. The idea: the more self-citation the more likely there will be a growing body of theory building coming from within the field of public relations. As logical and charming this idea is at first glance, other authors still interpret a growing rate of self-citation as isolation (McKie, 2001). By choosing a very common definition of public relations as the management of communication between an organization and its publics (Grunig & Hunt, 1984), public relations research and theory building at least has to do with communication, management, organization and publics. This implies that disciplines such as communication, management studies, organization studies, sociology and psychology should be heavily involved. Taking the high rate of self-citations into account it can be doubted that

a theory building based solely on knowledge produced in the field of public relations is attractive for practitioners or academics from other fields, because it does not reflect the complexity of the process of public relations. The paper closes with a plea for more openness instead of closing the door for ‘foreign’ knowledge, having in mind that also political systems find identity through closing the borders, in historical dimensions won’t last very long.

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ABSTRACT

Historical analysis of the International Public Relations Association education Gold Papers 1976-1997

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Purpose

This paper aims to make a contribution to the International History of Public Relations Conference theme relating to the history of *public relations professional bodies and their impact on education and professionalisation.*
The paper reports historical archival research (Watson 2011) involving Gold Papers on public relations education published by the International Public Relations Association (IPRA) between 1976 and 1997. The analysis identifies public relations topics and tactics highlighted for inclusion in public relations education programmes within the 21 year period in which the IPRA published its four public relations education Gold Papers (1976, 1982, 1990, 1997). These gold papers are an important focus for research since they are credited with having a global impact on the development of public relations (Sharpe 2005).

Methodology

The study employs a qualitative historical approach (Daymon and Holloway 2011). The data analysis of the historical archival documents is informed by the thematic template analysis method (King 2004; Easterby-Smith et al. 2012) and benefits from Miles and Huberman's (1994) advice on the matrix analysis process.

Findings

The paper's findings include a discussion of the topics deemed important for public relations education programmes by the IPRA over the 21 year focal period of the historical analysis. The results include identification of tactics included in the Gold Papers. Additionally the study addresses the question of to what extent the education Gold Paper recommendations encouraged a strategic approach to public relations practice. Furthermore, the analysis and discussion considers themes relevant to public relations pedagogy.

Implications/limitations

The study is limited to publicly available archive material published in the English language by the IPRA. The paper draws out practical pedagogical implications for public relations education. In addition, social implications relating to the role of professional bodies in public relations education are considered.

Originality

The article contributes to the literature on public relations education with a historical analysis of all four of the IPRA's education Gold Papers. A thorough literature search has been unable to identify other studies that have analysed all four education Gold Papers from the perspective of topics, tactics and strategy. So this paper makes an original contribution to the field of historical public relations research in this regard.

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ABSTRACT

European Judaism, Freud, Bernays and the birth of Public Relations

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Generally regarded as the 'father of public relations,' Edward Louis Bernays (1891–1995), was a public relations theorist and practitioner whose methods revolutionised the field and who originally coined the term public relations counsellor or consultant. Born in Vienna, a double nephew of Sigmund Freud, his parents migrated to New York when he was a baby.

After graduating from Cornell Agricultural College in 1912, Bernays worked as a medical journalist before becoming a show business publicity agent. Bernays was PR counsel to Enrico Caruso, Otis Skinner, and Diaghilev's Russian Ballet. He was a key staff member of Senator George Creel's World War One Committee on Public Information. Bernays' first private client was Professor Thomas Masaryk, father of Czechoslovak independence. After 1920 Bernays was recognized as the leading public relations counsellor for major American corporations. He wrote the first book on public relations, *Crystallizing Public Opinion*, in 1929 and taught the first college course on the subject in 1930.

This paper comprises the first detailed analysis of the German and Austrian, Jewish family, religious and cultural background of Bernays. It suggests that his unique patrimony of traditional, fin-de-circle diluted Judaism, Viennese philosophy and Freudian psychology created the optimal personality and skills to father the new industry and the new profession that would revolutionise business and political communication throughout the 20th century.

Bernays also led the way for other Jews, products of a common oral and textual cultural tradition, such as Byoir, Sonnenberg, Weissman, Gottlieb and Dietz who were to make major contributions to the early development of the new discipline.

Using both previously published biographies of Freud and Bernays and new and original research gathered by investigating their family, religious and cultural milieu; the paper will present original and pioneering cross-curricular conclusions based on Jewish history, central European social history, psychology, journalism and the history of diplomacy.

ABSTRACT

Growth and Development of Public Relations Codes of Ethics in English Speaking Countries: A Historical Analysis

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This paper reports on an analysis of the growth and development of public relations codes of ethics in Australia, Canada, India, Ireland, Great Britain and the United States. It also examines such codes – as well as certain declarations of principles – for several international professional societies serving public relations, most notably the International Public Relations Association (IPRA), the International Association of Business Communicators (IABC), the Global Alliance for Public Relations and Communication Management, and CERP, the European Confederation of Public Relations.

The analysis reported on in this paper attempts to deal with long-time concerns about public relations including those who criticize the entire public relations industry for lacking ethics, those who refuse to realize public relations offers more than lying and spin-doctoring, those who continue to insist the term "public relations ethics" is an oxymoron, and those who continue to believe public relations has a tarnished history and will never be accepted as a legitimate occupational group. This analysis finds ethical codes do not vary much from country to country and that some of these codes have been shortened and converted into extremely vague documents in recent years. Serious problems involving the monitoring and enforcement of public relations codes throughout much of the free world also are addressed.

The paper also follows changes in ethical concerns within public relations as the practice has grown and matured from something not much more than one-way communication such as publicity and press-agentry, where ethics were not necessarily perceived to be of prominent importance; to the two-way, executive-level communication that has become a major part of public relations in today's contemporary and forward-thinking organizations that seek public relations counsel regarding organizational decision-making.

An overview of public relations ethics research will be included in the paper, particularly those studies that make mention of ethical codes including the work of Bivins, Bowen, Chase, Curtin, Dozier, Grunig, Heath, Kruckeberg, Martinson, McElreath, Parkinson, Pearson, Verčič and Wright.

Finally, the paper confronts the uncomfortable question asking if codes of ethics and declarations of principles actually show any impact in a public relations industry plagued by an unusually high number of ethical problems within recent years. This includes issues Ketchum faced while working for ConAgra Foods, problems experienced by Burson-Marsteller in its work on behalf of Facebook, Edelman's ghost-blogging on behalf of Wal-Mart Stores, ethical issues that developed within public relations efforts of the BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, and serious double-billing issues involving FleishmanHillard, and other case situations.

ABSTRACT

Public Relations Activities of National Economy and Saving Society during 1930s in Turkey

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Public relations practices have pivotal role in a society about connecting production to consumption. It facilitates market exchanges and relationships through formulating and circulating discourses that inculcate particular consumption patterns and norms. In this process, public relations work involves crafting and disseminating symbolic meanings, acceptable or legitimate values, attitudes, and actions in order to structure consumption field. Besides, public relations activities are employed in order to stimulate interest and produce demand to consumer goods and promote new consumption habits.

Facing up to the world economic crisis in 1929, young Republic of Turkey had to follow new economic policies to protect national economy from the severe effects of crisis. In this process, significant public relations activities were employed to secure national economy through promoting the use of domestic goods and raising a public consciousness to thrift. National Economy and Saving Society were established in 1929, and this institution was charged to encourage thrifty living, educate public about saving and trigger awareness to the importance of using domestic goods. Although the activities were not regarded as public relations during that time, National Economy and Saving Society served to develop and mobilize public opinion, produce consent and raise public concern through employing persuasive and informative communication practices.

National Economy and Saving Society organized countrywide quickly in the form of city branch offices, each office prepared an activity program based on the vision of the institution (Duman, 1992). For instance, İzmir office organized women branches and these branches gathered women together at homes and gave information about saving and promoted domestic goods. Publicity and Propaganda Committee of the institution realized most notable public relations efforts. This committee was responsible to produce and publicize special materials such as films, announcements, posters, and bulletins. Every year, Domestic Goods and Saving Week (12-18 December) held by National Economy and Saving Society, and celebrated as national festival especially in schools to inform pupils (Duman, 1992). As Duman (1992) mentions, these weeks were regarded as an opportunity to communicate with the public and served as a period for campaigning. During this period, shops selling domestic goods were giving discounts and designing special windows. National Economy and Saving Society was organizing a competition for best window design, and giving rewards (Duman, 1992). Besides, special exhibitions were organized to promote domestic goods in different cities.

This study focuses on public relations activities of National Economy and Saving Society during 1930s in Turkey and highlights the role of public relations to form consumption patterns and norms in this period. To identify and elaborate different public relations activities of the institution, a historical research was undertaken using archives and many secondary sources. Turkish newspaper archives were scanned to identify important events and activities. Publications of National Economy and Saving Society and the

Magazine of *Kadro* were thematically examined. Books, articles, essays, dissertations, conference papers, documentaries were collected and also reviewed thematically.

According to Duman (1993: 16) during 1930s, some other European countries such as Austria, Switzerland, Germany, France, Hungary, Bulgaria and Greece held special weeks devoted to promotion of domestic goods as well. This study may also offer an opportunity to discuss the similarities/differences in public relations activities during that period.

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